



सत्यमेव जयते

# Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India

## **MAHATMA GANDHI**

### **Volume III**

(Parts - I to III Edited by Prof. N. R. Phatak  
Parts - IV to VII Edited by Dr. B. G. Kunte)

## **KHILAFAT MOVEMENT**

**(1920 to 1921)**

### **Volume X**

(Edited by : Dr. K. K. Chaudhari)

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA  
MUMBAI

(Collected from the Maharashtra State and Government of India Records)

## PROLOGUE

I am very glad to bring out the e-Book Edition (CD version) of Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. This e-book edition is facsimile reproduction of already published volumes.

So far twelve volumes are published under this series. They contain valuable data regarding India's struggle for freedom. These volumes form an important source for the scholars, historians who are interested in studying different phases and dimensions of the freedom movement. The material is collected from Government's secrete and confidential official records. Thus, these volumes have made available that information which was so far not easily accessible to the scholars.

Considering utility of these volumes, need was felt to preserve this treasure of knowledge. In this age of modernization, information and technology have become key words. To keep pace with the changing need of hour, I have decided to bring out a CD version of these volumes. I am sure, scholars and studious persons across the world will find these CDs immensely beneficial.

This CD contains total seven parts of Volume III, "Mahatma Gandhi" published within the span of 12 years, that is, from 1965-1977 and Volume X, "Khilafat Movement (1920-1921)" published in 1991. First three parts of Volume III were edited by Prof. N.R. Phatak, and the rest four parts were edited by Dr. B. G. Kunte; where as, Volume X was edited by Dr. K.K.Chaudhari.

I am thankful to the Honourable Minister, Shri. Ashokrao Chavan (Industries and Mines, Cultural Affairs and Protocol), and the Minister of State, Shri. Rana Jagjitsinh Patil (Agriculture, Industries and Cultural Affairs), Shri Bhushan Gagrani, (Secretary, Cultural Affairs) Department, Government of Maharashtra for being a constant source of inspiration.

Place: Mumbai

Dr. Arunchandra S. Pathak

Date: 31 March 2007

Executive Editor and Secretary

## **PREFACE**

In January 1953 the Government of India appointed a Board of Editors for the compilation of a History of the Freedom Movement in India. In order to secure the material on which a history should be based, the Board requested the State Governments to set up Committees for the purpose of collecting, within their regions, such material as may be useful in the preparation of an account of the struggle for freedom which may be said to have begun after the loss of that freedom and which ended with the achievement of Independence on 15th August 1947. The Government of Bombay accordingly set up, in November 1953, the Bombay State Committee for a History of the Freedom Movement in India.

The Government of Bombay threw open to the Committee all its records and files, including Confidential and Secret files, in all departments, covering the period up to 1947. As it was the desire of the Central Board of Editors that the work of collecting material should be completed as soon as possible, the efforts of the Committee were mainly directed towards obtaining relevant information from the valuable Government documents most of which had never before been accessible to the public.

The Committee decided that the year 1818 which saw the defeat of the last Peshwa should be taken as the starting point of the period for which information had to be gathered. The one hundred and thirty years from 1818 to 1947 naturally lent themselves to the following three divisions: —

- (1) 1818—85 (Till the establishment of the Indian National Congress).
- (2) 1885—1920 (Till the starting of the Non-Co-operation Movement).
- (3) 1920—47 (Till the achievement of Independence).

The Committee gathered information bearing on each of these period confining its attention mostly to what was available in Government files in the Records Office, the Police Department and the Home Department of the Secretariat. No attempt was made to explore non-official sources of information excepting a few newspapers. Interviews with a few important persons who were directly or indirectly connected with some movement or another in the cause of national regeneration and freedom were taken and statements of most of the persons were recorded. Copies of such material as had All-India importance, were sent to the Board of Editors, New Delhi.

The Central Board of Editors was dissolved in December 1955. But, in view of the fact that some material available to the Bombay Committee was still to be scrutinized, the tenure of that Committee was extended to 30th September 1956 on Which date it was dissolved.

The Committee made a recommendation to the Government that important and suitable extracts from the papers scrutinized by the Committee's Office should be published by the Government so that they could serve as an authentic source material to the students of history who may be interested in the subject. Government were pleased to accept the recommendation and though the Committee was dissolved on 30th September 1956, the tenure of its office was extended beyond that date.

The Office of the Committee ceased to be treated as a separate office with effect from 1st January 1973 and the staff sanctioned for that office was transferred to the Gazetteers Department. Dr. B. G. Kunte, the Executive Editor and Secretary, Gazetteers Department, was made responsible for the completion of pending work relating to the History of Freedom Movement in India.

The first two volumes of the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India were brought out by the late Prof. M. R. Palande, Executive Secretary and were published in 1957 and 1958, respectively, the first covering the period from 1818 to 1885 and the second from 1885 to 1920.

Prof. N. R. Phatak took charge of this work as the Executive Secretary in 1958. Under the guidance of Prof. N. R. Phatak and Shri H. M. Joshi, Research Officer, the office of the Maharashtra State Committee for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, collected voluminous material on different topics for the period from 1920 to 1947. But the office mainly concentrated its attention on the material that was lying in the Government records, on Mahatma Gandhi, most of it from Secret and Confidential files, which were not available to students of Gandhiji's life. It was proposed to publish this material first, and the third volume of the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India was, therefore, called Mahatma Gandhi Volume. So far this department has published six parts of Volume III.

As at present planned by the Gazetteers Department there will be seven parts in the series. Of these, six are published and the seventh part is now being published. A supplementary volume may also be brought out.

My thanks are due to the Home Department, the Commissioner of Police, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, the Inspector-General of Prisons, the Director and the staff of the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology and the Government of Maharashtra for giving all facilities to consult and to use extracts from the Confidential records.

My thanks are due to Shri K. K. Chaudhari, M. A., Joint Editor; Dr. V. N. Gurav, M.A. Ph.D., Statistical Officer; Shri M. H. Ranade, B.A., Superintendent and Shri P. N. Narkhede, M.Com.; Smt. N. S. Alawani, B. A.; Shri S. K. Khilare, B.Com., LL.B.; Smt. M. S. Modikhane, M.A.; Shri N. R. Patil, M.Com. and Shri B. N. Phatak, M.A. (Research Assistants) as also the other staff members of the department for their valuable assistance in the preparation and the publication of this Volume.

Shri S. A. Sapre, Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Bombay and Shri B. B. Bracken, Manager, Government Press and Book Depot, Nagpur, as also the other staff of the Press deserve my special thanks for the execution of the printing work of this Volume.

Many are the officials and non-officials without whose help the work would have been difficult. To them all my thanks are due.

BOMBAY:  
*October 2, 1975.*

B. G. KUNTE,  
*Executive Editor and Secretary.*

## INTRODUCTION

This is Part VII of the Third Volume of the Maharashtra State publication of the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India in the series on Mahatma Gandhi as depicted in Government records. The period covered is up to 1945.

Part I of this Volume covers the period from Gandhiji's arrival in India in the year 1915 up to 1922. This period, as reflected from the Government records, shows the gradual rise of Gandhiji in the leadership. Part II covers the period from 1922 to 1929, the period during which Mahatmaji was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for six years. The next part, *i.e.*, Part III covers the period from 1929 to 1931 and deals with the famous Salt Satyagraha by Mahatmaji at Dandi. Part IV covers the period from 1931 to 1932. This part touches Gandhiji's participation in the Round Table Conference at London, his subsequent return to India and his imprisonment in the Yeravda Central Prison. The next part, *i.e.*, Part V covers the year 1932 when Mahatmaji was in prison and had resorted to fast. His efforts towards achieving unity amongst Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities, and towards the eradication of untouchability are eloquently reflected in this part. Part VI of this Volume covers the period up to August 1933. During this period Mahatmaji was behind the bars, and had undertaken fast. He had carried on most of his correspondence from the jail itself. Reference is also found in the volume to the names of persons who either sought interviews with Mahatma Gandhi, or who were called for interview by Mahatmaji. This part also contains a number of letters addressed by Kasturba, who was in prison. It also depicts the episode of the fasts undertaken by the late Shri Shankarrao Deo, the late Shri Appasaheb Patwardhan and Shri Shantilal Shah on the rejection of the permission sought by them to undertake scavengers' work. It also reflects the adamant Government policy that prisoners cannot ask for a particular work as a matter of right though Gandhiji thought it imperative to safeguard the rights of political prisoners.

The present Volume covers the period up to 1945 during which period Mahatmaji was behind the bars for a number of years and during which he suffered a great personal loss in the sad demise of his wife, Kasturba. He also suffered when his Secretary, Shri Mahadev Desai, who was too much attached to him, expired. This part also throws light on as to how Mahatmaji was interested in Harijan Welfare and how widely he travelled to collect funds for their welfare. Gandhiji's correspondence with Jinnah is also covered in this part. It also contains correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the Government pertaining to the doctors attending

Mrs. Gandhi during her illness and Mahatmaji during his fast which is very interesting. Especially the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and Government in respect of cremation of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi is very illuminating as it shows the personality of Mahatma Gandhi in its true perspective. Reference is also found to known as well as unknown persons who either sought interviews with Mahatma Gandhi or who were called for interview by him. The present publication also contains a fund of information on various subjects and personalities that help the reader to understand the political situation of the times and how a great leader like Mahatma Gandhi reacted to it. The image that one gets of Mahatma Gandhi is that of a man of the poor and downtrodden masses.

**BOMBAY:**

*October 2, 1975.*

**B. G. KUNTE,**

*Executive Editor and Secretary.*

## MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

### BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT 1934

*Page 16, para. 29—*

Shankarlal Ghelabhai Banker left Ahmedabad on 3rd January 1934 for Bombay *en route* to Bezwada to see M. K. Gandhi.

*Page 66, para. 138—*

AHMEDABAD, JANUARY 25.—It is reported that when the Mill-owners placed their case before Gandhi at Bangalore recently, he enquired of them whether they intended to forego any of their commission. He also told them that as they had not furnished copies of their balance sheets and appeared unwilling to reduce their commission, he could not agree to a cut in wages. The Mill-owners accordingly decided not to press the matter any further.

Trade had improved considerably and many owners have transacted forward business.

The District Superintendent of Police remarks: It remains to be seen however, whether the owners will resort to individual cuts.

G. M. Khan. Muhammad Yusuf and Gopal Bhanji of the Mill Mazdoor Mandal addressed a meeting of fifty workers near Ambika Mill on January 23rd. They asserted that 60 weavers of the mill had been dismissed and advised all mill-hands to unite under the red banner of the Mandal in order to fight capitalists.

*Page 96, para. 197—*

MADRAS SECRET ABSTRACT, DATED 17TH FEBRUARY 1934.—S.B. 15TH FEBRUARY.—Miss Muriel Lester and Mrs. Hogg met Mr. Gandhi at Tiruppur on the 6th instant, and accompanied him on his tour, arriving at Pudupalaiyam, Salem District, on the 11th instant. They left next day for Madras which they left for Calcutta on the night of the 13th instant. While at Pudupalaiyam Miss Lester addressed a gathering of inmates of the Ashram and visitors on social work in England,

*Page 122, para. 250—*

POONA, MARCH—*Gandhi's tour in the Karnatak.*—M. K. Gandhi accompanied by—Miss Miraben *alias* Miss M. Slade, Miss Kisan Dhumatkar, Miss Bajaj Uma, Amritlal V. Thakar Bapa, Suralal Desai, Valji Bhai, Vallabdas Purshottamdas, Ramprasad Thakar (Secretary), Kurt Butow (German Journalist), Upendra Pai of Mangalore, R. N. Sharma (in charge of luggage), Devraj (typist), Mahadev (Representative of Andhra Patrika), arrived at Karwar (Kanara District) from Kundapur



on 27th February 1934. The Party was received by the leaders of Karwar and some outsiders prominent among whom were P. S. Mujumdar (President, Karwar Municipality), Rao Saheb M. B. Borkar (President, Hindu Mahasabha), K. R. Haldipurkar, Pleader; Karwaf, Gangadharrao B. Deshpande of Belgaum, Professor Ramrao Shankarrao, M.A. of Bangalore, Veerangouda V. Patil (President, Harijan Seva Sangh, Hubli), R. S. Hukkerikar. Dharwar, S. V. Burli of Dharwar V. B. Puranik, Editor of Lokamat, L. S. Patil, Hubli, Editor of Tarun Karnatak. Shrinivas Pindar of Dharwar.

About 1,000 people had collected at the quay where no function was held. The majority of the audience appeared to have assembled to catch a glimpse of Gandhi. The party drove in motor-cars to K. R. Haldipurkar's house and *en route* Gandhi was garlanded by a Mochi on behalf of the Harijans. The next day, 28th February 1934, Gandhi and his party offered prayers at which about 200 persons attended, but there was not a single member of the Harijan Class. About 2,000 persons including a handful of Untouchables attended a meeting held that morning and addresses were presented by the District Local Board in a silver casket, the Karwar Taluka Board and the Karwar Municipality, in sandal-wood boxes which were subsequently auctioned for Rs. 160. D. R. Haldipurkar also presented a purse of Rs. 372 for the uplift of the Harijans. Gandhi in replying to these addresses confined his speech mainly to the Harijan work. A small sum of Rs. 5 was also collected. The total collections at this place amounted to Rs. 537. After the meeting Gandhi left Karwar for Ankola by motor on 28th February 1934. No special enthusiasm was noticed at the meeting which passed off smoothly. Owing to the scanty population of Karwar, there is not much interest shown in Harijan work.

Gandhi and his staff arrived at Ankola on 28th February 1934. He was received at the entrance of the pandal erected on the open ground apposite the Mamlatdar's Katcheri. About 6,000 people had assembled. Rev. P. T. Vergese of Ankola presented Gandhi with an address of welcome and offered a purse of Rs. 500. Gandhi spoke for about half an hour and dwelt on the removal of Untouchability and appealed to the Harijans to give up dirty habits, to purify their minds and to be clean. He also asked for contributions to the Bihar Earthquake Relief Fund and called on the womenfolk to give their ornaments towards the uplift of Harijans. but there was no response. A sum of Rs. 700 was collected including Rs. 500 offered by the Rev. Vergese.

Gandhi then proceeded to Kumtha the same day (28th February 1934) where there was a crowd of 9,000 persons. He was given an address of welcome and presented with a purse of Rs. 500 plus a sum of Rs. 300 offered by the Honavar people. Gandhi repeated the same advice as that given at Ankola. In all he got about Rs. 800 at Kumtha.

He visited Sirsi the same day where he was warmly received. The Sirsi Municipality and the Untouchables of that place presented Gandhi with addresses and the former also gave a purse of Rs. 500 for the Harijan Fund. Gandhi exhorted the audience to give equal treatment to the

Harijans and reiterated his advice as he did at Ankola. Rs 1,050 were collected at Sirsi.

On 1st March 1934. Gandhi arrived at Siddapur along with G. B. Deshpande, A. V. Thakar and Kurt Butow. He was given a fitting reception and was presented with an address and a purse of Rs. 300 and a small sum (Rs. 3-8-0) by a leader of Untouchables. Gandhi in addressing an audience of about 9,000 persons including about 200 women, asked that the Untouchables be treated as brothers and sisters and given free entrance to the temples, where the public have a right to enter and to spin yarn on the charka during their leisure. After this meeting, he returned to Sirsi. At the Nilekani Lane, Gandhi was received by one V. V. Nilekani and Gandhi with about 25 Untouchables entered the temple of Subramanaya and took "prasad" from the Pujari, Nilekani declared the temple open to the Untouchables and gave Rs. 25 to Gandhi for the Harijin Fund. He was also given a sum of Rs. 13 and some fruits. After a halt, Gandhi left for Haveri at about 2 p.m. by motor on 1st March 1934.

*Note.*—Gandhi's visit created an impression and belief among the Untouchable Classes that facilities would gradually be given to them by the Hindus. In all meetings the Untouchables freely mixed up with the public and were fairly treated by one and all.

On his way to Haveri, Gandhi was received at Alur by the people of Alur and Hongal and surrounding villages where about 4,000 persons had gathered. A purse of Rs. 501 was given towards the Harijan Fund. At Devihosur he was received by about 2,000 persons and was presented with a purse of Rs. 200.

Gandhi reached Haveri on 1st March 1934 at 4-30 p.m. where he was accorded a suitable reception and was given a donation of Rs. 100 by Shri Maniranjana Jagaduru Jayadeo Murgarajendra Mahaswami Chitrakaldurg, the head priest of the Lingayat community. Gandhi next motored to the Municipal High School and declared open a Municipal Night School for Harijans. He also laid the foundation stone of the Municipal Dharmshala near the Railway Station. Gandhi then left for Byadgi where he arrived at 7 p.m. on 1st March 1934. He was presented with addresses by the citizens and the local Untouchables, including a purse of Rs. 555 in a sandal-wood box. As a result of the auction of the present he realised a sum of Rs. 125. The audience here numbered about 3,000. Gandhi returned to Haveri (Dharwar District) at 8-15 p.m. direct to the pandal erected for the meeting where loud-speakers were installed. Addresses on behalf of the Haveri Municipality, the Haveri citizens, the ladies of Haveri and the Untouchables of Haveri were presented without reading, including a purse of Rs. 1,001 in a sandal-wood box. Gandhi thanked the people for the purse presented and expressed satisfaction that Untouchability in the town was fast dwindling. He advised the removal of Untouchability as it was a blot on Hinduism.

*Note.*—The Untouchables were practically neglected by the organisers of the meeting and no efforts were made to ensure their attendance and the result was they took no active part in the reception or meeting. It is

evident that they from their experience of daily life with their fellow citizens were of opinion that this movement is more or less a superficial one and there is no likelihood of change of heart even after the personal preaching of Mr. Gandhi.

The Sanatanists and the Orthodox thought it wise to keep silent as they well knew the temperament of their people and are quite content with the idea that the preachings of Mr. Gandhi will be easily forgotten and nothing will materially develop.

At Ranebennur, on 2nd March 1934, Gandhi was taken to a pandal erected just outside the Railway Station and was presented with a purse of Rs. 313 by the town people. The Marwadis gave a purse of Rs. 57. One Bassappa Kurvati gave Rs. 111 for the Bihar Earthquake Relief Fund. About 1,800 persons were present.

Gandhi arrived at Gadag (Dharwar District) on 3rd March 1934 at about 4-15 p.m. and a crowd of about 700 persons was in waiting for him. After arrival he drove off in a car to Jakli, a village 20 miles from Gadag. There he was received by about 2,500 people and after receiving a purse of about Rs. 800 he returned to Gadag at 6-40 p.m. Here he was greeted by a crowd of 9,000 persons. The pandal was fitted with electric lights and loud-speakers. About a dozen Anglo-Indians and Europeans including 4 ladies were present Muhammadans also attended. After receiving addresses from the Gadag and Betgiri Municipalities, he was given a purse of Rs. 800. Gandhi advised the Harijans not to drink liquor and abstain from eating cows' flesh.

He left Gadag by train for Hubli travelling by III class on 3rd March 1934. The train halted at 4 stations where he was greeted by villagers. Gandhi arrived at Hubli the same night (3rd March 1934) at 10-25 p.m. and about 4,000 persons had collected to receive him at the station. The next morning (4th March 1934) at 4-30 a.m. he held morning prayers for about 20 minutes with an audience of 2,000 persons. About 8 a.m. Gandhi visited Mallapa Ghodke's factory where he was met by about 2,000 Dhers and presented with a silver casket. Gandhi gave his usual advice. He next visited the Bhangi Kuva Temple where he was garlanded by a sweeper and Khadar cloth was also presented to him by the Bhangis. Gandhi however made no speech. He then visited the Municipal Hall, Hubli, where about 2,000 people had assembled. Gandhi was given an address in a casket. In his speech he criticised the Municipality for its slackness in not keeping the gutter near the Bhangi lane clean. The casket was auctioned for Rs. 101.

He then drove to the maidan Which was fitted up with loud-speakers. An audience of 15,000 was present. N. B. Chalgeri presented Gandhi with an address on behalf of the Railway Workers' Union and by C. S. Kempanavar on behalf of the citizens. A purse of Rs. 1,600 was also offered as well as ornaments, clothes, etc. These articles were auctioned and fetched Rs. 1,200. Gandhi expressed sympathy with the labourers and asked them to be united. He left Hubli at 9 a.m. for Dharwar (4th March) where he arrived and drove to the Municipal Maidan which was

fitted up with loud-speakers. About 5,000 persons including 500 Muhammedans were present. Here Gandhi received addresses from the Dharwar Municipality, District Local Board, students, ladies, Dharwar citizens, depressed classes and Bhangis. Citizens of Dharwar offered him a purse of Rs. 1,008, the students offered Rs. 228 and ladies offered Rs. 201. The Lingayat Youth League also gave him a purse of Rs. 40. Gandhi spoke in his usual style and promised to give three-fourths of the collections made at Dharwar for building better huts for the Untouchables. All the addresses including small presents were auctioned for Rs. 80. Gandhi left for Saundatti in a car with a Congress Flag flying. *En route* to Saundatti. Gandhi stopped for a few minutes at Merewad and Aminbhavi where he received a purse of Rs. 100 in all. He arrived at Saundatti at 4-30 p.m. and addressed a meeting of 6,000 villagers who had assembled there. A purse of Rs. 277 was presented to Gandhi.

*Note.* — In all the abovenamed places, the enthusiasm of the people was high during his arrival but it soon subsided. There was much of outward show. The inward feelings of the educated classes and the youths were for the removal of Untouchability by stages and were favourably inclined towards Temple Entry. The priest class and the Orthodox Brahmins were against this movement. Most of the meetings were arranged by the Congress followers who are also members of the several Harijan Boards of Gadag, Dharwar and Hubli.

Gandhi and his party arrived at Bailhongal on 4th March 1934 from Dharwar *via* Saundatti at 5-30 p.m. where they were received warmly and garlanded by the Bailhongal public. A meeting attended by about 20,000 people was held and an address was presented by the Bailhongal Municipality with a purse of Rs. 800 on behalf of the Bailhongal public.

Gandhi's speech was mainly directed towards the Harijan's cause. Sushilabai, wife of Shankar Kamat, presented Gandhi with a purse of Rs. 70 in a silver plate on behalf of the Bailhongal females. A small sum of Rs. 10 was also collected. Gandhi realised about Rs. 24 from the sale of articles given to him. After this he and his party left Bailhongal for Belgaum *via* Sampagam at 7-45 p.m. on 4th March 1934.

The public in this district took part wholeheartedly in every item of the arrangements for Gandhi's visit and the money was collected from the surrounding villages also. The behaviour of the public was enthusiastic even though they had no other motive than to see Mr. Gandhi. The tendency of the public appears to be in favour of this Harijan work though some elders are averse to it. No Harijans took any part in the arrangements nor was any preference given to them either in the meeting or in other arrangements.

Gandhi arrived at Belgaum on 4th March 1934 at 9-15 p.m. with his party including Dr. C. M. Desai and Durgabai Joshi of Nagpur. A crowd of 3,000 persons waited to welcome Gandhi but the people were disappointed as Gandhi left for his camping place at Thalakwadi. There was no programme as shortly after his arrival Gandhi began his silence.

On 5th March 1934, owing to Gandhi's day of silence, there were no appreciable activities except that Gandhi offered public prayers near his camp with an audience of 5,000 persons. After the prayers were over, Laxman Balaram Joshi, Shastri of Wai addressed a meeting of 200 in which, he explained that there was nothing against the abolition of Untouchability in the Vedic Hindu Literature. There was no one present off this occasion from the Vernashram Swaraj Sangh.

The leaders of the Vernashram Swaraj Sangh were however busy in addressing a meeting at Belgaum denouncing Gandhi for his Harijan propaganda. The President of the Sangh in his letter to Gandhi desired that he should not attempt to effect temple entry for fear of breach of the peace.

Printed Marathi leaflets were found pasted on telegraph posts at Thalakwadi asking Gandhi to go back, to study Sanatan Hindu Dharma and not to press for a legislation regarding Temple Entry by Untouchables.

On 6th March 1934, several visitors from Shahapur Town (Sangli State) came to Gandhi asking him to pay flying visit to their place.

M. S. Aney and S. D. Deo arrived at Belgaum from Poona on 6th March 1934 and put up with Gandhi.

Gandhi spent the afternoon in discussing matters relating to economic conditions of the Depressed Class People, spread of khaddar work, communal relations, etc. A meeting attended by about 15,000 was held but the leaders of the Vernashram Swaraj Sangh were absent and there was no hostile demonstration on their part.

Gandhi received six addresses in all and a purse of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 352 by the citizens of Belgaum and Shahapur and Students Union, Belgaum. He received a total amount of Rs. 5,548 at Belgaum. Gandhi expressed dissatisfaction with the sum of Rs. 5,000 offered by the public of Belgaum.

With regard to the Temple Entry question, Gandhi said he was aware of the opposition from the Sanatanists to Temple Entry and the proposed legislation for Temple Entry.

As regards funds that were being collected in connection with the Harijan Uplift work, Gandhi said that money would not be utilised in building temples for the Harijans or towards the Temple Entry problem. It would be utilised for the Harijans for constructive work only. Three-fourths of the collections would be reserved for the Provinces and one-fourth would be in charge of the Central institution. He assured the audience that every pie of the fund was being accounted for and audited and the public had every right to examine the accounts.

Gandhi's visit to Belgaum is reported, to have had no effect, on the public mind much less on the Orthodox-Hindu Section as regards bringing about a change in favour of his views regarding the Temple Entry by Untouchables or his Harijan propaganda in general. There was a

general feeling that Gandhi came for money and for nothing else, Gandhi with his party left Beigaum for Yamkanmardi on 7th March 1934.

*Page 137, Para. 277*

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA, MARCH 16.- M. K. Gandhi and his party arrived at Yamkanmardi on 7th March 1934, where he opened a Hanmant temple for Untouchables. He addressed a meeting of about 3,000 persons and was given an address and a purse of Rs. 300. About Rs. 69 were realized by auction sale.

He then proceeded to Hukkeri on 7th March 1934 where a meeting was held attended by about 1,000 persons. A purse of Rs. 151 and an address was given to him. Gandhi made a short speech requesting the audience not to observe Untouchability. He left for Sankeshwar where he arrived at 10-15 a.m. on 7th March 1934. A dais was erected in an open field outside the village. About 7,000 persons had assembled. An address with a purse of Rs. 151 was presented. A sum of Rs. 91 was also given towards the Bihar Relief Fund and Rs. 51 on behalf of the villagers of Gadhinglaj. The Khadi cloth bag containing the address was auctioned for Rs. 10. Other articles were also auctioned and fetched a sum of Rs. 68 in all. Gandhi advised the audience to treat the Untouchables as brothers and to open temples and water tanks for them.

*Note*—The Sanatanists of Sankeshwar did not take any part in the meeting. Dattatraya Talikot, their leader, who had first intended to call Gandhi for discussion on Untouchability, dropped that idea and kept silent. The active workers in the meeting and in collecting funds were all Congress workers. The people in general had no sympathy for the removal of Untouchability. The Sanatanists of this place had not the courage to oppose Gandhi openly.

Gandhi left Sankeshwar for Nipani at 10-30 a.m. and arrived at 11 a.m. on 7th March 1934, where he was accorded a rousing reception. Gandhi visited the Harijan houses, the National School, the Harijan Sevashram and Merchants Association. At this Association he was presented with a purse and an address. A meeting attended by about 15,000 persons including members of the American Mission, Nipani, was held. Gandhi was given an address in a silver casket by the Nipani people; and one by the Christians of the place. The casket was sold by auction and fetched Rs. 51. A purse of Rs. 721 was also presented. Other presents including 3 silver dishes were auctioned for Rs. 250. Gandhi in replying thanked the people for the money given for Harijan work. He advised them not to observe Untouchability. He said that the money collected for Harijan work will be spent according to the decisions of the Board of Trustees. Gandhi then explained why Untouchables are called "Harijans". He further explained the reasons for his statement that the earthquake in Bihar was due to the sins committed by the people.

*Note*.—The enthusiasm in the people was merely to see Gandhi and Congress workers having no other programme in hand are taking up this work. No temples or water resources were opened for Untouchables at Sankeshwar and Nipani.

On the whole Gandhi was collecting funds rather than doing any constructive work. He spent more time in auctioning various articles than trying to win people on his side. The split among the Caste Hindus and those who are for removing Untouchability is bitter. In the meeting Untouchables easily mixed with others and no one objected.

Gandhi motored to Chikodi at 5 p.m. on 7th March 1934 where he was received by about 4,000 persons. He was given an address and a purse of Rs. 200. In reply Gandhi made his usual type of speech. *En route* to Shedbal, Gandhi was received by the villagers of Ankli, a place 9 miles from Chikodi, and was presented with a small purse.

Gandhi arrived at Shedbal at 9 -10 p.m. on 7th March 1934 and rested for the night in the P. W. D. Rest-house. Next day (8th March 1934) he with his party, arrived at Athni by motor. At Mangsuli village, where he stopped for a few minutes, he was presented with a purse of Rs. 51. At Athni a meeting of 5,000 was held and loud-speakers were installed. Gandhi received addresses on behalf of the Athni Municipality, Athni Taluka Local Board, Athni Citizens and Banhatti Citizens, in a silver casket with a purse of Rs. 551, including one of Rs. 101 by the people of Banhatti, Jamkhandi State. Gandhi spoke in his usual style. The casket addresses, etc., were auctioned for Rs. 90. The meeting ended at 9 -10 a.m. Gandhi then left for Bijapur by motor.

*Note.*— The Untouchables were practically neglected and their attendance at the meeting was meagre. They appeared to have no confidence in Gandhi nor in his movement which they termed to be a "farce".

Gandhi did not give any advice to the Harijans or say a word about the Temple Entry Bill or the Earthquake Fund. He did not grant any interview nor discuss politics.

The crowd had collected out of curiosity and dispersed with an impression that his tour is merely for collection of money rather than for any other real motive.

Gandhi left for Bijapur where he arrived on 8th March 1934 at 11.15 a.m. A batch of 60 volunteers clad in new khaddar with half-a-dozen lady volunteers was in waiting to welcome Gandhi who was garlanded by a lady volunteer. Gandhi then drove to the Shepherd Hall where a small arch of green leaves was erected. After an hour's rest, Gandhi granted interviews to about 20 persons among whom were Congress agitators and Sanatani Shastris. He was also given an address by the Bijapur Christians. He next visited, the Harijan Boarding House where Miss Slade addressed a meeting of ladies whom she advised to use khaddar, and rebuked them for attending the meeting dressed in foreign clothes. Gandhi proceeded to the Chatre Theatre where he addressed the Harijans. In the evening he attended a meeting of 8,000 persons. Loud-speakers were installed. Addresses from Municipality, District Local Board, Elkul Weavers, Harijans and Bijapur citizens were presented. A cheque for Rs. 2,000 was presented to Gandhi who said that he would not speak unless/ contributions were was no programme as shortly after his arrival Gandhi began his silence.

Rs. 5. The total collection realised worked to Rs. 2,025. As soon as the meeting began, half the number left. Gandhi stressed the necessity of removal of untouchability.

Gandhi on return to the Shepherd Hall, held his evening prayers attended by about 300 and left Bijapur on 8th March 1934 at 8 p.m. to catch the Special Train for Hotgi *en route* to Hyderabad (Deccan).

*Note.*—At the time of the ordinary interview, it is learnt that Gandhi discussed formerly the Harijan question with local leaders; but in the exclusive interviews that he granted to Congress leaders and workers. Gandhi mainly tried to study the political situation in Bijapur.

*Page 140, Para. 279 (6):*

BELGAUM, MARCH 10.—Gandhi and M. S. Aney had a secret discussion on 6th March 1934 No one else was allowed to be present. It is rumoured that it was in connection with the formation of the new Democratic Party and its effect on the Congress.

*Page 275, Para. 529 (1):*

SIND C. I. D., MAY 12.—*Gandhi's Harijan Sind Tour.*—As Manilal J. Vyas, Secretary, Harijan Sewak Sangh, Karachi, thinks that response to Gandhi's appeal for funds may not be impressive in view of the trade depression and donations to the Bihar Earthquake Funds, he has asked Naraindas Ratanchand Malkani, General Secretary, All-India Harijan Sewak Sangh, Delhi, to come to Karachi a few days in advance of Gandhi's visit to endeavour to organise a fair reception and purse for Gandhi. Gandhi is due to visit in the second week of July next.

*Page 308, Para. 580:*

BOMBAY CITY S. B., JUNE 5.—M. K. Gandhi is expected to be in Bombay on June 14th and to stay here till June 17th in connection with the Harijan tour. The Bombay Board of the Harijan Sewak Sangh at a meeting held on May 31st at the office, of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau appointed a reception committee consisting of members of the Board and other prominent citizens, including Congressmen, to collect funds for presentation to Gandhi and to make his visit a success.

(2) BOMBAY SUBURBAN DISTRICT, BANDRA, JUNE 2.—Gandhi is willed to visit Ville Parle and Santa Cruz and lecture there on the 17th instant when he visits Bombay.

*Page 319, Para. 597:*

BOMBAY CITY S. B., JUNE 11.—The following is a programme of Gandhi's engagements in Bombay:—

*14th June 1934.*—Gandhi arrives at Victoria Terminus at 7-50 a.m. when he will be received by the Reception Committee of the Bombay Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh at platform No. 13. He then goes to Mani Bhuwan, Gamdevi, where he usually resides. At 11 a.m. the members of the Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh will meet him at his residence At 1 p.m. the members of the Gandhi Seva Sena will



see him at his residence. At 6 p.m. Gandhi, visits Harijan quarters at Tadvadi,. Mazagaon, and holds his evening prayers at 7-30 pm.

*15th June 1934*,—Gandhi attends a public meeting of women at 5-30 p.m. either at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall or at the Town Hall.

*16th June 1934*. Gandhi attends a public meeting at 6 p.m. at the Esplanade Maidan (weather permitting) or at the Town Hall.

*17th June 1954*. Gandhi visits the Bombay Suburban District in the morning and addresses a public meeting either at Ville Parle or at Andheri.

*18th June 1934*. Gandhi's silence day in Bombay.

*19th June 1934*.—Gandhi leaves for Poona at 8-20 a.m.

Some of the Sanatanists wanted to demonstrate their feelings against Gandhi by holding a black flag procession at the time of his arrival in Bombay on June 14th, but wiser counsels have prevailed and they have been advised not to do so

(2) AHMEDABAD, JUNE 9.—M. K. Gandhi is due to arrive here on the morning of the 27th instant and will stay near the Ashram at Sabarmati till 1st July. He will leave for Bhavnagar on the night of the 1st July. During his stay here he will interview Harijan workers of Gujarat. Representatives of Harijan Sanghs of Gujarat who have collected funds will present a purse to Gandhi.

*Page 322, Para. 599 (2), (3), (5):*

AHMEDABAD. JUNE 2—*Ibid.*, JUNE 7.—Balvantrai Parmodrai Thakore has issued a leaflet appealing to the public to subscribe to the "Khedut Rahat Samiti" Fund. This scheme has the approval of M. K. Gandhi and there is every likelihood of it being well supported especially as the majority of Congress Workers have ceased collecting money for the uplift of the Harijans and are devoting their attention to the cause of distressed peasants. Congress stock will rise considerably. There can be no doubt that the Congress is preparing seriously for the forthcoming elections.

*Ibid.*, JUNE 9—Kalpanath Sharma, a Sanatanist, has announced his intention to obstruct M. K. Gandhi during his Harijan tour in Gujarat and issued an appeal for volunteers.

(3) *Ibid.*. JUNE 9.—It has been decided by the representatives of Talukas of this District to present a purse of Rs. 10,000 to Mr. Gandhi when he visits Ahmedabad. on behalf of the Kaira District, A reception committee of 8 persons has been appointed and they will collect funds for the purse.

17th June has been fixed for the celebration of 'Harijan Day' and for the general collection of funds.

(5) BOMBAY SUBURBAN DISTRICT, BANDRA, JUNE 9—On 6th June 1934 a meeting of the Ghatkoper Congressmen was held at, Ghatkoper, when it was resolved to present a purse to M. K. Gandhi when he visits the

Suburbs on June 17th, on behalf of the Ghatkoper Congressmen for utilisation in the cause of Harijans. It was also resolved to collect money for the same from that day.

*Page 335, Para. 618:*

Mrs. Kasturba and M. K. Gandhi left Ahmedabad on 10th June 1934 for Bardoli (*enroute* to Bombay).

M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on 14th June 1934 from Wardha and for Bardoli (*en route* to Bombay).

*Page 339, Para. 627:*

S. B., BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA, JUNE 23.—The following is a brief account of M. K. Gandhi's Harijan Tour in the Bombay Presidency:—

#### *Remarks*

*14th June 1934.*—Gandhi arrived in Bombay on the morning of 14th June with Miss Slade and others. On the platform, there were about 150 persons including several prominent Congressmen, while outside a crowd of about 1,000 of his admirers had gathered. Gandhi immediately drove to his Bombay residence Mani Bhuvan.

At 11 a.m. some members of the Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh saw him at his residence in connection with the uplift of Harijans. At 1 p.m. about 40 members of the Gandhi Seva Sena consisting mostly of women visited him. He advised them to strive hard for the removal of untouchability and collect as much money as possible for the Harijan cause. At 9-15 p.m. the Secretary of the Labour Sub-Committee of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee visited him along with labour leaders representing the Girni Kamgar Union Strike Committee in connection with the strike situation in Bombay. He promised to do whatever he could but made it clear that the success of his mediation was rather remote in view of the reply given to the Secretary by Mr. H. P. Mody. Total collections for the Gandhi Purse Fund to date amounted to Rs. 31,541. A small sum of Rs. 25 was also collected at a prayer meeting.

*page 340:*

*Note.*—Although Gandhi's programme was known in advance to the public, the reception at the station was on the whole not very warm and enthusiastic. Apart from his Gujarati admirers who were shouting his "Jais", the Congress element displayed less enthusiasm than usual.

*15th June 1934.*—At 9 a.m. a party of the All India Depressed Classes Association waited on Gandhi to ask for financial assistance. He told them to submit a detailed report of the activities of the association when their request for help will be considered. At 3 p.m. he attended the Congress Parliamentary Board-meeting. which was-held at his residence. At 4-30 p.m. he addressed an audience of 1,000 women (mostly Gujaratis) in the Royal Opera House on the "Harijans and Women's duty towards them". He was presented with a purse of Rs. 50,000 and ornaments.

In the course of his speech Gandhi praised the women for their generosity in giving him money and ornaments but remarked that the sum of Rs. 50,000 was nothing for a city like Bombay. He concluded by saying that by contributing to the Harijan cause they were purging themselves for their past sins. A lady then offered him a bangle and a collection also was taken. The collection amounted to Rs. 382-1-6 in addition to a purse of Rs. 683 given to him by the Gandhi Seva Sena.

*Note.*—Although the attendance at this meeting was comparatively small and the total collection undoubtedly poor, it was significant that the women present held Gandhi in great reverence.

Total contribution to the Gandhi Purse Fund to date amounted to Rs. 36,840. A sum of Rs. 50 was also collected by Gandhi at a prayer meeting.

*16th June 1934.*—Between 7 and 9 a.m. Gandhi in company with Miss Slade and others visited the Harijan quarters. Between 12 noon and 1-30 p.m. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and others discussed with Gandhi the Harijan question and its progress. Ambedkar pointed out that the Congress people took interest in the removal of untouchability so long as Gandhi was present but the moment his back was turned everything was forgotten.

The Congress Parliamentary Board met again at Gandhi's residence and the subject of discussion was the Communal Award. As there were divergent views on this question, Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya had private discussions among themselves before speaking to the Board. Gandhi addressed the Board and said that as the Congress stood for various communities like the Muslims, the Hindus, the Sikhs, and as the Award was accepted by a majority of the Muslims, it was the duty of the Board to bring about a settlement agreeable to all parties. The Board agreed with his view.

At 6 p.m.. Gandhi attended a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. About 2,500 persons attended. Gandhi was presented with a purse of Rs. 47,000 on behalf of the citizens of Bombay. Gandhi accepted the purse with thanks and made a speech in Gujarati. He complained that the amount of Rs. 47,000 fell short of his expectations in spite of the fact that Bombay had contributed to the Bihar Relief Fund. He said that contribution towards that Fund was a sort of charity while that towards the Harijan cause was meant for repentance for past sins. He then dwelt on the evils of untouchability and appealed for the uplift of Harijans. At the close of the meeting he received a few gifts like a suit-case, watch etc., which he auctioned for Rs. 305.

Total Contributions towards the Gandhi Purse Fund to date amounted to Rs. 39,468. A sum of Rs. 25 was also collected at a prayer meeting.

*17th June 1934.*—At about 8-30 a.m. Gandhi visited Santa Cruz in the Bombay Suburban District, where he was to address a meeting. About

2,000 Hindus attended. The proceedings opened with the offering of a purse of Rs. 8,050 and a gold necklace. He auctioned the necklace and his own photograph and got Rs. 1,011. He then addressed the meeting and spoke on the removal of untouchability and advocated the elevation of the Harijans.

*Note.*—The audience did not show much enthusiasm compared with former meetings. Rain interrupted the proceedings, which fell rather flat. A deputation of the All-India Swadeshi Sangh waited upon Gandhi to know his views about Swadeshi Industries. The deputation was headed by Sir Lalloobhai Samaldas Mehta. At 4-30 p.m. a meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress was held at Mani Bhuvan which Gandhi attended.

*18th June 1934.*—At a meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress and the Congress Parliamentary Board, Gandhi managed to make Pandit Malaviya and M. S. Aney withdraw their resignation from the Parliamentary Board. They differed on the question of the Communal Award and had resigned on the previous day.

*19th June 1934.*—At 8 a.m. Gandhi, accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, Miss Slade, Jamnalal Bajaj, N. S. Hardikar and a few others, left Bombay for Poona. Total contributions towards the Gandhi Purse Fund to date amounted to Rs. 40,795-11-9.

*General Note on Gandhi's visit to Bombay.*—The enthusiasm which Gandhi's visit usually aroused was absent this time. His visit did not create any appreciable enthusiasm even among the depressed classes. The orthodox Sanatanists very carefully avoided him. Although his visit was in connection with Harijans and their betterment, even these were conspicuously absent from meetings.

*19th June 1934.*—Gandhi arrived at Poona at 11-50 am. There were about 1,000 persons gathered on the station, while a crowd of about 2,000 persons had collected outside the station. Among the prominent persons on the platform were N. C. Kelkar, L. B. Bhopatkar, D. V. Gokhale, N. V. Gadgil and others.

Gandhi who had to be escorted by the Police out of the station premises owing to the pressure of the crowd drove to Karsandas Dharamsey's bungalow where his working headquarters are located. At night he stays at Lady Thakersey's bungalow at Yeravda.

*Page 342—*

At 2 p.m. the Secretary of the Maharashtra Harijan Board handed over to Gandhi a report on the work done in connection with Harijan uplift. At 3-30 p.m. members of the Poona City Harijan Seva Sangh had discussions with Gandhi about Harijan work in Poona. The subjects discussed were sweepers' quarrels, carrion-eating by Harijans, building of hostels for Harijan children, etc., Gandhi was however completely dissatisfied with the Poona Harijan work, which he thought was practically nil. At 7-30 p.m. Gandhi had his prayer meeting in the compound where about 80 persons had gathered. He collected about Rs. 30.

*Note.*—Long before the arrival of Gandhi the local Sanatanists indulged in hostile demonstrations to show their opposition to Gandhi. A black Hag procession paraded through the main streets in the city and ended in a meeting at the Shivaji Mandir. The public however treated their demonstrations more as a joke than a serious agitation against Gandhi. The Sanatanists however managed to invade Gandhi's compartment when the train halted at Kirkee and several black flags were presented to him. An attempt at a similar demonstration at Poona Station was forcibly prevented by Gandhi's supporters. The enthusiasm of the Poona public (such as it was) was centred only at Poona Railway Station where however Muhammadans were conspicuous by their absence. For a city the size of Poona the crowd was a small one and the welcome lukewarm. As regards contributions towards the Gandhi Purse Fund, it appears that local Congress leaders are finding it very difficult to make any headway. A list has been prepared with the object of collecting Rs. 3,000; definite sums being put against various individuals who are expected by any means they like to raise their quotas for the fund. So far the total amount collected is reported to be Rs. 1,000.

*20th June 1934.*—Congressmen from various districts in the Maharashtra visited Gandhi in the course of the day. From 12 noon to 1-30 p.m. Gandhi discussed the Indian States Subjects problem with N. C. Kelkar, S. G. Vaze, D. V. Gokhale and others. He agreed to the question of equal rights being acceded to Indian States subjects along with British subjects but observed that agitation in this connection should be carried on by the States People themselves and not by the Congress and promised full support to this movement.

From 8-30 a.m. to 10 a.m. and again from 4 to 5 p.m. he had discussions with Congress workers. S. D. Deo, the Secretary of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee gave a brief account of the work done by the Congress during the last three years and asked those present if they had any questions to put to Gandhi regarding the constructive programme chalked out by the Congress Working Committee at Bombay. The discussions in the afternoon were confined to the Communal Award, White Paper and Labour Organisation. Gandhi said that in his opinion the Communal Award was as bad as the White Paper. Collections for the Harijan Fund have not exceeded Rs. 1,500 so far. An amount of Rs. 500 has been promised by the local College students for presenting to Gandhi at a meeting but it is reported that Gandhi is dissatisfied with this amount and expected it to reach Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000. A student from the Fergusson College retorted that if Gandhi was not prepared to accept it the sum may be given over to the Women's University. Attempts however are being made to persuade him to receive this contribution gracefully. In the evening Gandhi had his usual prayer meeting which was attended by about 150 persons. The sum of Rs. 150, four gold rings and a fountain pen were collected at the meeting.

*21st June 1934.*—Gandhi, accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, A. V. Thakkar, S. M. Mate, P. N. Rajbhoj and a few others, visited four Harijan localities in Poona City. He was shocked to see the people dwelling in the midst

of filth and other insanitary conditions and regretted that the Poona City Municipality was not taking proper care of its own citizens. At 8-15 a.m. Gandhi visited the Yerandavana Women's University. He received a purse of Rs. 30 collected by the girls. He then proceeded to the Widows' Home at Hingne. Here he was presented with a purse of Rs. 51 with which he was pleased. He told the inmates of the Home not to be engrossed in worldly affairs but to dedicate themselves to the service of the country. He also advised them to learn Hindi as that was going to be made the "Lingua franca" of India. At 6-30 p.m. Gandhi arrived at the Tilak Memorial Hall where he was to receive the address from the Poona students. Admission to the meeting was by tickets in the beginning but due to rush all gates had to be opened with the result that the audience swelled to 4,000. The address itself which was very brief was to the effect that the Poona schools and colleges fully sympathised with the Harijan movement and promised to do their bit in this cause. Gandhi advised the students to learn Hindi and take up Harijan work immediately. The sum of Rs. 500 which was to be presented to him still remains to be collected. The address was auctioned by Gandhi and it fetched Rs. 30. Gandhi in expressing his dissatisfaction with the meagre contribution from the students urged them to collect something from the audience present, but the response was feeble.

*Note.*—It is reported that several telegrams were addressed to Gandhi from Pandharpur, Nasik and Belgaum by Sanatanists censuring him for coming Maharashtra spite of their protest. These telegrams, it is said, however, were suppressed by A. V. Thakkar who did not allow them to reach Gandhi's hands.

*Page 356. Para, 647:*

S. B., BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA, JUNE 30.—The following is a further account of M. K. Gandhi's visit to Poona and Ahmedabad:—

*22nd June 1934.*—At 2 p.m. M. S. Aney called on Gandhi and was closeted with him for most part of the afternoon discussing the Communal Award and the Bengal Election dispute questions. In connection with a discussion brought about by S. K. Barve and Acharya Limaye of the Tilak University, Gandhi advised that National Schools should be opened in villages and no Government Grant should be accepted. In the course of the day Gandhi visited the Mang Colony in Navi Peth where he was presented with an address from the community, but no purse. He also laid the foundation stone of a Primary School for the Mang Community. Gandhi was then taken to the Harijan Boarding House conducted by P. N. Rajbhoj in Ghorpade Peth where he was presented with a pair of sandals.

*Note.*—It seems that Gandhi suspects this institution to be a bogus one and went away with the idea that it did not deserve any financial help from the Harijan or Congress Funds. He then visited Baburao Valvekar's House where he received a purse of Rs. 700.

*Page 357:*

The merchants in Gul Alley and Bhawani Peth presented him with a purse of Rs. 575. before a crowd of about 2,000 people. A welcome speech read out for the occasion was not replied to by Gandhi.

He then went to Ahilya Ashram of the Depressed Classes Mission, where he was received by V. R. Shinde, Subedar R. S. Ghatge and others. Here he declared the Harijan Boarding Hostel for girls as opened. The Sanatanists held a protest meeting at 9-30 p.m. to condemn the maltreatment received by the Sanatani volunteers at the hands of Congressites on the day of Gandhi's arrival and passed a resolution to that effect, which was forwarded to Gandhi.

*23rd June 1934.*—At 7-40 a.m. Gandhi accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, A. V. Thakkar and a few others visited the Maharashtra Vyayam Mandal where he was received by S. V. Damle, the Secretary of the Mandal. He was shown round the various departments of the gymnasium including some exhibition of physical drill and exercises by boys and girls. He advised the boys and girls to give equal attention to moral and spiritual development along with physical culture, and emphasised that all their strength so developed should be utilised in the service of the country. He then left to visit the Khadi Bhandar where he was presented with a purse of Rs. 51 on behalf of the Bhandar. After visiting the Ramnath Ayurvedic Hospital, he returned to his residence at 9 a.m. A deputation of Harijan Workers waited on Gandhi and discussed Harijan problems; they demanded that 50 per cent of the seats on the Harijan Boards should be allotted to Harijans as high caste Hindus did not safe-guard their interests to an appreciable degree. Gandhi promised to consider this question sympathetically.

S. M. Mate and C. B. Agarwal were granted an interview by Gandhi at 2 p.m. Certain schemes were suggested to Gandhi for the uplift of Harijans, one of them being that Poona City Municipality should take up the question of building houses for Harijans. Gandhi promised to request the Municipality to undertake this and give sympathetic consideration to the other proposals.

At 4 p.m. Gandhi addressed a women's meeting in the Kirloskar Theatre which was attended by about 2,000 ladies. He exhorted them, to help in removing untouchability and to give money and ornaments in the cause of Harijan Uplift Work. A young lady presented her earrings worth about Rs. 25. A collection was then made but amounted to only Rs. 86.

At 5-30 p.m. a meeting was convened by the Cantonment citizens at the Depressed Classes" Mission to accord welcome and present a purse of Rs. 1,111 to Gandhi. About 1,500 persons attended. Gandhi made the usual appeal in the cause of Harijan uplift. A portrait of Gandhi in oil presented by a tailor boy was put to auction and fetched Rs. 35. A sum of Rs. 12 was also realised by the sale of a watch presented by a Parsi. Gandhi returned to his residence at 7 p.m. At 9-30 p.m. Gandhi, as arranged previously, went to Tamboli Masjid to attend a meeting. The

meeting which was a mixed one consisting of Muhammadans and Hindus was attended by about 3,000 persons. Gandhi spoke for about 15 minutes and in the course of his speech said that if Muhammadans and Hindus followed the tenets of their own religion, dissensions would disappear and there would be peace and harmony between the two communities in the country. Gandhi left for "Parnakuti" at 10 p.m.

*24th June 1934.*—At 9 a.m. Gandhi visited the District Local Board and received an address of welcome in a silver casket which was subsequently auctioned for Rs. 101. The address contained an eulogy of Gandhi's political and social work and a brief history of the work done by the District Local Board in the cause of Harijans and Peasants. Gandhi, in his reply said that the difficulty of removal of Untouchability and the uplift of the Depressed Classes would be greatly solved if District Local Boards and Municipalities exerted themselves. About 200 persons attended the function.

In the afternoon Gandhi had discussions with Harijan workers from various districts in the Maharashtra.

At 6 p.m. Gandhi went to a public meeting held in front of Shanwar Wada which was attended by about 10,000 persons. Congress Leaders and Workers were very prominent, but Sanatanists were conspicuously absent, though it was feared these would create some disturbance. Baburao Valvekar, in welcoming Gandhi as the greatest personality in India, espoused the cause of the Harijans and ridiculed the Sanatanists for their opposition. N. V. Gadgil then read out the figures of contribution to the Harijan Fund which totalled to Rs. 3,539. In addition, Gandhi was given a cheque for Rs. 2,554 and Rs. 446 in cash by N. V. Gadgil. Gangubai Potdar of West Khandesh presented a gold necklace which was auctioned for Rs. 617. The proceeds are being earmarked for building a Harijan Boarding House in Dhulia. Contributions from the districts of Maharashtra which were presented by the respective deputations are as under:—

	Rs.
Ahmednagar .. .. .	1,001
East Khandesh .. .. .	1,125
West Khandesh .. .. .	1,001
Sholapur City .. .. .	1,001
Sholapur District .. .. .	237
Nasik .. .. .	527
Pali (Bhor State).....	101
Satara .. .. .	550
Bhaurao Patil of Satara .. .. .	5
Ratnagiri .. .. .	501
Mahad-Kolaba.....	101
Koregaon- Satara .. .. .	25
Ambernath-Thana .. .. .	21
Total	<u>6,196</u>

*Page 359:*

Shankar Ganesh Lavate, who was the only representative sent by the sanatanists to speak at the meeting and was specially permitted by Gandhi to do so, condemned Gandhi for having started the Harijan movement in



a wrong direction as he was trying to get the Temple Entry Bill passed through coercion and force in the legislature, and ridiculed Gandhi for co-operating with a Government which was once denounced by him as "Satanic". He further said that Sanatanists would oppose the Temple Entry Bill tooth and nail. Gandhi, in reply, said that there was no harm in seeking the help of Government in order to perform the service of Truth, and that he never meant to force the Bill on the Hindu Community. The Harijan Movement, he said, was sort of penance with the object of wiping out untouchability from the Hindu Community. He would not care if the Bill were buried for the want of support from the Hindus. He concluded with his usual observations on Untouchability.

*25 th June 1934.*—The Sanatanists held a protest meeting attended by about 200, when Gandhi's action in accepting the Municipal address was criticised, and the Municipality was condemned for presenting an address against the wishes of all Orthodox citizens of Poona City and Maharashtra. Gandhi went to the Poona City Municipal Hall to receive the address at about 7-30 p.m. but the function was marred by the Bomb Explosion which took place just before his arrival. The address which was read out by Baburao Valvekar contained details of work done by the Municipality for the Depressed Classes and an eulogy of Gandhi's Harijan work. The proceedings were wound up rather hurriedly after Gandhi had spoken for 2 minutes only. The presentation casket to Gandhi fetched Rs. 200 in auction. About 3,000 persons attended the function. Gandhi left Poona at 11 p.m. for Bombay *en route* to Ahmedabad, the crowd at the station and on the Platform numbering not more than 300. The departure was "tame" and unimpressive.

*General Note on Gandhi's visit to Poona.*—Although he collected quite a good amount of money for the object of his tour, there is no indication that Gandhi has succeeded in bringing about any real change in the attitude of the public towards the Untouchables or the problems of Untouchability and Temple Entry. The little enthusiasm that was displayed was from his own followers and was more for the sake of heroworship than for the Harijan cause. The total collections at Poona amounted to about Rs. 14,000, including the proceeds of articles sold at auction and the contributions from Maharashtra districts.

*26th June 1934.*—Gandhi arrived at Ahmedabad by the Kathiawar Express on the 26th evening. A large crowd including a number of Sanatanists had assembled at the railway station and in its neighbourhood. Shortly after Gandhi left the station, some Sanatanists came to blows with some of Gandhi's admirers. They were however dispersed without much trouble.

*Page 360:*

A number of posters were affixed at prominent places by Sanatanists calling on Gandhi to "Leave Ahmedabad". Gandhi went straight to the "Jyoti Bhuvan", Sabarmati, where he spent the night.

*27th June 1934.*—At 6-30 a.m. on the 27th, he granted interviews to the following: Mr. & Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai, Jivanji Ratanji Desai and

Gulzarilal Nanda. At 8 a.m. he attended a private meeting of the Gujarat Harijan Sevak Sangh. The meeting lasted till 10 a.m.

*Page 367, Para. 660:*

M. K. Gandhi arrived in Ahmedabad on 26th June 1934 from Bombay and departed from Ahmedabad on 30th June 1934 for Bhavnagar.

*Page 374, Para. 666:*

S. B., BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA, *July 7*.—The following is a brief account of M. K. Gandhi's visit to Gujarat:—

*26th June 1934*.—At every halting station *en route* to Ahmedabad, crowds gathered round Gandhi's carriage while he stood in the door-way and asked for help towards the Harijan Fund.

At Nadiad he was presented with a purse of 1,000 pices on behalf of local Vanar Sena.

He addressed a meeting of 500 persons at Bulsar and exhorted them to give their quota, as much as they could, first to the Gujarat Peasants Relief Fund and then to the Harijan Fund.

At a meeting held at Baroda, he was presented with an address and a purse of Rs. 1,001 by Abbas Tyabji on behalf of Baroda Harijan Sevak Sangh. Gandhi advocated the removal of Untouchability and asked for contributions to the Peasants Relief Fund.

Collections made by him from Bombay Central to Ahmedabad approximately amounted to Rs. 3,000.

At Ahmedabad, a crowd of about 3,000 persons who were on the platform, greeted him with cries of "Inquilab Zindabad"; outside the station about 4,000 persons had gathered. The local Sanatanists, about 100 strong, and some Sadhus carrying black flags on lathis, were shouting "Sanatan Dharm Ki Jai". A scuffle then ensued in which lathis were freely used and Sanatanists were routed by the mob of Gandhi's supporters. both parties having a few persons injured. Soon after Gandhi left the station, some Congressites pelted the house of a Sanatani leader with stones and the situation would have taken an ugly turn, but for timely arrival of the police on the scene.

*27th June 1934*.—At about 8 a.m. a meeting of the Harijan Sevak Sangh was held at Jyoti Bhavan where Gandhi was residing. The Secretary of the Sangh read out a report of the work done to-date. and demanded financial assistance for building Harijan wells and schools. Gandhi expressed dissatisfaction at the progress made, and said that they should not expect help from the Harijan Fund at this stage, but should try to carry on their work obtaining local help.

At 10 a.m. Chimanlal Girdharlal Parekh and Gordhanbhai Ishwarbhai Patel called on Gandhi in connection with the Textile Mills "wage-cut" arbitration, but he asked them to see him again on 29th June 1934 when he Would express his opinion definitely.

Gandhi was then visited by Dr. Chandulal M. Desai who saw him in connection with relief of peasants in Bardoli, Jambusar and Ras, as nothing had been done for the restoration of their lost property and lands. Gandhi suggested that these sufferers should submit applications to the respective Collectors and to the Commissioner, Northern Division, for redress and await replies before approaching the Congress for taking up the matter.

Gandhi has instructed Harijan workers that in collecting funds, preference should be given to the Gujarat Peasants Relief Fund, and if there be extra money available, it should go to the Harijan Fund.

At 4 p.m. Gandhi addressed a women's meeting in the Krishna Theatre, attended by about 1,000 ladies. He exhorted them to do their best for the removal of Untouchability as they were largely responsible for its nonremoval, being more strict observers of religious scruples than men in this matter. He added that those who contribute to both the Gujarat Peasants Relief Fund and the Harijan Fund may do so, but the former was to be preferred if they could contribute to one fund only. No purse was presented, but a collection taken produced Rs. 200 in cash. It is reported that sum of Rs. 10,000 has been promised by the women of Ahmedabad towards the Gujarat Peasants Relief Fund, but so far nothing is yet forthcoming.

After the usual evening prayers, Gandhi went to Wadaj village, where he visited the Dhed locality and addressed a meeting attended by about 200 people. Bhagwanji of the Sabarmati Ashram laid before him the grievances of Harijans in Wadaj and neighbouring villages: in reply Gandhi said that the grievances simply put the speaker and himself to shame, and advised Harijans to give up drinking liquor and eating carrion and to observe cleanliness.

*Note.*—It is reported that Dr. Chandulal M. Desai advised Gandhi not to visit Surat, Broach or Kaira Districts where there was not only opposition from the Sanatanists but also resentment from the peasants for having been left in the lurch by the Congress. Gandhi, therefore, kept his whole programme for Harijan work at Ahmedabad.

*28th June 1934.*—In the morning, Gandhi accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, A. V. Thakkar, Abbas Tyabji, Miss Mrudula Sarabhai and others, visited the Pritumpur Housing Society and other Harijan localities. He received purses of Rs. 51,25,101 and 21, at four places.

On the whole, Gandhi was very dissatisfied with the Harijan Quarters although the City Municipality had taken care to cleanse the localities with disinfectants for the occasion perhaps for the first time.

Between 12 noon and 2 p.m. Gandhi performed the marriage ceremony of an intercaste couple and received a sum of Rs. 5,000 as a memento from the bride's father for building Harijan wells in Gujarat.

Gandhi then met the Harijan workers of Gujarat and had discussions with them about future work. After hearing about the work done in the

different parts of Gujarat, he expressed absolute dissatisfaction at the work done and said that Gujarat had made but little advance in this connection as compared with other provinces in the country which he had visited. The District Harijan workers asked for financial help from the Central Board, but this was refused by Gandhi who stated that if these Boards were not able to raise funds for their own purpose they should cease to exist.

The total collections of purses from various districts of Gujarat presented at this meeting amounted to Rs. 5,000 including Rs. 3,000 from Kaira alone.

At 4-30 p.m. the Gujarat Swadeshi Sangh held a meeting the audience being mostly youths about 25 or 30 in number., The Swadeshi Sangh was of opinion that definition of "Swadeshi" be laid down as all articles manufactured by 75 per cent. Indian Capital and in which Indian Labour, management and guidance are utilised, and in the Mill Industry, cotton, yarn, wool and silk should necessarily be of Indian make.

Gandhi was vague in his ruling, saying that "Swadeshi" was a term which could not be defined, and that his main idea was to encourage home industries as much as possible because the industries had killed the smaller ones which provided a livelihood for many.

After the usual evening prayers, a collection of barely Rs. 50 was made.

*Page No. 376, Para. 666 (1):*

*29th June 1934.*—A meeting of the Ahmedabad mill-hands and labourers was held at Mirzapur in the compound of Seth Ambalal Sarabhai's residence; it was attended by about 8,000 persons, mostly mill-hands and to make it a success, all mills and workshops were given a holiday in lieu of the following Sunday. Before Gandhi arrived, about 200 members of the Red Flag Union marched to the meeting with Red Flags and bunting bearing communist slogans, under the leadership of Muhammad Yusuf, the General Secretary of the Mills Mazdur Union.

At first this crowd which was mostly composed of Muhammadans was prevented from entering the compound by Congress volunteers, but they forced their way in and freely distributed anti-Gandhi leaflets to the assembly.

When Gandhi arrived, shouts of "Bande Mataram" and "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai" were raised and there was no demonstration from the opposite party who, being insignificant in number, kept quiet during the Meeting, which lasted for about an hour.

Muldas Bhudardas, who is conducting the Harijan Bal Mandir, read out an address on behalf of the Harijans and presented a purse of Rs. 5,001 Collected from the Ahmedabad Harijans. Gandhi thanked the Harijans who were mostly labourers, for the contributions and was pleased to see the large gathering before him after 3 years absence from Ahmedabad. He advised the Harijans to give up caste-distinctions amongst themselves and to leave off eating carrion and drinking liquor.

Muhammad Yusuf then got up to speak and requested Gandhi to hear him for a few minutes and answer some of his questions. He belittled Gandhi saying that though he professed to be a benefactor of the labourers, he had practically done nothing to redress their grievances. Thousands of workers starved during the textile strikes at Cawnpore, Bombay and Sholapur, but not a pie came forth from Gandhi's collections to feed their hungry mouths. He also criticised Gandhi for his indifferent attitude when Government had used all sorts of oppressive measures against the strikers in Bombay. As Muhammad Yusuf continued his speech in this strain Gandhi stopped him from speaking further, and said that the speech was all meaningless. Muhammad Yusuf thereupon sat down and it appeared that the audience relished all that was said against Gandhi, as there was no hooting or any other disturbance from the audience. Gandhi then delivered his speech in which he said that he was exerting himself to help the labour cause as best he could for the past 50 years; the contents of the leaflet issued by Muhammad Yusuf were false allegations made against him to mislead the labourers: he assured the labourers that wherever he had gone, he had always conferred with labour leaders and given them necessary advice and instructions. Though he was not supposed to squander money he was ready to give financial help, if asked, for a proper cause. In refuting the false statement that he was a partisan to capitalism, Gandhi said that he was a believer in the real principles of Communism, but was against the destruction of Capitalism as that would mean the destruction of Labour too. He advised the labourers to organise themselves on the intelligent basis, as this would assist in having their grievances redressed; his main object was to bring about harmony between the Capitalists and Labourers. The meeting then terminated amid loud shouts of "Gandhi Ki Jai".

Apart from Gandhi's own followers who were prominent at the meeting, there was no Sethia or Millowner present. About 2-30 p.m. Gandhi attended a meeting of Harijan workers in Ahmedabad at the Labour Union Office where he gave the usual advice on cleanliness, etc. Thereafter he visited the Girls School where he repeated his usual exhortation to help the Harijan cause.

At 4.30 p.m. Gandhi attended a public meeting which was held in Bhagubhai's Wada under the auspices of the Ahmedabad Harijan Sevak Sangh. About 7,000 persons, mostly high-class people, attended. The President of the Ahmedabad Municipality then read out the address and presented a purse announcing that the total contributions at Ahmedabad reached about Rs. 32,000. Gandhi as usual criticised the Municipality for neglecting the Harijan localities, but was glad that preference had been given to the Gujarat Peasants Relief Fund.

*Note.*—The meeting was devoid of much enthusiasm and people away from the dais were rather disorderly and rowdy on account of which Gandhi was compelled to remark that his voice was being wasted in the meeting.

The contemplated meeting of Gandhi with the leaders of the Mill-owners Association did not come off as several millowners are not anxious to cut wages and bring about a crisis.

*Page 378, Para. 666 (I):*

*30th June 1934.*—At 7 a.m. Gandhi went round inspecting the various departments of the Sabarmati Ashram giving necessary instructions regarding its management and working.

At 1 p.m. Gandhi had an informal discussion with the local Congress Socialists headed by Rohitkumar Hasmatrai Mehta, Arjunlal Bhogilal Lala and 13 others. Gandhi was asked to state why the Congress agreed to the formation of the Socialist Group within the Congress even though it did not agree to the programme adopted by the Socialist Group. He replied that he believed certain items in their programme could well be modified and made adjustable with the programme of the Congress. When asked whether there was any objection to taking part in the classstruggle if the Congress Socialists accept the creed of non-violence as a political expediency like the Congress, Gandhi replied that there was no objection, and that he would support such Congressmen. He admitted that he differed from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but did not express his opinion in explicit terms. As regards the resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Bombay discarding the principle of classwar, Gandhi said that this did not refer to bonafide non-violent Socialists but to those who wanted to overthrow capitalism violently and confiscate private property. He believed that true Democracy was based on fundamental and adult franchise, and wished the Socialists party to carry on their propaganda to educate the masses and develop class-consciousness in them. He was further questioned about the Karachi resolution regarding fundamental rights to which he gave evasive replies and remarked that he would be glad if Congress Socialists of the type gathered strength and took over entire charge of the Congress Organisation.

At 3 p.m. Seth Chimanlal Parekh met Gandhi to thrash out the pending "wage-cut" dispute. Gandhi was of opinion that the present conditions of Ahmedabad Mill Industry did not justify the "wage-cut". Chimanlal, however, insisted that the condition of the mills was so bad that wages should be reduced if that industry was to be saved from ruin, and supported his contention by a reference to Government's report which was in favour of the Millowners who are said to be paying higher wages than any other centres in the Presidency. Gandhi refused to accept this contention saying that the Government report was like the Bible which could be interpreted advantageously both ways.

The meeting proved abortive and it is reported that Gandhi has abandoned the task of being an arbitrator as he had not sufficient time to study this knotty question. At 4 p.m. Gandhi conferred with Gujarat Congress workers about 100 in number. He told them to carry on the constructive Programme which is comprised of Village Organisation, Swadeshi Khaddar and National Education in their respective districts. He said that it was very important to create political consciousness amongst the

masses by educating them in order to make them fit for the national struggle. The meeting terminated at 5-30 p.m.

Gandhi accompanied by Abbas Tyabji, Mrs. Gandhi and 15 others left for Viramgam at 10-30 p.m. A crowd of about 70 persons were at the Sabarmati Station to see him off.

At Viramgam Station about a dozen local leaders received Gandhi on the platform and conducted him to a meeting in the compound of a Ginning Factory. The meeting was attended by about 2,000 people. Gandhi was presented with a purse of Rs. 201 by the Viramgam public. After making his usual speech to the Harijans as regards cleanliness, etc. and encouraging Harijan workers to pursue their task as best they could. Gandhi left Viramgam for Bhavnagar where he is to be the guest of Sir Prabhashanker Pattani.

*General Note on Gandhi's visit to Gujarat.*—Gandhi's Gujarat tour which began on 27th June 1934, ended on 30th June 1934.

The receipt of addresses and purses was his main occupation and his speeches were on the same lines as delivered elsewhere, except that during his stay at Ahmedabad, he tried to placate the Mill-workers by assurances that he would do whatever he could to redress their grievances. He was not satisfied with the general Harijan work in Gujarat, which in his opinion did not come up to that of Maharashtra where Harijan work was being carried on in the face of much opposition.

Requests for financial help from the Harijan fund wherever put forward by Harijan workers were refused by Gandhi on the ground that funds for the purpose should be raised locally.

Gandhi had to omit important districts in Gujarat owing to the strong resentment felt by the peasants and farmers who suffered heavy losses in the last Civil Disobedience Campaign, but appealed everywhere he went for financial help towards the Gujarat Peasants Relief Fund. Total amount of collections made in this tour is approximately Rs. 46,000.

(2) S. B., BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA, JULY 5.—M. K. Gandhi and his party passed through Viramgam Junction *en route* to Sind on 4th July 1934. He travelled in a Bhavnagar State Saloon which was to go upto Mehsana Junction.

There was no demonstration at all at Viramgam station. Gopaldas Ambaidas, ex-Talukdar of Dhassa, and about half-a-dozen local men were present at the Station to receive Gandhi. The first thing Gandhi asked Gopaldas was about Villabhbhai's health in Nasik Jail, to which Gopaldas replied that it was neither good nor bad.

Mithuben Petit and other workers who had accompanied Gandhi to Kathiawar have gone to their respective places, but Abbas Tyabji has gone with him to Mehsana.

*Page 389, Para. 683:*

SIND C. I. D., JULY 7.—Gandhi entered Sind *via* Gadro. About 30 Hindus including 13 Harijans headed by Dhalumal Kishinchand greeted him. The Sanatanists element was conspicuous by its absence. He was presented with a purse.

At Chhor, the next halt, about 100 Hindus headed by Dr. Watanmal and Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas welcomed him, and he was presented with a purse.

At Dhoru Naro, 300 persons were present and a purse was presented.

At Shadipalli, he was met by about 400 Hindus who presented a purse.

At Mirpurkhas, a regular meeting was arranged for his welcome. Details of this are not to hand. Here also he received a purse.

Paltry amounts were handed over to him at Kamaro Sharif and Rahuki.

At Mirani, about 50 Hindus were present on the arrival of the train, prominent among them being Dr. Choitram P. Gidwani and Tahilram Basarmal Aswani. He detrained here and was taken to Hyderabad by motor. A meeting was held in the Holmstead Hall at which the attendance was about 8,000. Gandhi exhorted the people, especially women, to protect their religion and save themselves from sin by removing untouchability from their midst. He was presented with a purse and again entrained at Hyderabad. The prominent people who met Gandhi's party were: Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas, Dr. Choitram P. Gidwani, Tahilram Basarmal Aswani, Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani, Professor Ghanshamdas Jethanand Shivdasani, Dr. Chimandas Issardas Jagtiani, Hassomal Issardas Makhijani. About 200 persons assembled to see him off.

The next half was at Kotri. Here about 300 persons assembled, prominent amongst them being Hoondraj Mulchand Parwani. He was presented with a purse.

The train halted at Jhimpir, Jungshahi and Dabeji where petty contributions were made to the Harijan Fund.

At Malir when the train halted, Gandhi detrained and was brought to Karachi by motor. About 200 Congress and Harijan workers were present to receive him. Besides this, about 300 sightseers had also collected. Prominent amongst those who received him were: Jamshed N. R. Mehta, R. K. Shidwa, A. T. Gidwani, Jethi Sipaimalani, Kikiben, wife of Chabbaldas Lalwani, Santdas, Lakhmidas Naraindas, Naraindas Anandji Bechar, Swami Krishnanand Bhumanand, Swami Govindanand, Shivram Matalji Chavan, Lalji Radamohan Mahotra, R. B. Shivrattan Mohatta, Durgadas B. Advani, Gover Roora, M. L. C., Bhadrashankar M. Bhatt.

Gandhi along with R. B. Shivrattan Mohatta and Gover Roora, M.L.C., took their seats in one car, the rest following in procession. On the road the procession was stopped and Gandhi was garlanded. Gandhi was taken straight to the Sharda Mandir, Karachi.



At 6-30 p.m. he attended the first public function in Karachi, viz., the presentation of an address by the Karachi Municipality. The weather was threatening, but in spite of this about 15,000 persons (the Sind Observer estimate the number at 30,000) were present. The arrangements at the function were faulty, the loudspeakers having failed. The usual stereotyped address extolling Gandhi and his work for the uplift of Untouchables was read by the Mayor and the address printed on fine khadi, encased in a silver casket was presented to him. An attempt was made to auction the casket and the starting price Rs. 100 was not exceeded. Gandhi demurred to parting with the casket at that price. The prominent persons present at these functions, besides the Managing Committee of the Municipality, were: Haji Abdulla Haroon, M.L.A., Ghulam Hussan Kassim, Hatim A. Alavi, G. G. Chagla, Ghulam Hussain Ghafoorbhai, Maulvi Mohamed Siddik, Hafiz Nasir Ahmad Atta Mahomed, Maulvi Fateh Mahomed Shewani. Amongst Sikhs the following were noticed: Santsingh, son of Sundersingh, Jaswantsingh, son of Maluksingh, Partabsingh, son of Ravelsingh, Indersingh, son of Bhamsingh.

A few Europeans, Christians, Jews and Parsis were also noticed but these were drawn there more from curiosity than actual interest in the proceedings.

*Contributions to Gandhi's Purse.*

										Rs.	a	P.
Gadro	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38	8	0
Chhor										44	0	0
Dhoro Naro ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	64	7	3
Shadipali ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	101	0	0
Mirpurkhas ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	260	0	0
Jamesabad ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	125	0	0
Kamaro Sharif	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	0	0
Rahuki	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	0	0
Hyderabad ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,500	0	0
Kotri ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	225	0	0
Jhimpir	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	0	0
Jungshahi ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	0	0
Dabeji ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	12	0
Total										4,438	11	3

*Appreciation.*

All along the route, the Harijans, who should naturally have been primarily interested in the visit, failed to respond. Even at the presentation of the Municipal address at Karachi this section did not appear in any noticeable numbers.

The Congress element has taken this opportunity to boost itself and is determined to be in the limelight.

The incident of the failure at the auction of the silver casket after it had been presented to Gandhi speaks volumes. Reports have already been made that the public are not over-generous in their subscriptions to Gandhi's purse.

The Sanatanists element has not made any demonstration against Gandhi.

*8th July 1934.*—From 7-30 a.m. to 8 a.m. there was a meeting of the Harijan Sevak Sangh at the Sharda Mandir. A report of the work done by the Sangh for the removal of Untouchability was read and discussion took place as to how to ameliorate the condition of Harijans not only in Karachi but in the whole of Sind. Congress and Harijan workers were well represented at this meeting.

From 8-15 a.m. to 9-15 a.m. Gandhi was present at a private meeting of Sind Congress Workers which took place in the Khalikdina Hall. About 300 persons were present inside the Hall and 200 others thronged the verandahs. Gandhi stipulated at the very commencement of the meeting that none should take any notes of what he said. He told them that the removal of Untouchability was the foremost constructive work that they had to do, and that the widespread production and use of Khadi would result in retaining large sums of money in India and providing work for the unemployed and poor classes. He was asked what should be done when Muslims kidnapped Hindu women and children. He told them that Hindus should regain possession of the kidnapped persons even by using force, adding that violence in self-defence was not only permissible but preferable to emasculation of the nation. He told them that Congress was meant for all classes, *viz.*, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsis. He said he had no faith in Council Entry but at the same time he would not oppose anyone entering the Councils.

Not much enthusiasm was displayed by the workers and others attending this meeting.

The next function that Gandhi attended was the laying of the foundationstone of the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association Building. The attendance numbered about 2,500 with a few Muslims and Sikhs. Gandhi laid the foundation-stone amidst cries of "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai". He was presented with a silver trowel and pan by the Indian Merchants Association. In the course of his speech Gandhi told those assembled that he had come among them to collect funds for the uplift of the poor classes and expressed the hope that they would not send him back empty-handed. He then auctioned several articles including the trowel and the pan and the silver articles given to him at Hyderabad.

At 3-30 p.m. Gandhi, accompanied by Kaka Kalelkar, Naraindas Anandji Bechar, Rao Bahadur Shivrattan Mohatta, A. T. Gidwani, Manilal J. Vyas, Dr. Tarachand J. Lalwani, Poona Mamaya and D. D. Chowdhari, proceeded on a tour of the various Harijan quarters in Karachi.

At 6 p.m. Gandhi attended a public meeting organised by the Harijan Sevak Sangh on the Rambagh Recreation Ground. The attendance was about 10,000. R. B. Shivrattan Mohatta opened the proceedings by extolling Gandhi's services and presented him with a purse of Rs. 11,000. Gandhi thanked the people for the purse and impressed upon them the cogent necessity of eradicating the evil of Untouchability from India. He then started auctioning some articles which had been presented to him. During the auction Gandhi saw a small boy who was wearing a gold locket round his neck. He stretched out his arms and invited the boy to come up on the dais. The boy's parent lifted him up on the dais. Gandhi patted the child under the chin and then removed the locket from his neck and calmly proceeded to auction it. One Moganlal Tekchand, a Commissioner's Darbari of Dadu District, purchased the locket for Rs. 15 and handed over a fifty-rupee note in payment, asking for the balance. Gandhi declined to give him the change and began poking fun at the purchaser who was compelled from sheer shame to forego his money and sit down. Gandhi's next victim was an old lady of about 70 years whom he invited on the dais. After patting her on the head he tried to dispossess her of a gold ring, but she stoutly refused to part with it and resisted his attempts to remove it forcibly. These incidents did not tend to create a healthy impression on the public and the meeting ended in chaos in spite of Gandhi's and Swami Krishnanand's entreaties. The volunteers, who were collecting money, met with a poor response. Rs. 50 are reported to have been collected.

At this meeting some students of the D. J. Sind College were also noticed collecting money. It is said that they have asked Gandhi to unveil Tilak's photograph in the college on the 10th July 1934 and that Gandhi has consented to do so only provided he is given a purse of at least Rs. 1,000. The students being unable to raise this amount themselves have started collecting from the public.

*Contributions to Gandhi's Purse.*

	Rs.
Silver tray purchased by R. B. Shivrattan Mohatta .. .. .	800
Silver box purchased by one Girdharlal .. .. .	100
Silver pan and trowel purchased by Indian Merchants' Association .. .. .	1,000
Silver Charka purchased by Harilal Chaturbhuj .. .. .	101
A Khadi Garland purchased by Hiralal Shivilal Sharma .. .. .	201
Miscellaneous (cash, ornaments, etc.) .. .. .	397
Purse from Sind Harijan Sevak Sangh .. .. .	11,000
Sale of articles at meeting .. .. .	116
Collection at meeting .. .. .	50
Total	13,765

*Application.*

The functions at which Gandhi was present to-day were not attended by Harijans. The large attendance at the public meeting was due more to the fact that it was Sunday than to any great regard for Gandhi.

The Muslims as a class are not interested in the visit.

The Sanatanists element has consistently kept aloof from participating in these functions.

Gandhi's methods of collecting money appear to be rather objectionable and may possibly cause resentment.

*Page 404, Para. 700:*

SIND C.I.D. JULY 10.—Owing to his day of silence Gandhi did not leave his residence at Clifton. He, however, granted interviews to several Congress and Harijan workers in the course of the day. A Sanatanist named Teju, son of Nebhandas, armed with an axe, came to interview Gandhi. He was disarmed by the Police. He was told that he may interview Gandhi at the Sharda Mandir on the 10th July. About 300 women and 400 men joined Gandhi at evening prayer.

*Appreciation.*

Sanatanists opinion is that the enthusiasm created by Gandhi's visit will wane in about a month and things will then go on in the same groove as before. Sanatanists maintain their policy of aloofness but have not made any demonstrations against Gandhi.

Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi met about 30 women at the house of Miss Jethi Sipahimalani. Several of these women had been convicted in the Civil Disobedience Movement.

On Tuesday she met the women of the Mahila Mandal, Ranchore Lines, and addressed them. She was presented with a purse of Rs. 51 for Gandhi's Harijan Fund. Later, she visited Mrs. Keshavji Valji, who is reported to be on her death-bed, and had expressed a wish to have the *darshan* of Mahatma Gandhi. She received Rs. 147 from this lady and some of those who were present on the spot subscribed about Rs. 100 more and presented her with some ornaments.

*10th July 1934.*—At about 7 a.m. Gandhi gave an interview to about 100 Harijans at the Sharda Mandir. They told him that owing to debt many Harijans have lost their lands, and pleaded for statutory safeguards on the lines of the Punjab Land Alienation Act by which they will not be deprived of their lands. Gandhi is believed to have appreciated the proposal but said that nothing could be done without Government co-operation. He advised them to abstain from liquor and avoid extravagance.

Among the several persons who visited him at the Sharda Mandir was a Mrs. E. Harker, reported to be of British nationality. She has been in Karachi for about 6 months. She and her daughter Mrs. Moore were the two ladies who are reported to have spoken to Gandhi at Mohatta Palace

on the evening of 8th July. Yar Muhammad Khan, the Afghan Consul at Karachi, accompanied by Amin Jan and Ahmed Jan, his clerks, wished to see Gandhi in the course of the day but could not do so as he was asleep.

Gandhi visited the D. J. Sind College at 9 a.m. in order to unveil the photograph of the late Vithalbhai Patel. About 2,000 persons consisting of students of the three colleges and some visitors were present. Gandhi's work in the cause of the Harijans was eulogised. A song advocating Swadeshi was sung by a Sindhi girl. Two purses aggregating to Rs. 687-8-0 were presented to him on behalf of the students. Addressing the students he stressed upon them the necessity of acquiring education not with a view to obtaining lucrative appointments, but in order to be able to help the poor and needy. He advised them to stop imitating the Western people, not because he condemns the Western people, but for economic reasons. Lastly, he said that he expected every student to devote some of his time at least in the service of Harijans. He then auctioned several articles presented to him and realised Rs. 99.

The students were very enthusiastic in their reception of Gandhi; about 200 or 300 lady students were present.

In the evening Gandhi attended a public meeting of women on the Rambagh Recreation Ground. The police estimate of the number of women present is about 2,000, consisting of Hindu Amils, Punjabi Hindus, with a sprinkling of Muslim Cutchis and Harijans. About 1,000 men were also present outside the enclosure where the women were. Gandhi spoke for about 10 minutes and impressed upon the women that it was up to them to discard their prejudices against the Untouchables and relied upon their co-operation in the cause of Harijans.

After this a collection was made which realised about Rs. 700 in cash and ornaments worth about Rs. 300.

*Contributions to Gandhi's Purse.*

							Rs.
Through Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi about..	..	..	..	..	..	..	350
At the College about	..	..	..	..	..	..	790
From Shikarpuri residents about	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,001
At the women's meeting about ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,000
Total							<u>4,141</u>

*Appreciation.*

There can be no doubt that Gandhi has scored successfully as far as students and women are concerned. At the same time one may reason that this success is due to the fact of his presence in Karachi and it is left to be seen whether the enthusiasm created will continue after his departure. In the matter of funds also Gandhi has collected much more than was anticipated he would get under existing circumstances.

The sanatanist element has not thus far done anything overt against Gandhi.

Gandhi has issued a statement to the Press that he intends entering upon a 7 days' fast at the end of his tour in order to atone for the short-comings of his adherents who assaulted the Sanatanist's leader, Pandit Lalnath at Ajmer. The news of this resolve has caused a stir in political circles.

In the evening accompanied by Kaka Kalelkar, Mrs. Gandhi attended a ladies' meeting held in the Shivajee Moorarji Girls' School, Nanakwara. About 200 women were present. Kaka Kalelkar addressed the women and told them that it was not enough to give money for the Harijan cause but what was required was to show love towards the Harijans and bring them into the Hindu fold.

Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi exhorted them to give effect to Gandhi's request and show kindly feelings for Harijans. She then appealed for funds and Rs. 29 were collected.

*11th July 1934.* -Gandhi's programme for the 11th started with a meeting of the Executive Board of the Sind Harijan Sevak Sangh. The work done by the Sangh during the past 18 months was recapitulated for Gandhi's benefit. A discussion arose as to how the money collected by Gandhi from Sind was to be used and how much the Sind Harijan Sevak Sangh would get. Gandhi replied that this question would be decided after the conclusion of the tour by the Central Board and he would place the Sind Harijan Sevak Sangh's demand for 78 per cent of the collection before the Board.

Gandhi next interviewed Hindu journalists led by K. Punniiah. Muslim Press was not represented. Punniiah tried to dissuade him from attempting another fast but was unsuccessful. On being questioned as to his views on Sind Separation, Gandhi replied that the answer could not be given before 3rd August. When the Communal Award was touched upon, Gandhi replied that he believed in the correctness of the All-India Congress Working Committee's resolution, but he would go any length to retain the co-operation of Pandit Malaviya and others. Gandhi then appealed to the Press to devote some space for the Harijan cause. He was presented with a purse of Rs. 30 collected on the spot.

Gandhi next visited the Harijan Handicraft Institute. After inspecting the place he expressed his pleasure at the work done there.

Gandhi again granted interviews to various persons. Among Muslims he saw Sheikh Abdul Majid, M. L. C, Maulavi Muhammad Siddiq, Hafiz Nasir Ahmad and Hassanali Mir Muhammad Baloch.

Yar Muhammad Khan, the Afghan Consul, came to see him but was asked to see him at 3 p.m. but he did not return.

A private meeting of Congress was held in the Sharda Mandir in the evening at which Gandhi was present. About 60 workers attended. Swami Krishnanand raised the point why persons who did not wear khadi

regularly were admitted to such functions. Gandhi replied that he was democratic and it was wise to adopt a liberal policy. He, however, agreed that such persons should be clad in Khadi. Replying to a question regarding electing Municipal Councillors, he said that votes should be given to Congress workers and the communal basis should be eliminated. It was pointed out that certain persons joined Congress circles with the intention of betraying Congress secrets. Gandhi advised them that if they knew of such persons, they should make a report to the higher Congress authorities and have them removed. Replying to a query regarding what action should be taken to counter-Muslim aggressiveness, Gandhi suggested that attempts should be made to win them over. Usman Hamid asked a question regarding the non-removal of the ban on the Red Shirts of the Frontier, but Gandhi vouchsafed no answer.

Gandhi next visited the Jehangir Rajkotwalla Bagh where 700-800 Parsis had assembled under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkiya Mandal. R. K. Shidwa related the work done by the Mandal in the national cause for the past 4 years, and presented him with a purse of Rs. 351. Gandhi thanked the Mandal for its service in the national cause and asked the Parsis not to enter the liquor trade and to propagate the use of Khadi. He also asked its help in the Harijan cause. Further subscriptions amounting to Rs. 75 were collected and a ring belonging to Jamshed N. R. Mehta was auctioned for Rs. 100. The proceedings terminated with the singing of the "Bande Mataram" song.

Gandhi left Karachi for Lahore by the Lahore Mail at 8-40 p.m. (11 July). Beside the members of his own party, Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani and Kaka Kalelkar accompanied him. Thirty volunteers of the Arya Sevak Dal made arrangements for the departure. About 500 persons saw him off amidst cries of "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai". At the platform also he appealed for money and some rings and other ornaments were given to him.

*Contributions to Gandhi's Purse.*

										Rs.
Through Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
From Joarnalists ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
From Parsis ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	526
Total										<u>576</u>

*Appreciation.*

Gandhi has been well received by the Congress and Harijan workers, and he has collected money far in excess of what was anticipated. It is too early to attempt to forecast the ultimate result of his visit. At any rate for the time being a certain amount of increased enthusiasm in both Congress and Harijan workers is apparent.

*12th July 1934.*—At the various stopping stations in Sind small crowds collected to see Gandhi. At Kotri, Hyderabad, Tando Adam, Shahdadpur, Nawabshah, Khairpur Mirs, and Rohri the numbers that attended

are reported to be 300, 400, 600, 500, 150, 500 and 3,000 respectively. The crowds are reported to have been keen on seeing Gandhi but chary of parting with money. Collections were however made as under:—

										Rs.	a.	P.
Debheji	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	0	0
Jungshahi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	4	0
Jhimpir	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	0	0
Hyderabad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	0	0
Tando Adam	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	0	0
Shahdadpur..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	150	0	0
Khairpur Mirs	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	0	0
*Kohri..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	908	0	0
Total										1,086	4	0

*Contributions to Gandhi's Purse.*

										Rs.
7th inward	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,440
8th Karachi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15,765
10th Karachi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,141
11th Karachi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	583
At Prayer Meetings	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	500
Rao Bahadur Shivrattan Mohatta	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,100
Further subscriptions	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	700
Outward journey	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,086

\* Including purse of p.s. 840 from Sukkur.

Gandhi has thus taken away approximately Rs. 28,000 from Sind.

*General Note on Gandhi's Visit to Sind.*—Gandhi's visit to Sind has undoubtedly given a fillip to the Congress agitation.

Women have also come under his magic spell and the younger generation will no doubt work in the interests of Harijans, but it is questionable whether the older generation will succumb to his plausible utterances.

Sanatanists Hindus as a whole (excepting a few of the reformed school of thought) boycotted every function organised for Gandhi's benefit. They carefully avoided any demonstrations against him, except that a few leaflets were issued just prior to and during Gandhi's stay here declaiming against Gandhi and his methods.

The Muslim element, with the exception of the few Congress workers among them, took no interest in his visit. A few political agitators, however, called upon him with a view to ascertaining Gandhi's views on such matters of moment as Sind Separation and the White Paper and the Communal Award.

A very few Sikhs were noticed participating in the functions arranged for Gandhi, and these are irresponsible people of no status. The considered opinion of the thinking Sikh is that Gandhi has exploited the term Harijan and that the fund he has now collected will not be used in the



Harijan cause but will get the way of the previous Khilafat and Congress Funds.

The Harijan element itself is without doubt complacent at the result of Gandhi's work. This must be expected since they stand to get something for nothing.

*Page 438, Para 758:*

M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bhusawal on 5th August 1934 from Benares and left Bhusawal on 5th August 1934 for Wardha.

*Page 477, Para 827:*

S. B. BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA, SEPTEMBER 7.—Information has

been received that the Central Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh decided at a meeting held at Benares on 1st August 1934 that (except in the case of the Cities of Bombay and Calcutta) 75 per cent. of the amounts so collected should be spent in the areas where they were collected.

Below is the list of approximate amounts of collections made by M. K. Gandhi during his Harijan tour:—

British India—										Rs.	Rs.
Madras Presidency	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,09,500	
Bombay Presidency	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,53,000	
Bengal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	75,000	
United Provinces (including purpose)									Rs. 9,000 for a specific	63,300	
Punjab	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	51,550	
Bihar and Orissa	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35,100	
Central Provinces	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	75,450	
Assam	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18,000	
North-West Frontier Province			..	..	..	..	..	..	..	800	
Sind	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26,300	
Delhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,550	
Ajmer-Merwara	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,700	
Coorg..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,100	
Bangalore	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16,950	
											7,42,300
<i>Indian States—</i>											
Mysore	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,400	
Hyderabad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,500	
Madras State and French India	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,600	
Western Indian States (including Rajputana)									Rs. 5,000 from Mumbasa).	45,700	
Punjab States	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,300	
										3,600	82,100
Grand Total											8,44,400

*Page 570, Para 999:*

BOMBAY CITY S. B., OCTOBER 20.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay by Nagpur Mail from Wardha on 20th October. He alighted at the Matunga Railway Station and drove straight to Worli where a special hut had been erected for him near the Subjects Committee pandal of the Congress. Abul Kalam Azad and Jamnalal Bajaj came with him. Immediately after Gandhi's arrival, Vallabhabhai Patel, K. F. Nariman, K. M. Munshi, Nagindas T. Master, Bhulabhai J. Desai and I. S. Patel saw him.

*Page 576, Para 1002:*

Meeting of the Subjects Committee of the 48th Session of the Indian National Congress on 23rd October 1934. Gandhi's retirement from Congress.

Before Rajendra Prasad could proceed with the regular business of the meeting, M. K. Gandhi assumed control of the meeting for about an hour. He spoke in Hindi and in English on the question of his retirement. He said that he wished to retire from the Congress and invited blessings from the members of the All-India Congress Committee. He assured them that he was not leaving in a huff but he was going out of the Congress only to enable the Congress to grow to its full and natural height and stature. He was convinced that his presence was like a dead-weight on the Congress which, not being able to express itself freely, had become an artificial body. The last few months had shown that Congressmen could not purge themselves of artificiality, corruption and an overpowering desire to wrangle among themselves. His object in leaving them was to train the Congress to depend on itself and to develop the power of true non-violence in thought, word and deed. Civil resistance, he continued, was another form of non-violence and he was convinced that it was impossible for India to attain "Purna Swaraj" without civil resistance or non-violence. He wanted the spirit of non-violent civil resistance to permeate the whole of society. His knowledge of history he added had shown him that no nation had achieved liberty purely by constitutional means. He linked civil resistance with the spinning-wheel, with the Hindu-Muslim Unity (not a mere patched up pact) and to removal of untouchability. If in the absence of those necessary adjuncts, he had launched his campaign it was only as an experiment and he had no hesitation in withdrawing it when he realised that actual experience was to the contrary. But the country had lost nothing thereby. If they had nonviolence in them, let them, prove that the proof of the pudding was in the eating. Then he would come back from Mount Everest or the bowels of the earth to lead them again. It was clear that they did not have nonviolence in them, for, if they had, the Ordinances would not have been thrown at them or they would have proved ineffective. The fact that the message of the Charkha, Hindu-Muslim Unity and the removal of untouchability had not sufficiently impressed them, had proved that they had imbibed the real spirit of non-violence. Indeed, they found it necessary to devise an elaborate machinery simply to keep the Congress

clear of corruption, greed and selfishness. There was no chance of success, he finally said until downright honesty and downright non-violence became natural to them. Perhaps he was expecting too much from human nature, but he pleaded guilty to that charge. He appealed to the Subjects Committee to let him go with its blessings and not plead with him to stay. He did not come to them in a bargaining spirit. He refused to be held down by force even if it was the force of love.

Several members of the Subjects Committee after hearing the above statement, appealed to him not to desert them. "What shall we do without you was the burden of their speeches". B. C. Muzumdar from Bengal doubted whether the Congress without Mr. Gandhi's guidance, would have enough non-violence to meet "the naked violence of Government". Ranchod Gandhi urged the "dictator to go on furlough for a period of two years only". G. N. *alias* Balukaka Kanitkar appealed to Gandhi to leave the Congress with a clean slate otherwise his followers would practise the same autocracy that had prevailed all these years. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made an impassioned speech in Hindi saying that it was not proper for the General to desert his army when the battle had not been won. What the Congress was today, he said was mostly due to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress could ill-afford to spare him. Mr. Gandhi, he added, had no right to leave them without training his followers in his methods and without chalking out for them a course of action to pursue.

After hearing several speakers, Gandhi again spoke in Hindi reaffirming that he was compelled by the dictates of his conscience to leave the Congress. He felt that the reins were slipping out of his hands and that he was unfit to lead them any more. He felt that he was a useless deadweight oppressing the Congress. There was no fear of the Parliamentary Party's election campaign suffering on account of his exist because he was sure, the voters would choose Congress candidates if only in the hope of thereby bringing him back to the Congress.

After Gandhi concluded his statement, he showed little interest in the proceedings and began to spin on his charkha. He did not attend the meeting after tea.

*Page 580, Para. 1002:*

Congress Subjects Committee.—The Subjects Committee of the Congress met at 2 p.m. on 24th October in the special pandal at Worli. About 200 members of the All-India Congress Committee and 400 visitors attended.

At the outset R. K. Sidhwa of Karachi asked the President what had become of the resolution of which he had given notice the previous day about Mr. Gandhi's retirement from the Congress. The President replied that he had received many similar notices on the same subject, but they could not be taken up for want of the prescribed 10 day's notice and ordinarily the Subjects Committee had first to dispose of the resolutions tabled by the Working Committee.

*Page 582, Para. 1002:*

M. K. Gandhi then moved the following resolution;—

"The All-India Village Industries Association.—Whereas organisations claiming to advance Swadeshi have sprung up all over the country with and without the assistance of Congressmen and whereas much confusion has arisen in the public mind as to the true nature of Swadeshi and whereas the aim of the Congress had been from its inception progressive identification with the masses and whereas village reorganisation and reconstruction is one of the items in the constructive programme of the Congress and whereas such reconstruction necessarily implies revival and encouragement of dead or dying village industries besides the central industry of hand-spinning and whereas this work like the reorganisation of hand-spinning, is possible only through concentrated and special effort unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress, J. C. Kumarappa is hereby authorised to form, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji, an association called the All-India Village Industries Association as part of the activities of the Congress. The said Association will be for the moral and physical advancement of the village, and shall have power to frame its own constitution, to raise funds and to perform such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects. "

*Page 582, Para. 1002:*

In moving the resolution, Gandhi said in Hindi that in his recent tours he had come into contact with the Indian masses and found that the economic distress prevailing in the country was far more acute than it was ten years ago. The peasants were unable to earn anything from agriculture. Crores and crores of rupees worth of gold was sold by the Indians and it has been exported. The peasants were forced to part with their metallic hoardings. They had become more and more helpless from the time they had given up manual labour. He had read an article on "Indian Poverty" in a Socialist paper and the facts and figures in that article had made him think furiously on the question of unemployment and poverty. The charkha had provided work to about 2,20,000 persons but that did not touch the fringe of the problem. There was time when India could boast of good carpenters but at present there was not an Indian carpenter who could make a charkha. With the help of the charkha alone they could put 7 crores into the pockets of the villagers thereby saving 7 crores from being sent to foreign countries. His effort in undertaking the village work through the Village Industries Association was to provide work for the workers and food for the hungry. He would not bargain with the villagers that he would find work for them and they should in turn support his political programme.

*Page 584, Para. 1002:*

After other speakers had spoken on the resolution, Gandhi then replied to the various questions that had arisen from the discussion. He said that the work of the Association would be to revive the industries that were ruined or dead or in the state of dying. The work as to which

of those industries should be revived and which should be allowed to die was left to the association. It was not his intention to exploit the villagers. It was to help them. He wanted to increase the earning capacity of the villagers with the help of those who were well off. He said that he was surprised to find that a man of the type of T. Prakasham supported the amendment of Muzumdar. He (Gandhi) wanted to assure the Subjects Committee that the duty of Congressmen going into the Legislature did not end by merely going there. They would certainly be expected to work for the Industries Association although the Association would have no connection with politics. Congressmen would go to the villages to bring about an economic awakening. Those speakers, who wanted the new association to be under the control of the Congress, seemed to forget that the All-India Spinners Association, which was started by the Congress, was not declared unlawful by Government although all the other organisations connected with the Congress were declared so. That was due, he said, to the non-political character of the association. Referring to Govind Sahay's opposition to the resolution, he explained that he was exploiting the capitalists for the benefit of the poor. If anybody was under the impression that he was taking money from them with a view to giving them something in return it was a wrong impression. He was more with the labourers than the capitalists. He only wanted the villagers to be economically independent so that they could never be exploited by the capitalists.

All the amendments were put to the vote and declared lost by a show of hands. The original resolution of Gandhi was carried by an overwhelming majority, only 7 voting against.

*Page 597, Para. 1003:*

BOMBAY CITY S. B., OCTOBER 23.—The Working Committee of the Indian States People's Conference passed the following resolution on October 20th under the presidency of L. R. Tairsee:—

"The Working Committee of the Indian States People's Conference welcomes the assurance conveyed to the Committee by M. K. Gandhi in his letter dated 9th October 1934 from Wardha that the States people are an integral part of the Indian Nation and that they were all one although they were under different systems of Government. The Committee welcomes the assurance given by M. K. Gandhi and requests that Indian National Congress to instruct its Working Committee to concede to the people of Indian States the same equal rights in the composition of the Constituent Assembly as will be given to the people of British India."

*Page 606, Para. 1025:*

M. K. Gandhi, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Dr. Khansaheb, Abul Kalam Azad departed from Bombay on 29th October 1934 to Wardha.

*Page 607, Para. 1027 (5):*

BOMBAY CITY S. B., OCTOBER 23.—Under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Congress Parliamentary Board,

a public meeting was held on the Esplanade Maidan on October 22nd to celebrate the first death anniversary of the late Vithalbhai J. Patel. About 10,000 people attended the meeting. Dr. M. A. Ansari presided.

The President, M. K. Gandhi, Abdul Gaffar Khan, C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Sayed Mahmood and Sardul Singh Kaveeshver made speeches eulogising the services of the late Vithalbhai J. Patel to the cause of India's freedom. They appealed to the audience as a mark of appreciation and tribute to his memory to return the Congress candidates to the Legislative Assembly where he had fought for India's freedom.

M. K. Gandhi in the course of his speech said that Vithalbhai Patel was a tough fighter and a great patriot. He appealed to the audience to contribute liberally to his memorial fund in appreciation of the great services rendered by him for the cause of the country.

*Page 608, Para. 1029:*

BOMBAY CITY S. B., OCTOBER 26—Congress Working Committee.--The Working Committee of the Congress met again in Gandhi's hut on the 25th when the following members were present:—

M. K. Gandhi, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Sayed Mahmood, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani, K. F. Nariman, Abul Kalam Azad,

The Working Committee went through the allegations which were made by Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal against the All-India Spinners' Association in giving unfair treatment to the Murshidabad Silk Factory and came to the conclusion that the allegations were false. It authorised Babu Rajendra Prasad to refute all the charges against the All-India Spinners' Association. The Working Committee also approved of the new Congress Constitution by accepting most of the suggestions made by Mr. Gandhi in his statement of 15th October 1934. There is a good deal of change regarding the composition of the All-India Congress Committee membership, Provincial Congress Committees and the delegates to the Congress.

*Congress Subjects Committee.*—The subjects Committee met again at 3 p.m. on the 25th October 1934. The attendance was almost the same as on the previous day.

The day's debate in the Subjects Committee clearly revealed that Mr. Gandhi's lieutenants had lost their hold on the rank and file of the Congress. Even an impartial observer could see that there was fierce opposition to the proposals made by the Working Committee regarding the Congress creed, Spinning or labour franchise and khaddar clause. This opposition was partly due to Mr. Gandhi's desire to allow full freedom of voting and partly due to speeches in high-flown Urdu and Hindi which many delegates did not understand. The postponement of the discussion of the question of the Congress creed to the next session of the Congress was tantamount to a defeat of the Working Committee. Taking a lesson from this defeat the Working Committee put forward C. Rajagopalachari to explain the other two resolutions on the spinning franchise and the

khaddar clause with the desired result of bringing round the members of the Subjects Committee to the Congress point of view. Mr. Gandhi remained throughout an unconcerned but amused spectator.

*Page 617 para. 1029*— Congress Subjects Committee meeting on 26th October 1934, Bombay.

(After "Labour Franchise" and "Communal Award" resolutions were over Shri S. K. Patil proposed that Shri R. K. Sidhwas', resolution about Mr. Gandhi's retirement should be accorded priority. R, K. Sidhwa, J. C. Chatterjee and Ganga Singh spoke on the resolution).

Mr. Gandhi then made a statement on the question of his retirement. He reiterated many of the points that he had advanced in his statement of October 15th necessitating his retirement. He thanked the Committee for the unanimous resolution which they had passed out of their affection for him. When they had given him the position of a general of an army, they must allow him to judge for himself whether he should serve the army and lead it or whether he should retire making room for another. It was not always the wisest thing for the General to cling to power of office although it might have come to him unsought. It was because there were occasions when Generals had been found to consider themselves unable to hold the reins of office and although the army might have insisted upon their remaining in command, in the interests of the army and of the cause for which they were fighting, they gave up the command. There was no feeling of defeat in him nor should they take it that he was deserting them. He confessed that he had come to the end of his resources. He also confessed that he had not lost faith in the efficacy of the means that he had placed at the disposal of the Congress. He, however, felt that there was a body of opinion rising in the country which had begun to question the efficacy of those means because a sense of defeat seemed to have overcome them. He repeated that in the dictionary of a Satyagrahi there was no such word as defeat. He asked for the blessings of the Congress so that in his search of greater power he could discover means whereby he could give them the faith that was in him. If in his solitude he found that he was wrong in his calculations, he would not wait to be told by them. He would certainly come back to them. He asked the Committee not to be dispirited. He appealed to them not to disturb him in the resolution that he had taken as somehow or other some good would come out of his decision.

As mentioned above, the Working Committee had prevailed upon Mr. Gandhi to move his own resolution regarding the Congress Constitution. After the above speech was over he made another lengthy speech on the 26th before the Subjects Committee in favour of the new constitution. He said he had put up his soul into these amendments and that they would spell nothing but good to the Congress. He himself was the author of the old Congress Constitution and now when he was about to retire he was tendering a humble gift to the Congress so that they could get the fruits of the judgement of a man who had endeavoured to keep the constitution alive but discovered flaws in it. If his Constitution was

passed without even the change of comma, he would certainly be rejoiced. Pointing out the drawbacks in the old Constitution, he said that even the tallest among them could not say what electorate he represented. The suggestion to reduce the number of delegates from 6,000 to 1,000 endeavoured to combine three things in one election. It meant not only saving of money and time but was rich promise. The old 6,000 delegates disappeared immediately the Congress was over whereas the 1,000 new delegates that would be elected by them would form the All-India Congress Committee. This change would enable them to hold the Congress Session even in rural areas like Ras or Bardoli. The Congress would have to go to the villages. He strongly criticised the extravagance of the Reception Committee in erecting triumphant arches in "Abdul Gaffar Nagar ". He doubted the wisdom of such activities. The New Constitution which he suggested was an iron constitution which would give better representation to one million voters and which would be a feather in the cap of the Congress. He told the members not to bring in dilatory motions and waste one precious year in the life of the nation. He did not think they had done a wise thing in passing the dilatory motion regarding the change in the Congress creed. If they believed in truthfulness and non-violence, it was better for them to declare it to the world by putting those words in the Constitution. The Socialists had argued that truthfulness was impossible in practice, but he contended that it was as good an ideal as that of independence. Even he, who was falsely described as a Mahatma, could not be cent per cent truthful and if he were so truthful, every word of his would have pierced them like an arrow. He believed that the words "truthful and non-violent" would better express the aspirations of the Congress. He appealed to them to reconsider their decision in regard to the creed. He wanted the Socialists to be properly represented in the Congress as they formed the advanced wing of the Congress. There was nothing to fear from their activities. That was why he had devised the method of single transferrable vote.

G. N. Kanitkar asked Mr. Gandhi as to why he did not say that the Congress Constitution was not an ideal constitution when he attended the Second Round Table Conference.

Gandhi replied that at that time he had not grown his wisdom tooth and realised the drawbacks in the constitution.

Subjects Committee then adjourned to the 27th October.

*Page 619, para. 1029—{continued):*

*Congress Subjects Committee,—*When the Subjects Committee met on the morning of the 27th Gandhi continued his speech on his amendments to the Congress Constitution. He said that when they discovered so many breaches in the walls of their house, they should fill them in quickly. here was nothing in the new constitution requiring study or reference to outside authority. If they wanted to circulate it, he would take it to mean that they did not want it. If they were not convinced about the absolute necessity of passing the constitution, he would beseech them to reject it. Referring to the question of reducing the strength of the



Provincial Congress Committee, he said that he had bitter experience of unwieldy bodies losing sight of the work before them. That was why he was desperately in earnest about it. The essence of democracy did not lie in numerical strength but the spirit behind even one person. Even one man could represent the whole democracy. In England, he said, it was not the House of Commons but it was the Bank of England that dictated policies to the British Ministers. Recently, the bank had finished its business in the record time of 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> minutes. If the bank could manage such huge affairs in 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> minutes the Congress should be able to manage its affairs in 5 minutes. Mr. Gandhi then moved that the Subjects Committee should accept the principle underlying the new constitution and appoint a sub-committee to consider the constitution and place their recommendations before the Subjects Committee by 8 a.m. on the 28th.

*Page 620, para. 1029—(continued):*

Replying to the debate, Mr. Gandhi said he had been asked whether he would reconsider his decision if the committee accepted his amendments without changing a comma. He assured them that there was no "danger" of his remaining in the Congress in any event. He asked them to accept the new constitution only if they had confidence in it. He then accepted the draft of the resolution submitted by Mr. Aney which was as follows:—

The Subjects Committee accepts the principle underlying the proposed amendments to the constitution and appoints a Sub-Committee of the following 15 members to examine the details thereof and place its recommendation before the Subjects Committee for approval by the morning of the 28th.

*Page 622, para. 1029—(continued):*

*Congress Subjects Committee.*—The Subjects Committee met again on the morning of the 28th October and held its sitting for nearly 4 hours. The main subject discussed at the meeting was the amended constitution of the Congress. The President announced that the Sub-Committee appointed by them the previous day to go through all the amendments and submit a report, sat practically the whole night and submitted a unanimous report. He said that the report would be ready within half an hour and placed before the Committee. In the meantime Mr. Gandhi would make a statement explaining the several amendments incorporated in the report.

Mr. Gandhi then explained in detail the various changes in the constitution. He also gave a few more details of the new scheme and then moved the first clause of the Constituion still remained.

Purshottamdas Tandon seconded the motion.

Narendra Dev remarked that the report should not have been disposed of within 24 hours. He pointed out that the objection of the Socialists to the first clause of the Constitution still remained.

Sardar Sardul Singh said that weightage should be given to the N. W. F. Province as was done in case of Bombay by giving 21 delegates.

Mr. Gandhi replied that he was not in favour of giving weightage even in the case of Bombay, but he could not help it.

R. K. Sidhwa moved an amendment that the proportion of the All-India Congress Committee to the number of delegates should be 1/6th instead of 1/12th and that during the transitory period the present body should continue to function. In his opinion the All-India Congress Committee should be a deliberative body with at least 360 members.

Swami Govindanand seconded the amendment.

C. Rajagopalachari said that they should either accept the scheme or reject it otherwise the whole scheme would be disrupted.

The president also agreed and said that due weight should be given to the recommendations of the Sub-Committee.

Gandhi then replied to the several points and said that it was unfortunate that so many amendments were moved to the report. He wanted the house to accept the report or reject it *in toto*.

The report was unanimously adopted and Sidhwa's amendment was declared lost.

Gandhi then said that there was one more resolution with regard to the Indian States. He thought it would be better to refer it to a Sub-Committee. The Committee agreed.

Hari Sarvottam Rao moved that the rest of the business should be referred to the Working Committee which should submit its report to the All-India Congress Committee.

Achut Patwardhan moved an amendment that the Socialist amendment to the creed of the Congress should be dealt with by the Subjects Committee.

Sampurnanand said that it would be improper for the president not to take up the Socialist amendment though 29 members had signed the requisition. The president took the sense of the house and Hari Sarvottam Rao's proposition referring the rest of the business to the Working Committee was carried.

The question of having the next Session of the Congress was then taken up. There were invitations from Maharashtra, United Provinces, Andhra, Ajmer, Meerut, and Ras village in Borsad Taluka. As United Provinces secured the highest number of votes, it was decided that the next Congress should be held in the United Provinces.

The president then suggested that the present Secretaries and Treasurer should continue in office during the period of transition.

C. Rajagopalachari suggested alteration in Sidhwa's resolution regarding Gandhi's retirement and suggested that mention of the appreciation of Gandhi's services to the nation should be made therein.

The president ruled the suggestion of Rajagopalachari out of order.

*Congress and States People.*—A private meeting of the States delegates attending the Congress was held in the Delegates Camp at Abdul Gaffar Nagar on the 28th under the presidentship of Wamanrao Naik of

Hyderabad (Deccan). About 150 delegates representing Mysore, Travancore, Hyderabad, the Deccan States, Kathiawar, Central India and Rajputana States attended. The meeting empowered the president and a few representatives to wait on Mr. Gandhi and ventilate the grievances of the States Subjects. In accordance with their wishes Mr. Gandhi drafted the following resolution to be placed before the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee:—

As numerous resolutions have been received from various groups for adoption by Congress urging it to define its policy in regard to Indian States it is hereby resolved as follows:—

“Congress adheres to its policy of non-interference in the internal administration of various States. Congress, however, regards the whole of Geographical India as an indivisible whole, notwithstanding the fact that it is cut up into parts governed under different systems, and therefore, expresses its regret over the tendency of some Princes to regard as foreigners Indians from parts of India other than their own, and repeats its appeal made at the previous sessions of the Congress, to establish responsible Government within their jurisdiction, and recognise the necessity of guaranteeing civic and political liberty to people living in their territories. This Congress assures the politicians residing in different states of full sympathy with their just aspirations for fuller self-expression”.

(2) A meeting of the Rajputana and Central India States Subjects was held at Hira Bagh on the 28th under the presidentship of one Baja Govind Das Malpani. The meeting passed four resolutions—(1) demanding the establishment of representative institutions in Indian States safeguarding the fundamental rights of the States Subjects, (2) forming a party of 24 persons to work for the people of Rajputana and Central India under the auspices of the Indian States People's Conference, with headquarters in Bombay, (3) demanding the release of political prisoners in Bikaner State and (4) demanding the removal of the judicial and criminal powers of the Zamindars and introducing the abolition of compulsory labour in Natives States.

On account of difference of opinion over the question of poll demanded in connection with resolution No. 3, some members walked out of the meeting as a protest.

*Page 635, para. 1029—(continued):*

Open session of the Indian National Congress on 26th October 1934 in Bombay (President Rajendrababu).

#### *VI Exhibitions and Demonstrations.*

The following resolution was moved from the chair and unanimously passed—

"Inasmuch as it is desirable to free the Reception Committee from the distraction and expenses attendant upon the organisation of exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations that take place at the annual

Session of the Congress and as these make it impossible, for smaller places to invite the Congress, the Reception Committee shall henceforth be relieved of the task of organising exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations. But as exhibitions and spectacular demonstrations are a necessary part of the annual national gathering, the duty of organising these is hereby entrusted to the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association which bodies shall organise these functions so as to combine instructions with entertainment of the general public especially of the Villagers with a sole view to illustrate and popularise the activities of the two associations and generally to demonstrate the potentiality of village life".

Mr. Gandhi then moved the amendments to the Congress Constitution but before he began A. Patwardhan raised a point of order. He contended that the whole of the Congress constitution was now under review. An entirely new constitution was being drafted. Article 1 of the constitution which dealt with the creed was the basic of the whole constitution. An amendment must be allowed to be moved when the whole was being overhauled. An attempt was made to move an amendment but it was put off from time to time. The speakers' amendment was that after the word " independence " the words "meaning the establishment of an independent state in which power is transferred to the producing masses " should be added and at the end should be added the words to the effect that the Congress would not at any stage compromise with British Imperialism.

The president pointed out that Mr. Gandhi wished to amend portions of the existing constitution. The section which was sought to be amended by Mr. Patwardhan was not one of the sections affected by Mr. Gandhi's amendment. He, therefore, ruled the amendment out of order.

Mr. Gandhi then addressed the House first in Hindi for about an hour and then in English. He said at the outset that it was a matter of shame that he was called upon to speak in English. He could not pour out his heart twice. He next apologised to the delegates for asking them to pass a resolution copies of which had not been supplied to them.

Proceeding to explain the implications of the new constitution, he said that for Congressmen who had agreed to reduce the number of delegates from 14,000 at Nagpur to 6,000 it was only an extension of their self-denial to reduce the number to 2,000. Similarly, the number of the All-India Congress Committee was reduced from 350 to 166. The 2,000 delegates were to be elected, *i.e.*, 511 from urban regions and 1,489 from rural areas with a view to giving full justice to villages as well as town-dwellers. The constituencies were to be plural. In the Urban constituencies there would be not less than 5 delegates to a constituency and 10 per cent delegates to a rural constituency.

Then there were two clauses for khaddar and spinning and for manual labour franchise. Instead of the foundation members wearing khaddar habitually congressmen elected to Congress bodies must have worn khadi at least for 6 months to qualify as candidates. This clause would apply

to candidates as well as elected persons. In the alternative they were to produce some labour, for instance, carpentry or scavenging villages or taking quinine pills to patients, in order to be eligible for election.

Another clause in the amendment sought to empower the delegates to elect the president of the Congress. The Provincial Congress Committee would be comprised of 100 members where there were more than 100 members now. That was also an act of self-denial. No province would be unrepresented on the All-India Congress Committee. In conclusion Mr. Gandhi urged the House to accept or reject the amendments as a whole.

Gandhi's proposition was then put to vote and declared carried by a large majority.

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*Page 38, Para. 65:*

AHMEDABAD, JANUARY 5.—The strike in the Ahmedabad Ginning Mill continues.

The Mill-owners and the Textile Labour Association have indulged in a certain amount of mutual recriminations of late. The former allege that the Labour Association fostered the strike in the Ahmedabad Ginning Mill without attempting to bring about a settlement by treating with the Mill-owners Association. On this score, several Mill-owners were anxious to discontinue the practice of collecting subscriptions from their employees on behalf of the Labour Association. A threat to this effect was actually held out to the latter body which retorted that it was tantamount to a breach of faith on the ground that this question was already the subject of arbitration.

V. J. Patel discussed the matter at some length with the mill-owners on January 5th and on his advice, they have agreed to refer their entire differences with the Labour Association, to M. K. Gandhi.

*Note.*—It is doubtful, however, whether they will accept any decisions he may arrive at or even whether Gandhi will give an authoritative ruling on this vexed question. In the past, he has always avoided the issue though his sympathies are decidedly in favour of labour.

Whatever may be the outcome of the present discussions with M. K. Gandhi, it seems that the prospects of a serious upheaval in the mill industry of this city are still remote. The reasons are that many mill agents have transacted forward business and money is cheap. At the same time, the resources of the Labour Association are limited and that body would find it difficult to finance a strike of any magnitude for an indefinite period.

It has to be remembered however that some of the mills are not working on an economic basis and rise in the price of cotton together with competition from Japan must, if the situation does not improve, at some future date, compel the agents to seek ways and means to reduce costs of

production. They are faced with two alternatives (1) to re-model their mills which will involve a large outlay to pay for new machinery, or (2) reduce wages.

The former in the case of some mills will not be possible and may entail the closing of these mills if wages are not reduced.

The more modern mills are not affected though Japanese competition has forced the agents to quote much lower prices in the market.

*Page 59, para. 108 —*

*Labour Situation in Ahmedabad.*

AHMEDABAD. JANUARY 29.—The agreement arrived at between the millowners Association and the Textile Labour Association on the Subject of a cut in wages has created a great deal of dissatisfaction amongst the piece-workers and particularly the weavers, the majority of whom are not members of the Labour Association.

The main grievance is that the cut of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. has been enforced over and above the 10 per cent. cut which automatically took effect on the introduction of the 54 hours week which came into force from January 1st. The reduction in the number of working hours did not affect the spinners, most of whom are members of the Textile Labour Association.

The weavers are under the impression, rightly or wrongly, that M. K. Gandhi and the Labour Association have betrayed them to benefit the spinners many of whom are Harijans.

The weavers of certain mills refused to accept their wages on the reduced scale.

This was followed by the weavers of the (1) Vijaya, (2) Ahmedabad Waste Cotton, and (3) Anant Mills going on strike.

*Page 166, para. 359 —*

*				*				*				*						
Name				Departure														
				Place				Date								For		
M. K. Gandhi				Wardha	..	..	20th April 1935				Indore.							
				Indore	..	..	24th April 1935				Bhusawal.							
				Bhusawal	..	..	24th April 1935				Wardha.							

*Page 181, para. 402 —*

BOMBAY CITY S. B., MAY 10.—C. F. Andrews arrived in Bombay by the S. S. Chitral on May 9th and left for Wardha on May 10th to see M.K. Gandhi

Page 201 para. 456—

Name	Arrival			Departure		
	Place	Date	From	Place	Date	For
M. K. Gandhi	Bombay	22-5-35	Wardha	Bombay	22-5-1935	Borsad.
Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi. Mahadev H. Desai.	Bombay	22-5-35	Wardha	Bombay	22-5-1935	Borsad.

Page 202, para. 458 —

BOMBAY CITY S. B., MAY 24.—M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Mahadev H. Desai, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, Dr. Ceresole and Mr. Wilkinson, arrived in Bombay from Wardha on the morning of May 22nd. They were received at the Victoria Terminus by Vallabhbhai J. Patel (who arrived in Bombay from Borsad on May 21st), K. F. Nariman, Mr. and Mrs. K. M. Munshi, Ganpatishankar N. Desai, S. K. Patil and about 50 Congress workers. He put up at Mani Bhuwan at Gamdevi. Between 9 a.m. and 11 a.m. he and Vallabhbhai Patel saw Mrs. Kamla Nehru at Jal A. D. Nowroji's bungalow at Nepean Sea Road and wished her bon voyage.

In the afternoon he paid a visit for a few minutes to the All-India Village Industries Association's Centre in Nair Building, Lamington Road, started by the members of the Gandhi Seva Sena. He was also seen by persons interested in the spread of Hindi language and the workers of the All-India Village Industries Association led by Soorji Vallabhdas and Mrs. Perin Captain.

In the evening he delivered a public discourse at Congress House on the efficacy of prayer. He made a very short speech in Hindi and said that the people had no cause for despair. If the public followed the programme of the Congress, the portals of freedom or Swaraj would be open to them. He advised people to invoke the assistance of God when they were overcome by feelings of despair and weakness. He then led the prayer by reciting Sanskrit verses from the Bhagvat Geeta and his favourite prayer song of "Raghupati Raghava Rajaram". After the prayers were over, he told the people to contribute to the Harijan Fund according to their mite. No money was collected on the spot. There were about 5,000 persons (3,000 inside the Congress compound admitted by tickets and 2,000 collected on the road) present at the time of public prayer.

Gandhi, accompanied by Vallabhbhai Patel, Mrs. Gandhi, Mahadev Desai, Dr. Bhasker Patel and Miss Maniben Patel, left Bombay for Borsad by Gujarat Mail on the night of May 22nd.

*Page 223, para. 504—*

S. B., BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA, JUNE 15.—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Borsad on 23rd May 1935. From 24th to 29th May he spent his time visiting the various villages which had been affected by the recent plague epidemic in Gujarat. He delivered speeches on sanitation and plague prevention and also sympathised with those villagers who had lost their lands during the last Civil Disobedience Movement. The audience were small varying from 100 to 500.

On 30th May he addressed a meeting of some 200 peasants at Ras who had assembled there to ventilate their grievances. On the 31st accompanied by M. H. Desai, he went to Nadiad where he performed the opening ceremony of the New Girls' School erected to the memory of the late Vithalbhai Patel. He then left for Ahmedabad where he interviewed Abdul Gaffar Khan, the "Frontier Gandhi", in the Sabarmati Tail. During the afternoon there was a private meeting between Gandhi and Congress leaders in the Congress House; he also held a discussion with the representatives of the Millowner's Association in regard to the Delhi Pact.

On 1st June Gandhi left Ahmedabad for Baroda where he spent the day. Afterwards he left for Wardha staying a short while at Surat. At Amalner, Jalgaon and Bhusaval Stations people had assembled to meet him and he was presented with purses to the total value of about Rs. 200.

*Page 306, para. 716—*

AHMEDAHAD, JULY 27.—Gulzarilal B. Nanda addressed a meeting of the Ahmedabad Press Workers held in the Textile Labour Association office at Ahmedabad on 21st July 1935. About 50 persons were present. The object of the address was to establish a "Press Workers permanent Union" to arbitrate in labour disputes and to collect subscriptions for the purpose. Resolutions were passed and M. K. Gandhi, Shankarlal G. Banker, Miss Anusaya Sarabhai and Gulzarilal B. Nanda were proposed as permanent referees for the Union.

*Page 495, para. 1261 —*

AHMEDABAD NOVEMBER 30.—M. K. Gandhi is expected to arrive at Ahmedabad on 11th January 1936 to preside over the 12th Session of the Literary Conference. He also proposes to devote 13 days for Harijan propaganda work.

The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee has asked the District Congress Committees whether they can arrange short programmes for him in their districts.

*Page 498, para. 1271 (1) —*

AHMEDABAD, DECEMBER 7.—After the Literary Conference in January next, M. K. Gandhi will stay in Ahmedabad for a week to raise money for Harijan work. He proposes to collect about Rs. 30,000 from the Ahmedabad District for that purpose,



*(Extract from file No.3001 / H / 11)*

Page 73 —

S. B. SIND C. I. D., KARACHI, 20TH JANUARY 1936.—It is learnt that MAHADEV DESAI has informed Jawaharlal Nehru that Gandhi, preparations for whose removal to Bombay for further medical treatment are in the making, is out of danger and will be capable of a sustained talk with him on his return to India.

Jawaharlal's remarks regarding Gandhi's advice on the question of Abyssinia have amused Mahadev considerably. He thinks that Jawahar is countering a position which was never taken up by him. He ascribes this mistake on Jawahar's part to a slip his memory has got, by overwhelming work of correspondence.

Referring to Jawahar's remark that Gandhi's article on Abyssinia was no better than a smug platitude or at the best amounted to the Biblical precept: "Righteousness exalteth a nation", Mahadev has retorted that Gandhi's article is far better than the precept, for on questions of nonviolence and the like, none will ever accuse Gandhi of being superficial. He, however, admits that Gandhi's writings have suffered, like most of his activities, from too much haste, but asserts that the Article is similar to one written by R. M. Goad, and published in the "New Testament", a couple of months ago.

He knows that in Jawahar's opinion, several things done by Gandhi are unrighteous, but thinks that this opinion is not relevant to the arguments advanced by him (Jawahar) and remarks:

"Is it not enough that a man does nothing that he regards as unrighteous".

He adds that Jawahar may accuse Gandhi of distorted or a twisted conscience but not of hypocrisy.

He has quoted the undermentioned verse from the Gita and remarked that Jawahar will brush this as ludicrous casuistry but he sincerely believes that deeper truth has never been uttered:

"As to what is to be done and not to be done even the wise are perplexed. He who can see action in action and in action in action, is wise and balanced and doer of the whole of his duty".

With regard to Jawahar's criticism of the talk with Birla (Sic), Mahadev deeply appreciates the criticism regarding society based on socialism and the profit-motive which vitiates all industry, but he can hardly understand Jawahar's quarrelling with Gandhi over the latter's remark:

"There is also added to it the conviction that all other things that seem to challenge his faith are doomed".

With regards to Jawahar's allegation that the abovesaid saying of Gandhi is hardly that of a truth speaker, Mahadev challenges him to quote any truth speaker, including himself and asks him how he can justify his criticism of Liberals and Liberalism. He further adds that a

truth speaker who has lived for truth and cared to pursue it, cannot act otherwise than in the faith that the opposite is doomed. That alone can sustain a man in the surrounding gloom.

As regards the profit motive, Mahadev thinks that Jawahar is apparently right. He argues that, undoubtedly, exploitation arises from the profit-motive and asks if it does not arise from Industrialism too. He adds that Socialisation and eradication of uncontrollable private ownership will not eradicate the wrongs inherent in mass distribution and mass consumption, which mass production presupposes.

Quoting the undermentioned opinion of a recent writer, Mahadev remarks that unless Jawahar tacks on socialisation to a home industry civilisation and divorces it from the factory civilisation, mere socialism will throw him from frying pan in the fire:

"The elimination of exploitation by the abolition of private ownership of production and distribution does not reach the root of the trouble. The factory's ineradicable attributes would still remain to plague mankind. Socialisation or functionalisation of the factory will never produce the Utopia for which so many idealists are working. Socialisation must fail as a remedy because it does not treat with the real disease which the factory system has inflicted upon mankind. Socialisation must fail because it contains no balm for efficiency scourged mankind. For the efficiency that is the quintessence of the 'factory civilisation is the real disease which the factory has inflicted upon mankind.

Mankind's comfort would have to be sacrificed on the altar of the great God—efficiency—under socialism precisely as it has to be under Capitalism, because the factory system ceases to be economic unless it is efficient enough to absorb the institutional burden which is its inescapable concomitant".

In the above connection, Mahadev agrees with Jawahar about the existence of terrible exploitation before the machine age, but asserts that the cure lies in socialisation undoubtedly, but not in socialisation ill-matched with the machine.

Referring to Jawahar's reply to his (Mahadev's) comment on a chapter in the part III of Jawahar's autobiography, he suggests that his comment may be inserted in the book, as a foot-note or postscript.

He has invited Jawaharlal's attention to his omitting C. R. from his description of the Gaya Congress in part IV of the Glimpses and the ' Autobiography, and has asked him to explain if the omission is a deliberate one, otherwise to insert a para, about C. R. at the proper place.

*[Extract from file No. 3001 / H / II (M. H. Desai)]*

*Page 81:*

S, B. SIND C. I. D., KARACHI, 29TH JANUARY 1936.—It is learnt that MAHADEV DESAI has informed Jawaharlal Nehru that, as desired, he

is hurrying through his autobiography, with a view to suggest changes for insertion in the second, if not in its first edition.

He thanks Jawahar for a copy of his letter to the "Manchester Guardian", criticising adversely Government's apology in connection with a para. of the Bengal Annual Administration Report and characterises it as "lame" and similar to the "lame defence in Government's reply to Birla". He states that Gandhi approves Jawahar's criticism of the apology.

He hopes that the changes in dates of the Lucknow Congress will suit him and that Kamala will have the strength to hold on until his return to Europe after the Congress.

He requests Jawahar's permission to translate and epitomise his autobiography and suggests that the abridged edition be published by the "Oxford University Press".

*Page 16, para 39—*

AHMEDABAD, DECEMBER 21.—Owing to the indisposition of M. K. Gandhi the Literary Conference has been postponed *sine die*.

*Page 43, para. 98 —*

S. B. BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA, JANUARY 25.—M. K. Gandhi, Miss Maniben Patel. Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, V. J. Patel, and Mahadev H. Desai arrived in Bombay from Wardha on 17th January 1936.

*Page 53, para. 126 —*

S. B. BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA, FEBRUARY 1.—M. K. Gandhi, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, Mahadev H. Desai, V. J. Patel, and Miss Maniben Patel left Bombay for Ahmedabad on 21st January 1936.

*Page 54, para. 131 —*

AHMEDABAD, JANUARY 25.—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Ahmedabad on 22nd January 1936 and was received by Congress leaders and other prominent people, including Seth Ambalal Sarabhai. Acting under medical advice, Gandhi is granting no interviews, but there is a stream of visitors to the Vidyapith where he is staying.

*Page 73, para 187—*

AHMEDABAD, FEBRUARY 8.—It is reliably learnt that M. K. Gandhi and V. J. Patel will leave Ahmedabad for Bardoli *via* Surat on the night of 19th February 1936. After halting there for a couple of days, they will proceed to Wardha.

*Page 89, para. 231 —*

S. B., BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA, FEBRUARY 26.—Dr. Howard Therman, his wife and Edward Karole, members of the American Negro Delegation who are touring India, went to Bardoli on 21st February 1936 to interview M. K. Gandhi.

*Page 97, para. 250—*

S. B., BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA, FEBRUARY 29.—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi arrived in Surat from Ahmedabad, on 20th February 1936, and left Surat for Bardoli, on 20th February 1936.

*(Extract from file No. 3001/H)*

*Page 19 —*

BOMBAY CITY, S. B., MAY 5TH.—It is learnt from a reliable source that M. K. Gandhi has recently expressed his views about Jawaharlal Nehru as follows: —

Jawaharlal Nehru has acted as was to be expected. He has given his views in his address and has chosen for his cabinet a majority of those who represent the orthodox Congress view. While Gandhi agrees with Nehru's views in most matters, including the desire to get rid of the New Constitution and his ideals about land, etc., he cannot accept Nehru's methods. Gandhi favours the avoidance of class war but Nehru, while desirous also of avoiding such a clash, does not believe it can be avoided. Gandhi describes Nehru as extreme in his presentation of matters but sober in action so that he is not likely to precipitate a conflict though he would not shirk it if it were forced on him. Gandhi is hopeful that Jawaharlal Nehru will abide by the decisions arrived at by the majority of his colleagues though it may be irksome for him to do so. Gandhi inclines to the view that his views and Jawaharlal's have become increasingly divergent of late.

*Page 252, para. 618 —*

POONA, SATURDAY 4TH JULY—**Congress.**—The major event of the week in the political field has been a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Wardha, C. P. The extent of their deliberations is not known but from such information as is available it would appear that Jawaharlal Nehru has been effectively muzzled which proves that M. K. Gandhi is still master of the situation. Congress intends to contest vigorously the elections to the Upper as well as the Lower Houses and a Central Executive Committee consisting of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Dr. Satyapal, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. T. Prakasam, Acharya Narendra Deo, Dr. B. N. Khare, Mr. S. Satyamurthi and one representative from Bengal yet to be nominated, has been appointed by the All-India Congress Committee for the organisation and control of the Congress electioneering campaign.

*Page 287, para. 702 —*

POONA, 8TH AUGUST—**Congress Activities.**—Congress propaganda is also vigorous in the East Khandesh District where seven meetings were held during the last week. It is reported that M. K. Gandhi will come and camp near Faizpur about a month prior to the holding of the Session and will conduct a rural uplift campaign in the surrounding villages. An exhibition of Swadeshi goods and the usual side-shows will be held at the time of the Session.

*Page 314, para. 756—*

POONA, 29TH AUGUST 1936.—There is a distinct improvement in the situation due, it is believed, to the personal interest evinced in the workers' grievances by M. K. Gandhi. The Mill-owners' Association and the leaders of the Majur Mahajan, it is expected, will come to an amicable agreement.

*Page 365, para. 863 —*

POONA, 24TH OCTOBER 1936.—The Majur Mahajan has not yet prepared its case to be placed before the Arbitration Board although asked by M. K. Gandhi to expedite it. In view of this delay Seth Sakarlal Balabhai, M. L. C, and several other Mill-owners in a meeting on 7th October 1936 advocated withdrawal from the Arbitration proceedings and a resolution to that effect was passed. They have also sent a wire to Seth Kasturbhai asking him to come at once from Simla to help patch up the dissensions but Kasturbhai replied that he could not do so as his work there was not yet finished.

*Page 370, para. 878—*

POONA, 31ST OCTOBER, 1936.—It is reported that the number of unemployed in the Ahmedabad Mills has fallen to 5,479. The Majur Mahajan (Textile Labour Association) sent its reply regarding the 20 per cent, wage cut dispute to the Mill Owners' Association which they discussed at their meeting on 20th October 1936.

It is understood that the Majur Mahajan have prepared a very strong case and the firm stand taken up by them inclined the Mill Owners to the belief that any arbitration by Gandhi will go against them. Moreover on account of the resignation of Seth Chimanlal Girdharlal from the Arbitration Board it is possible that the Mill Owners' Association will withdraw from the arbitration proceedings and will impose the wage cut without further ado.

It now remains to be seen whether M. K. Gandhi who is due there this week, can exert his influence to bring about a compromise.

*Page 377, para. 892—*

Under the auspices of the "Majur Mahajan" a meeting was held at Ahmedabad on 31st October 1936. About 10,000 persons, mostly workers, attended. Prominent among them were M. K. Gandhi, Abdul Gaffar Khan, Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Shankarlal G. Banker.

After an introductory speech made by Shankarlal G. Bankar M. K. Gandhi spoke on the wage-cut introduced by the Millowners of Ahmedabad and remarked that the wage-cut was inopportune. He said that he was not unmindful of miseries of the workers and would strive to persuade the Millowners to drop the idea of reducing their wages. He advised them to follow the principles of non-violence and truth and to organise themselves. He showed his dislike for the principles of Class-war propagated by the New Mill Kamdar Union of Ahmedabad and advised the workers to fight constitutionally with the Millowners for their legitimate demands.

The Wage-cut dispute is not settled yet, though it was discussed by M. K. Gandhi with the Millowners and the Secretaries of the Textile Labour Association. Gandhi has now left Ahmedabad without bringing about a settlement and both parties are now again at loggerheads. Gandhi said that he would again come to Ahmedabad, if a general strike were to take place.

*Page 378, para. 899 —*

POONA, 7m NOVEMBER 1936.—The opening ceremony of the "Mausukhlal Chhaganlal Hindu Kanya Chhatralaya" was performed at Nadiad, district Kaira, on 30th October 1936 at the hands of Jamnalal Bajaj. About 3,000 people including M. K. Gandhi, Abdul Gaffar Khan, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Bhulabhai J. Desai and Morarji R. Desai attended the function. Speeches were made befitting the occasion and there was nothing objectionable.

*Page 379, para. 900—*

The 12th Session of the Gujarat Literary Conference was held at Ahmedabad on 31st October 1936 under the presidentship of M. K. Gandhi. There was nothing objectionable. About 1,200 persons attended.

*Page 382, para. 907 —*

M. K. Gandhi arrived in Nadiad from Rajkot on 30th October 1936, and departed from Nadiad for Ahmedabad on 30th October 1936. He departed from Ahmedabad for Wardha on 2nd November 1936.

*Page 416, para. 968—*

The Village Industries Exhibition will be opened at Faizpur from 26th December 1936. It is understood that M. K. Gandhi will arrive at Faizpur a couple of weeks earlier.

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*Page 3, para. 11—*

M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by Pyarelal, his Private Secretary, S. D. Deo and Miss Prema Kantak, arrived in Poona by Car from Kalyan at 11-30 a.m. on 7th January 1937. He is staying at the residence of Lady Thakersey, where he stayed during his last visit.

He is enroute to Travancore in connection with the untouchable Movement and during his stay in Poona has interviewed Sir G. D. Madgaonkar, the Arbitrator in the Ahmedabad Mill Strike (Wage-cut) Dispute.

M K. Gandhi is due to leave Poona by the Madras Express on the 10th instant.

His arrival and stay in Poona has caused little interest.

*Page 10, para, 25—*

M. K. Gandhi left Poona by the Madras Express on 10th January 1937 at 4-45 p.m., for Trivandrum accompanied by Mahadev Haribhai Desai, Kanaiyalal Gandhi and his Private Secretary Pyarelal.

It is said that the result of his discussions with Sir G. D. Madgaonkar regarding the Ahmedabad Mills Wage-cut Dispute will be announced after couple of weeks.

*Page 38, para, 64.(Appendix after Page 44)—*

## **OPEN SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, FAIZPUR**

**FIRST DAY, 27TH DECEMBER 1936**

Faizpur Session opened with the speeches of Mr. Dev, Chairman of the Reception Committee. \*\*\*\*\* M. K. Gandhi then addressed the Open Sessions and declared that the Congress should take a vow to hold all future, Congress Sessions in villages. He emphasised that that was the only way to carry the Congress message to the thousands of Indian villages. He was happy to see such a high assembly, because the responsibility of bringing the Congress to a village was his. This village session of the Congress had, in fact, turned out to be a bigger one than previous Congress Sessions. The connection that had been established between villagers and the Congress should be continued all through the year.

Gandhi also remarked that what he had asked them to do in 1920 still remained unaccomplished—the charkha, prohibition and the removal of untouchability. If they left these things unaccomplished, they would have lost Swaraj.

Gandhi further deplored the recent communal disturbances in Bombay, He praised the action of the ruler of Travancore in lifting the ban on Harijans but asked what the Caste Hindus all over the country were doing about it.

*Page 69, para 132—*

M. K. Gandhi declared the Swadeshi Exhibition open, before a large gathering of about 4,000 on the morning of the 25th December 1936 at Faizpur.

*Page 69, para. 134—*

M. K. Gandhi, in declaring the Exhibition open, observed that it was his idea to hold the Congress Session in a village and he was not sorry for this move looking to the grand success of the venture. He had thrown all responsibility of carrying on the political fight on the shoulders of Vallabhbhai Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru and had freed himself to establish closer contact with the village folk and thus rejuvenate the rural India. To awaken the sleeping millions in the villages and hamlets, was his task, so that the fight for India's freedom be strengthened. He believed that the rough hands and strong arms of the villager would build up India's economic life again and appealed to all to help him in his task

*Page 70, para. 135—*

M. K. Gandhi delivered another speech in the precincts of the exhibition on the 27th December 1936, before a large audience of about 2,000 men and women. This was his first political speech after his retirement from politics since the Bombay Congress. M. K. Gandhi apologised for the delay in the commencement of the function owing to unprecedented rush of men, women and children. He said, "We were not prepared for such an on-rush of crowds. My objective was to get as big crowd in

the Exhibition grounds as possible to get money to cover the expenses. This trade trick was a deliberate design and if some of you have seen Khaddar or Swadeshi articles by accident or mistake, I feel satisfied and share in the good done. "

Dilating upon the economic and political struggle he added "Since my stay in Shegaon. I am visualising a state in the country when Lord Linlithgow will come to the Indian National Congress and declare that he was wrong in his impression of the Indian people. He had thought that Congress people were violent people. That they were terrorists. He would declare that he was misinformed. Then he would ask the Congress, whether he should continue to remain in India, or take the next boat home. Then we will say that we have got plenty of space in our country for people like him, and we have no objection to him and his friends staying in the country, provided they are prepared to accommodate themselves to our conditions. "

Gandhi further declared that people might think that he had not the power that he had before. He assured his audience that he was as strong and powerful as he was ever and when the occasion arose for it he would prove it.

He for one was convinced that Swaraj or Ramraj could be got for India without going to jails. Nothing would be achieved through legislatures. He was sure that if the people of India filled in a square with four sides, namely, economical, political, social and moral, Swaraj was within their grasp.

*Page 71, para. 139—*

Responding to a special invitation from S. D. Deo, (Chairman of the Reception Committee), M. K. Gandhi addressed the Sanitary Section of volunteers on the 29th December 1936 in their camp. He praised their services and tried to impress upon them that they should not consider their work as a low and derogatory one, as it was done in the cause of humanity. Through sacrifice and service alone they would build up a nation. He hoped that the volunteers would carry this new message to their villages and thus play an important part in bringing Swaraj nearer. <sup>1</sup> He was sure that Gujarat workers would imitate their example at the next Session.

*Page 128, para. 221—*

*Gandhi Sewa Sangh: Third Conference.*—The Conference of the Gandhi Sewa Sangh commenced at Hubli, district Belgaum, on 16th April 1937.

M. K. Gandhi and Abdul Gaffar Khan arrived at the camp near Hubli village on the morning of the 16th April and a flag salutation ceremony was performed there in the presence of about 500 people, after which about 50 persons did road-repair work.

The meetings of the Sangh were held from the 16th to the 20th April, only the members of the Sangh attending.



Gangadharrao Deshpande made a speech at the commencement of the meeting on the 16th, stating that the Sangh had been established in the Karnatak in 1925 and the work of the Sangh such as spinning, weaving and the uplift of untouchables had been carried on in different parts of Karnatak by R. R. Diwakar, H. S. Kowjalgi, T. Subrahmanyam, Gudleppa Hallikeri and Mahadeoppa Mendgudli. He referred to the Hosaritti Gandhi Ashram in Dharwar district and the Kumri Ashram, where, he said, the work of the Sangh was in progress.

M. K. Gandhi then made a speech stating that the Sangh was not against the Congress but that its chief work was to complete the constructive programme of the Congress. He suggested that the Sangh ought not to be named after him as it inferred personal worship whereas they ought to be worshippers of principles. He urged the members of the Sangh to follow his guiding principles of non-violence and truth.

Kishorilal Mashruwalla then read out his presidential address in which he said that Sangh Members who were tempted to enter the Legislatures should resign from the Sangh.

Referring to Hindu-Muslim Unity he stated that the Sangh's creed of non-violence was meaningless, unless its members fearlessly come forward and attempt to stop communal riots by non-violent means.

Further meetings of the members of the Sangh were held on the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th April and the following resolutions, among others, were adopted:—

- (1) To adopt measures to remove the scarcity of water.
- (2) To ameliorate the condition of Bhangis and to find out employment for Hill-tribes.
- (3) To improve sanitation in villages by a definite scheme.
- (4) To spin at least 1,000 yards of yarn every month.
- (5) To make Hindi, the medium of speech in gathering of an All-India nature.
- (6) To remove untouchability by forming daily contacts with untouchables.

In addition to the routine functions of the conference, private discussions were to be held daily to lay down the future policy of the Sangh in regard to political matters.

The following were the prominent persons who attended:—

(1) M. K. Gandhi, (2) V. J. Patel, (3) Babu R. Prasad, (4) Jamnalal Bajaj, (5) Abdul Gaffar Khan, (6) J. C. Kumarappa, (7) Surji Vallabhdas, (8) B. G. Kher, (9) G. B. Deshpande, (10) H. S. Kowjalgi, (11) A. B. Lathem, (12) H. R. Mohare, (13) M. H. Desai, (14) Perinben Captain, (15) S. P. alias Appasaheb Patwardhan, (16) D. B. alias Kaka Kaielkar. (17) N. G. Joshi, (18) R. R. Diwakar, (19) B. J. Marathe, (20) Swami Anand, (21) Premabai Kantak, (22) Mahadeoappa Mendudli, (23) Gudieppa Hallikeri, (24) T. Subrahmanyam, (25) B. R. Sunthankar.

The question of Council entry by the members of the Sangh came up for discussion on the 16th, when Gandhi advised the members to take part in political activities and follow the principles of non-violence and truth. It was decided to increase the funds of the Sangh.

Further discussions were held on the 17th when Swami Anand, V. V. Dastane, Jamnalal Bajaj and Kishorilal Mashruwala made speeches against Council entry whilst R. R. Diwakar, G. B. Deshpande, Rajendra Prasad and Vallabhbhai Patel spoke in favour of entering the Councils.

M. K. Gandhi said that they should carry on the fight for freedom from all sides. The electorate should be increased and people of all castes and creeds must unite to gain independence through the strength of truth and non-violence.

It was then decided that the members of the Sangh should enter the Councils.

As regards taking the oath of allegiance, M. K. Gandhi said that as they wanted complete independence, the taking of the oath was unimportant and would not be against the principles of the Sangh.

The discussions were continued on the 18th. V. J. Patel emphasised the necessity of passing a vote of no-confidence against the present Ministry and asked them to carry on Congress propaganda to keep the masses awakened by holding District and Taluka Conferences.

On 19th April 1937 about 1,000 people went to Kumri Ashram to see M. K. Gandhi. V. J. Patel and Rajendra Prasad delivered short lectures saying that the Gandhi Sewa Sangh had been established to better the economic condition of villagers. They advised them to unite and become acquainted with the rules of cleanliness and village sanitation, and to participate in the activities of the Congress. They spoke on similar lines when addressing a public meeting of 2,000 people at the conference camp near Hubli on 20th April 1937.

At the time of his departure from Hubli on the 20th April, Abdul Gaffar Khan made a short speech to the people who gathered to see him off, stressing the need of support to the Congress by the Untouchables and Muslims.

On 21st April 1937, M. K. Gandhi spoke to an audience of about 10,000 people advising them to abstain from drinking, to promote village industries by charkha spinning, to wear khaddar and thus make Hubli a model village.

On the same day he left for Wardha collecting Rs. 50 for the Harijan Fund at the Railway Station.

An Exhibition of village industries was opened at Hubli on 21st April 1937 and closed on the next day.

*Page 139, Para 243:*

The Swaraj Ashrams, at Surat and Bardoli were handed over to the Congress on 20th and 23rd April, respectively. The Trustees are thinking of filing a suit against the Government for alleged damages to the buildings.

The remaining Ashrams in Bardoli taluka were returned between the 24th April and 1st May 1937.

M. K. Gandhi, V. J. Patel and Bhulabhai Desai will shortly visit Tithal in Bulsar taluka of the Surat district and discuss this question of suing the Government and also matters connected with the Congress Session to be held at Bardoli.

*Page 159, Para 287:*

M. K. Gandhi and his followers arrived at Bardoli on 10th May 1937 and attended the re-opening ceremony of the Bardoli Swaraj Ashram which was performed by Vallabhbhai Patel in the presence of about 1,200 persons.

On 11th May 1937, Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel visited Afwa Sidla and Haripura villages in the Bardoli taluka of the Surat district and inspected the sites proposed for the next session of the Indian National Congress. They held discussions with 150 leading persons from these villages. It is reported that Haripura village which is 14 miles from Bardoli Railway Station and 11 miles from Madhi Railway Station on the Tapti Valley Railway has been finally selected.

Gandhi left Bardoli on the 12th instant for Tithal in the Bulsar taluka of the Surat district.

*Page 199, Para. 394:*

M. K. Gandhi and his followers left Tithal for Wardha on June 10th.

*After Page 116:*

**APPENDIX TO THE "BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT", No. 13,**

**DATED 2ND APRIL 1938.**

*51st Plenary Session of the Indian National Congress held at Haripura, Surat District, in February 1938.*

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, remaining behind the scenes, was the real controlling power and was consulted on almost every important question by the members of the Working Committee and other political leaders assembled at Haripura.

*Page 27, para. 73—*

General Political activity during the week in all districts was the election of delegates for the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri.

The Congress Working Committee met at Bardoli, Surat district, on the 12th and 13th January and M. K. Gandhi attended. His Highness the Aga Khan paid a visit to Mr. Gandhi on January the 15th.

A deputation from Hyderabad State also visited Mr. Gandhi in connection with the ban on the Congress Committee and the delay in releasing Hyderabad State Political Prisoners.

*Page 55, para. 163 —*

A conference of Halipatis of the Bardoli taluka was held at Bardoli district Surat, on January 26th. About 10,000 farmers and Halpatis including 3,000 women assembled under the presidentship of V. J. Patel. M. K. Gandhi who arrived before the close of the Conference blessed the freeing of Dublas now called "Halipatis" from what was nothing less than serfdom,

*Page 97, para. 280 —*

The Rajkot "Satyagraha" has been suspended since February 26th to enable Mr. M. K. Gandhi to discuss matters with the Thakore Saheb and his advisers in a calm atmosphere. Mr. M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Wardha on February 26th and left for Rajkot on the same night.

*Page 107, para, 303 —*

POONA, 11TH MARCH 1939.—Mr. Gandhi's fast at Rajkot engaged public attention during the week to the exclusion of almost all other activities.

Many Congress political leaders left for Tripuri.

*Page 119, para. 331 —*

POONA, 18TH MARCH 1939.—Political interest, after news came through from Rajkot that Mr. M. K. Gandhi had abandoned his fast, was concentrated on the Tripuri Congress Session and there was general satisfaction in Right Wing Congress Circles in the passing of Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant's resolution expressing renewed confidence in Mr. Gandhi's leadership.

*(Extract from File No. 3001/H/V from the C. of P.)*

*Page 17 —*

BOMBAY CITY S. B., JUNE 9TH.—Mr. M. K. Gandhi left Bombay for Wardha by the Calcutta Mail via Nagpur on June 7th. He was accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, Dr. Miss Sushila Nair and his two Secretaries. He was seen off by about 30 Congressmen including Vallabhbhai Patel,

Nagindas T. Master, S. K. Patil, Gunvant Kapadia, Soonderdas Morarjee, Mathradas Tricumjee and Dr. Jivraj Mehta.

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*Page 267, para. 761 —*

POONA, 10TH JUNE 1937.—Mr. M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Mrs. Kasturba, Dr. Sushila Nair and his two Secretaries, arrived in Bombay from Rajkot on June 2nd. At Dadar Railway Station about 60 Hindu Maha Sabhaites waved black flags and shouted slogans of "Boycott Congress" and "Hindu Maha Sabha Ki Jai". Some black flags were thrown into Mr. Gandhi's compartment. Printed leaflets containing abusive Marathi verses condemning Gandhi's policy were distributed at the Station.

*Page 326, para. 901 —*

POONA. 15TH JULY. 1939.—As Mr. Gandhi is touring in the N. W. F. Province and not present in his Ashram at Sheogaon (C. P.) V. V. Sathe has postponed his fast.

*Page 173, para 551 —*

In the "Harijan" of May 18th a correspondent asks whether Congressmen who explain the Ramgarh resolution on the subject of non-cooperation in the prosecution of the war will not be offending the provisions of the Defence of India Act. M. K. Gandhi's reply is of interest and is reproduced below:—

"I am not quite sure that you will commit an offence against the Defence of India Act merely by explaining the resolution to the people. But you can easily put yourself under it by adding 'ginger' to your explanation and delivering a first class harangue against British rule. In your place I would not do it. Sufficient education has been given to the people as to what British rule is. But you should lay stress on what the people have to do to get out of foreign rule. Therefore, everything depends upon how you say it. You will offend against my instructions when you disobey explicit orders served upon you."

*Page 289, para. 922 —*

POONA, 21ST SEPTEMBER 1940.—The most important event in connection with Congress activities was the A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay City on September 15th and 16th. This was preceded by a number of meetings of a formal or informal nature and Congress leaders had a surfeit of discussions and speech making. In the few days prior to the A. I. C. C. meeting, 16 public meetings were addressed by leading Congressmen, the attendances ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 at seven of these meetings. After the preliminary meetings of the Working Committee, the A. I. C. C. met and passed a somewhat enigmatical resolution which, together with Gandhi's speech has been reported in full in the press.

The most important outcome, of the A. I. C. C. meeting is that Gandhi has resumed active control of the Congress.

*Page 333, Para. 1061:*

POONA, 2ND NOVEMBER 1940.—Following the receipt of instructions to submit articles regarding Vinoba Bhave's arrest for scrutiny prior to publication, M. K. Gandhi has announced the temporary suspension of the " Harijan", "Harijan Bandhu" and the "Harijan Sevak".

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*Page 145, Para. 471—*

During the week under review the number of Congress propaganda meetings increased to 26, but 15 of the meetings were attended by fewer than 100 persons.

The following facts suggest that the Congress Organisation is diverting its energies and the attention of the public from Satyagraha to the constructive programme. Constructive Work Committees have been established, at Poona and Saswad in the Poona district and at Pen in the Kolaba district. The President of the Ahmedabad Gandhi Seva Sangh asked the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee at a private meeting to select as Satyagrahis only those who can spin, wear khaddar and are prepared to do constructive work in the villages. On a list of over 1,000 names submitted by the Maharashtra P. C. C, Gandhi approved of less than 200 as Satyagrahis. It is stated that Gandhi will require intending Satyagrahis to qualify by a period of approved service on constructive work. Gujarat newspapers announce that Satyagraha in Gujarat has been suspended for a period of 2 months and that Satyagrahis should live in villages, strive for communal unity and popularise khaddar. The President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee left Bombay on May 13th to consult Gandhi regarding renewing the Satyagraha Movement which has been suspended in the City owing to the riots. It is reported that Gandhi refused permission to do so.

*Page 159, para. 515—*

It is reported that Gandhi has issued instructions to G. B. Deshpande to pay more attention to the constructive programme. Accordingly, G. B. Deshpande held a conference of about 100 khadi enthusiasts of the Belgaum district on May 28th and a Committee was formed and other Steps approved to popularise spinning and carry on khadi propaganda. It is also reported that D. P. Karmarkar, the President of the Karnatak P. C. C. has been informed that enthusiasm for the constructive programme in the Karnatak is lacking and that Karmarkar is considering measures to meet the criticism.

*Page 363, para. 1132—*

M. K. Gandhi and party arrived at Bardoli on December 10th and was greeted by a crowd of about 500 persons. About 100 persons daily take Gandhi's darshan. The Congress Working Committee will meet at Bardoli on December 23rd.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru arrived at Bombay *en route* to Bardoli on December 17th and was given a reception by about 3,000 persons.

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*Page 1, para. 1—*

POONA, JANUARY 10TH, 1942.—During the fortnight under review, Bardoli was the scene of considerable Congress activity. Large crowds witnessed with enthusiasm the arrival of the more important Congress leaders. The meeting of the All-India Spinners Association was held in Camera on December 17th, 18th and 19th. It is understood that M. K. Gandhi suggested that war conditions provided an excellent opportunity for the spread of the use of Khaddar. Practical plans were discussed for the extension and improvement of the activities of the Association. The Congress Working Committee sat from December 30th and the resolution which was finally passed has appeared in the press. On December 26th a public meeting was held at Bardoli which was attended by about 25 persons. M. K. Gandhi delivered a brief speech on the importance of the constructive programme and invited a study of his pamphlet on the subject. He expressed himself as not satisfied with the progress made in spinning by local Congressmen. Vallabhabhai J. Patel, Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Abdul Gafar Khan, Dr. Khan Saheb, Govind Vallabh Pant and Bhulabhai J. Desai, delivered brief speeches in the course of which they explained that the approach of the war to India had created difficulties for the leaders responsible for Congress policy but counselled faith in the Congress cause and asked their audience to await further instructions. They avoided giving any hint as to the nature of the Working Committee's deliberations. On December 31st a meeting was held at Surat which was attended by about 30,000 persons. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was the chief speaker, referring to the Working Committee resolution deprecated misleading comments which had appeared in the press. He warned his audience against forming the impression that Gandhi had severed his connection with the Congress or that he was no longer interested in India's fight for independence. He described the Satyagraha Movement as a complete success in its moral effect. Lakhs of people, he said, were prepared to go to jail, but the Congress did not wish to embarrass Government at this time. In the event of India experiencing the horrors of war, the people should remain calm and rely upon village and cottage industries. Nehru stated that his sympathies were with the British, but not with the British administration of India and appealed to his audience to follow the example of the people of China and Russia and fight for the country's goal. In conclusion, he advocated the establishment and extension of volunteer organisations, not for the purpose of Satyagraha but to help the people in times of distress and to carry the Congress message throughout the country. Brief supporting speeches were made by Govind Vallabh Pant, Dr. Khan Saheb, Asaf Ali and Ishwarlal Gulabbhai Desai.

Thirty-five other Congress meetings were held throughout the Province 16 being in the Belgaum district for which no particular reason is

apparent. The two largest of these meetings, each attended by about 1,600 persons, were held at Pathardi, Ahmednagar district and Gokak, Belgaum district. These meetings were similar in that P. H. Patwardhan and other unrestrained speakers suggested that men and money should not be provided for the prosecution of the war. The remaining meetings were small and unimportant.

In Bombay City, two huge meetings were addressed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on December 18th and one by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad on December 19th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru paid a tribute to the heroic resistance of China, Russia, Britain and America against aggression. There could be no doubt as to where the sympathies of the Congress lay when Russia, China and America were ranged on one side but they should not forget their own freedom in expressing their sympathy. When India demanded freedom, he said British statesmen and those who were responsible for running the Government had denied freedom to India. They were prepared to join hands with Britain as free men but not as slaves. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad pointed out that what really prevented the Congress from co-operation was the attitude of the British Government towards India's demand for freedom. After reviewing the political situation from the Congress stand-point, he said that the Congress would co-operate in the war efforts provided the British Government climbed down from their altitude. The August offer, he said, left the Congress with two alternatives—(1) either to obey slavishly the behests of the British Government or (2) to resist its efforts to drag India into the war. The Congress preferred the latter course and requested Mr. Gandhi to take the lead. It would be now for the Working Committee of the Congress to decide the question as to the future policy of the Congress. In the end, he advised the people not to be panicky on hearing rumours of the approach of the war to India, but to muster courage in the midst of difficulties and danger. Three small meetings were held at Bombay at which Satyagrahis shouted anti-war slogans. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee met on December 20th and passed a resolution reaffirming confidence in M. K. Gandhi and expressing the opinion that nothing that had happened since the launching of Satyagraha which called for any change in the Congress policy.

In Maharashtra, G. A. Deshpande and D. K. Gosavi were elected to the A. I. C. C. on December 27th in the vacancies caused by the resignations of the two Royists. V. M. Tarkunde and A. N. Patil.

About 100 women attended a meeting of the Women's branch of Rashtra Seva Dal, Poona, on December 27th over which Mrs. Indirabai Deodhar presided. Speeches were made on the value of the organization, and women were exhorted to join. The Alibag Rashtra Seva Dal, Kolaba district, held their annual sports on December 27th, about 60 Volunteers being present.



*Page 11, para. 29—continued*

POONA, 10 JANUARY.—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited the Ahimsak Vyayam Mandal at Malad, Bombay Suburban district, on January 2nd and spoke on the present political situation to an audience of about 4,000. Referring to the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee, he said that some of the facts regarding the session of the Working Committee were being distorted by certain sections of the press. It was not true that there had been a split between Congress and M. K. Gandhi. The Congress in its present form was the creation of Gandhi and could not afford to lose his guidance. Nehru himself had immense faith in Gandhi. He was of the opinion that India could not help Britain in fighting the war unless and until the question of India's freedom was satisfactorily solved. No subjugated country could work for the liberation of other countries. Speaking of defence he maintained that every man should be able to defend himself and his property against aggression. For this reason he was prepared to discard the principle of nonviolence in order to achieve freedom. Referring to the Satyagraha campaign he said that M. K. Gandhi might continue Satyagraha on his own initiative and not on behalf of the Congress. He addressed another meeting in Bombay on the same day and spoke on similar lines. He emphasised that there would be no change in the Congress policy unless Government revised their attitude.

Babu Rajendra Prasad addressing a meeting attended by about 1,000 persons in Surat City on January 6th declared that lasting peace was an impossibility unless every country and every individual believed in nonviolence. He then appealed to Congress workers to carry the Congress message into the most remote villages and to represent the benefits of Cottage and Village Industries.

T. S. Jadhav and other local speakers made speeches at a meeting attended by about 1,200 persons which was held at Sholapur on January 2nd. After referring to the Bardoli resolution they stated that Congress and Gandhi were inseparable and exhorted the audience to follow him and adhere to his constructive programme.

B. G. Kher addressed 6 meetings with audiences ranging from 100 to 600 in Thana district when he spoke on the economic condition of India the present war and other miscellaneous subjects.

S. D. Deo addressed 2 meetings in East Khandesh district on January 1st and when he blamed Government for not changing their attitude towards India at the present critical stage of the war and advised people not to lose faith in the Congress on account of the Working Committee's decision and Gandhi's Laissez-faire attitude.

Thirteen meetings were held in the district of Kolaba, Ratnagiri, Poona. East Khandesh, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Sholapur and Thana in connection with the annual celebrations of the local Rashtra Seva Dals,

*Para 11, para. 29—continued*

At all these meetings the objects of the society were explained and the audiences were urged to strengthen their local branches. People were advised to organise themselves and to eradicate communalism.

At Bhiwandi, district Thana, on December 28th, S. M. Joshi spoke on the progress achieved by the Seva Dal and said that several branches of the Dal had been established in Maharashtra. He urged the audience to enlist as members.

Private meetings of Congress workers of Ward Committees were held in different wards of Ahmedabad City to discuss the Citizens Protection Scheme sponsored by the Ahmedabad City Congress Committee. The workers were requested to canvass the Scheme in their wards and enlist public support. It is reported that the Scheme has nothing to do with the A. R. P. measures and is designed to work even in peace time.

The Executive Meeting of the M. P. C. C. was held at Poona on December 30th and 31st with N. V. Gadgil in the chair. Fourteen members were present. The meeting adopted 5 resolutions (1) stressing the need for accelerating and co-ordinating the work of the Rashtra Seva Dal. nominating a committee of 5 persons for a period of 5 years to supervise the work of the Dal and appointing a Committee of T. R. Deogirikar, P. H. Patwardhan and S. M. Joshi to frame rules and a constitution; (2) requesting Government to declare a state of famine immediately and grant remission of land assessment; (3) requesting merchants to sell essential commodities at reasonable rates; (4) requesting Government to institute relief measures; and (5) requesting the President of the M. P. C. C. to issue periodical statements to clarify the implications of the Bardoli resolution.

*Page 21, para. 53—*

V. J. Patel president over a private meeting of the G. P. C. C. at Bardoli, Surat district, on January 4th. Some 400 persons, including M. K. Gandhi, were present. While dealing with the budget, he revealed that donations for flood relief work had reached a total of Rs. 6.23,000. Gandhi delivered a speech explaining the recent Bardoli resolution and stressing his unity with Congress. He appealed to members of the A. I. C. C. to vote in an independent spirit at the forthcoming meeting at Wardha.

On January 8th M. K. Gandhi performed the opening ceremony of a spinning and weaving class in the Bardoli Swaraj Ashram. Speaking to an audience of some 70 persons, he laid stress on the importance of Khadi and Harijan uplift. On January 9th, he left for Wardha accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, J. B. Kripalani, Mahadeo H. Desai. Babu Rajendra Prasad and Bhartanand (Morris Fraijan), a Polish Engineer.

*Page 173, para. 485—*

In Bombay City, the P. V. B. sponsored a procession in which 100 persons participated. On his arrival in Bombay on May 10th to collect

*Page 173, para. 485 — continued*

funds for the Andrews Memorial, M. K. Gandhi was received by some 300 persons.

*Page 271, para. 770—*

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad presided over the Congress working meeting which met at Birla House, Bombay on August 4th, 5th and 6th to consider the Wardha resolution and other non-official resolutions. M. K. Gandhi participated in the deliberations which culminated in the adoption of a resolution for the acceptance of the A. I. C. C. The full text of the resolution has received the maximum publicity. It was on the expected lines and concluded with the threat of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale.

The A. I. C. C. session commenced on August 7th under the presidentship of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad. About ten thousand persons including 250 A. I. C. C. members crowded into the Pandal which has been specially erected and some five thousand overflowed outside. Some three thousand volunteers of the Bombay National Guards, the Bombay Seva Dal and the V. P. B. were employed to keep order.

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad opened the proceedings with a review of the war situation and the Working Committee's resolution. M. K. Gandhi then addressed the members of the A. I. C. C. in Hindi and piously warned them against supporting the resolution unless they had complete faith in him and realised the responsibility they were incurring. The Congress could recognise no distinction between the "Indian India" of the Native States and British India as if felt that the people of the States were at one with Congress. Gandhi declared that God had presented him with this opportunity and if he did not seize it he would lose himself. He characterised himself as presenting to them the pros and cons of the whole situation in the manner of a businessman and if they were prepared to pay the full price then only should they adopt the resolution placed before them.

Pandit Nehru then moved the main resolution and affirmed that if their demands were accepted by the British Government the internal and international situation would be revolutionised and China would receive assistance. He bitterly criticised the British Administration and the attitude of England and America towards the resolution. He concluded with a declaration that he did not believe in Dominion Status or any other Status, but wanted only unadulterated freedom.

V. J. Patel supported the resolution in a speech which described the Cripps Mission as a clear indication of Britain's determination to retain her hold on India. Under these circumstances the Working Committee was forced to adopt this resolution and now to appeal for implicit faith in the leadership of Gandhi. In the event of the Mahatma and other leaders being arrested, every man and woman in India must adopt the initiative and carry on the struggle.

*Page 271, para. 770 — continued*

The proceedings on August 8th were marked by several amendments both from Congressmen and Communists. Dr. K. M. Ashraf, Sajjad Zahir and S. G. Sardesai moved amendments which were criticised by Congress speakers notably A. S. Patwardhan, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, T. Prakasam and Pandit Nekiram. As was expected the amendments were given short shift and Pandit Nehru himself applied the coup-degrace in the speech which underlined the fallacies of the communist demand for Hindu-Muslim unity. Those amendments which were not withdrawn secured only 12 votes and the main resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority, only 13 members voting against it.

M. K. Gandhi wound up the proceedings with a lengthy speech in which he touched on the question of Hindu-Muslim unity and issued very vague instructions regarding the conduct of the coming movement. In conclusion, the President reminded his audience that the passing of the resolution had only initiated the campaign and that the people themselves must carry it to a successful termination.

It is reported that in pursuance of V. J. Patel's appeal the Ahmedabad Mill Owners Association and Maskati Cloth Market Mahajan have donated sums up to Rs. 10,51,000 to utilise the same for carrying on the Congress Movement.

*Page 279, para. 782 —*

The week under review witnessed an almost unprecedented series of disturbances following the resolution adopted by the All India Congress Committee at Bombay. As an immediate sequel of this resolution M. K. Gandhi and all the members of the Working Committee including the President were arrested under orders of Government (9th August).

*Page 279, para. 784 —*

A booklet entitled "Quit India" by M. K. Gandhi printed at the Associated Advertisers and Printers Ltd., Bombay and compiled by R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao, edited by Yusuf J. Meherally and published by Padma Publication, Bombay, has come to notice.

*[Extract from file No. 3001\H\VIII (P. 283)]*

BOMBAY CITY, S. B. (I), JULY 25TH.—Information of a reliable nature on the exact lines on which Gandhi's proposed mass movement will proceed, is still lacking. The following extracts from the "Times of India" and "Blitz" are, however, of interest, since they tend to confirm rumours

*Page 279, para. 784 — continued*

heard from other sources. Nor are they contradicted by certain statements of Gandhi himself made from time to time in his newspaper the "Harijan".

'Times of India'  
dated 22-7-42  
by Candidus.

'Blitz '  
dated 25-7-42.

1. Non-co-operation with Government in every sphere of activity, involving-resistance to every edict of Government.
3. Non-payment of taxes.
3. Strikes, Peasant uprising and such things.
4. Boycott, hartals, picketing and the like.

Setting up of a parallel "national" Government in order to paralyze the existing administrative machinery and compel the British to withdraw from the land.

1. All obstructive tactics employed by Congress during previous non-co-operation movements (1921 & 1930-32) will be mobilized into what Congressmen expect will be a "totalitarian struggle" against the Government.
2. The campaign will be open to all and sundry and not only Congressmen.
3. Complete non-co-operation with the authorities.
4. No tax campaigns.
5. Hartals, strikes obstruction to the war efforts and specially the military.

2. It is further reported that a "hartal" and a letter to H. E. the Viceroy, immediately after the All India Congress Committee Meeting is over will precede the actual launching of the movement.

3. Opposition to the movement is likely from the Communists, Hindu Maha Sabha, Depressed Classes and Muslim League.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 5296/H/3001

Special Branch I, C. I. D.

Bombay, 25th July 1942.

Advance copy to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department (Spl), Bombay, for information.

(Sd.) X X X

for Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

*Page 55; para. 119—*

*Congress Activities.*—The event of the week was M. K. Gandhi's embarkation on a three weeks' fast from February 10th, which has created a stir in the political circles in the country. Partial hartals and suspension of business were the immediate reactions.

*Page 82, para. 183 —*

Sympathetic demonstrations such as prayers, partial hartals, fast, processions, etc., continued in some districts.

On February 28th, about 300 merchants offered prayers in the premises of the Merchants' Association, Ahmedabad and observed silence for 10 minutes. The same day about 300 workers of the Swadeshi mills, Kurla (B. S. D.), observed hartal.

The Municipal Councillors of Bulsar (Sural) submitted their resignations en bloc in protest against Government refusal to release M. K. Gandhi.

The Bar Association of Athani (Belgaum), Merchants of Siddapur (Kanara) and citizens of Jalgaon (East Khandesh) addressed telegrams requesting for Gandhi's release to H. E. the Viceroy.

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About 260 persons were put under arrest at Poona for attempting to lead processions towards the Aga Khan Palace.

M. K. Gandhi terminated his fast on the morning of March 3rd, much to the relief of the general public.

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*Page 52, para. 174 —*

Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi expired on 22nd February and was cremated on the premises of the Aga Khan Palace. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, his two sons and about 100 persons, including Rt. Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, Sir R. P. Paranjpe, N. C. Kelkar were present on the occasion. Her death was widely mourned in the Province through hartals, closure of schools and colleges and abortive processions. About 125 volunteers of the Rashtra Seva Dal, Nasik, observed a mourning silence with the Congress flag at half mast. The demonstrations were on the whole peaceful excepting for a few incidents at Poona and Ahmedabad where rowdy elements indulged in throwing stones in an effort to bring about the closure of schools and shops.

*Page 111, para. 382*

POONA, 6TH MAY.—The week was quiet except for sporadic subversive activity in the districts of Satara and Ahmednagar.

Ahmedabad and a few other places reacted to the news of M. K. Gandhi's ill-health and prayers were offered for his early recovery. At Ahmedabad local markets and business centres suspended transactions on May 4th. A general demand that the Government of India release him came from the people and the press. To the surprise of many Gandhi was unconditionally released on medical grounds on May 6th. This quick decision on the part of the Government of India and especially His Excellency the Viceroy has drawn much favourable comment from the press.

(Extract from file No. 3001/X/H.)

*Page 259:*

BOMBAY CITY, S. B. (I), MAY 6TH.—During the week there was a good deal of anxiety felt by the people on account of newspaper reports about the illness of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and speculation was rife as to what action Government would take in the circumstances. The Press and Indian Institutions, such as the Indian Merchants' Chamber, appealed to Government to release him immediately on humanitarian grounds. The news of his unconditional release which was published in Bombay on the morning of May 6th, was received with universal rejoicing in the city.

*Page 117, para. 402 —*

M. K. Gandhi was released on May 6th from the Aga Khan's Palace. After his release he was lodged at "Parnakuti" by Lady Thackersey until he left for Dadar on May 11th to stay at Juhu (B. S. D.). During his stay in Poona, he was visited by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit, Mr. Feroz and Indira Gandhi, K. M. Munshi, Kamalanayan Bajaj, Devidas Gandhi, A. V. Thakkar, Nanji Kalidas from South Africa, Dr. Popatlal Bhupatkar of Sind and a few local Congressmen. Evening prayers were held daily attracting audiences up to 5,000. After the prayers, Gandhi collected small sums towards the Harijan Fund to the tune of about Rs. 2,700.

On May 10th, local Congress including T. R. Deogirakar, K. M. Jedhe, G. A. Deshpande, H. G. Pathak and Miss Prema Kantak acquainted Gandhi with happenings in Maharashtra during the subversive movement.

On May 11th, Gandhi and party left Poona and arrived at Juhu (B. S. D.) where he is staying in a shack belonging to Shantikumar Narottam Morarji.

Gandhi's release has been universally welcomed in this Province as a gesture on the part of the Government of India favourable to a solution of the Indian political deadlock even though the release is attributed to ill-health.

*Page 123, para. 423—*

POONA 1, 28TH MAY 1944.—There is satisfactory improvement of Gandhi's health. He commenced observing silence for a fortnight from May 14th in order to ensure complete rest. He listens to visitors, holds evening prayers with an average attendance of 1,500 and collects contributions towards the Harijan Fund at the rate of about Rs. 1,000 per day.

*Page 135, para. 463—*

POONA, 3RD JUNE 1944.—M. K. Gandhi's health continues to improve. Evening prayers and collections for the Harijan Fund continued as usual. He busied himself in receiving a comparatively large number of

*Page 135, para. 463 — continued*

visitors during the week, prominent being Sir R. P. Masani, M. R. Masani (ex-Mayor of Bombay), Nagindas T. Master, S. A. Brelvi (Editor of the Bombay Chronicle), Bhulabhai Desai, G. D. Birla, Seth Walchand Hirachand, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Indulal K. Yagnik, Sardar Prithvisingh and M. Y. Nurie (ex-Minister of Bombay).

Gandhi has not yet definitely indicated his further course of action, although he has hinted at his feelings in a private letter to Dr. M. R. Jaykar. The letter and especially the portion referring to his refusal to withdraw the August Resolution has become the subject of much controversy in the press. Opinions in political circles differ as to its use in solving the Indian Political deadlock and speculation is rife that Gandhi will court re-arrest. All shades of political opinion are anxiously awaiting a public statement.

*Page 149, para. 505 —*

POONA, 17th JUNE 1944.—During his stay at Juhu, Gandhi presided over evening prayers attended by large audiences who made contributions to the Harijan Fund. He also busied himself with daily interviews, the more prominent visitors including (1) Mangaldas Pakwasa, (2) N. M. Joshi, (3) B. J. Desai, (4) N. T. Master, (5) G. D. Birla, (6) S. A. Brelvi, (7) Amritlal D. Seth, (8) Sardar Prithvisingh, (9) Gulzarilal Nanda, (10) Khandubhai Desai, (11) P. C. Joshi, (12) Venkatram Shastri of Madras, (13) K. M. Munshi, (14) Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, (15) G. A. Deshpande, (16) Dr. B. C. Roy of Calcutta, and (17) Dr. M. R. Jaykar.

He held long discussions with Dr. M. R. Jaykar and Sir Homi Mody on political situation with special reference to the August Resolution and it is learnt that he expressed his inability to withdraw the August Resolution without the support of the Congress Working Committee.

Gandhi left Juhu for Poona on June 15th and is staying in Dr. Mehta's Nature Cure Clinic. Except for a slight rise in his blood pressure his health shows no deterioration.

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*(Bombay Police Commissioner 3001 /H/XI.)*

*Page 111 —*

JUNE 15TH.—Mr. M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by Miss Sushila Nayar, Pyarelal, Kanu Gandhi, etc., left Bombay for Poona by the Poona Express on June 15th. The party drove in motor cars from Juhu and entrained at the level crossing between Sion and Kurla Stations where arrangements were specially made to halt the train. Dr. Gilder and half a dozen other persons saw them off.

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(Bombay Police commissioner 3001/H/XI.)

Page 203 —

BOMBAY CITY, JUNE 23RD.—Before his departure to Poona on June 15th, M. K. Gandhi circulated cyclostyled copies of the correspondence which had passed between himself and the Viceroy to a few selected public and Pressmen. This correspondence consisted of 2 small volumes marked "Not for Publication". The Associated Press, however, obtained permission from Government and commenced publishing the correspondence with the result that other newspapers later on also published interesting portions.

The nationalist press believes that this is the only possible reply Gandhi can give in the circumstances and is of the opinion that there is no hope of an early solution of the present deadlock.

The "Khilafat" has very adversely criticised this correspondence and suggests that Gandhi should not be given such an opportunity to carry on correspondence with Government but that he should be advised to settle the Hindu-Muslim question.

The "Inquilab" has also taken an adverse view of the letters.

(Sd.) x x x

Page 155, para. 525—

POONA, JUNE 24TH 1944.—Gandhi's health continues to improve in spite of fluctuating blood pressure. Several visitors including Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Chunilal Mehta, Mr. & Mrs. Feroze Gandhi, Mrs. Nargis Ben Captain, A. V. Thakkar, Nagindas T. Master and few local leaders called on him during the week.

The outstanding event of political interest was Gandhi's circulation to the selected leaders, editors and friends of the two booklets (1) containing correspondence between him and the Government of Bombay, Central Government and H. E. the Viceroy (Lord Wavell) and (2) his reply to the Government publication "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43", some letters addressed to H. E. the Viceroy (Lord Wavell) and a substantial portion of his reply to the Government of India have appeared in the Press and their publication appears to have been generally welcomed as a possible lead to a solution of the political stalemate.

Page 161, para. 540—

POONA, 1ST JULY 1944.—During the week Gandhi received a number of visitors including (1) Hon. Mr. Pakwasa, (2) Dr. Jawaharlal of U. P., (3) Venkatrama Sastri, (4) Miss Margaret Pope, (5) Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, (6) Dr. James Veil and had prolonged discussions with K. M. Munshi, G. D. Birla, Dr. Khan Saheb (ex-Premier of the N. W. F. Province), Dr. M. R. Jayakar and C. Rajagopalachariar.

On June 29th, he addressed a gathering of about 50 Congressmen from Maharashtra and explained his present position as a dictator so far as the August resolution was concerned. A summary of his speech has already been published in the Press.

Gandhi intends to leave for Panchgani (Satara district) on July 2nd.

*Page 167, para. 562—*

POONA, 8TH JULY 1944.—M. K. Gandhi left for Panchgani (Satara district) on the morning of July 2nd with his entourage and was greeted on his arrival by local Congressmen and a batch of 40 volunteers of the Rashtra Seva Dal. He later gave interviews to local Congress leaders, viz., R. G. Soman and D. K. Gosavi. Gandhi is reported to have had prolonged discussions with C. Rajagopalachariar on the question of withdrawal of the August resolution but would arrive at no final decision in the absence of the members of the Working Committee. He does not seem inclined to give any indication of his future policy. Congressmen in Maharashtra, who called on him during his stay at Poona, appear to be labouring under a feeling of suspense and do not intend to initiate any definite programme pending future developments.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, had discussions with Gandhi on July 5th.

*Page 173, para. 583—*

POONA, 15TH JULY 1944.—Despite inclement weather at Panchgani Gandhi continued to hold discussions with leaders and Press correspondents during the week. His interview with Mr. Gelder, War Correspondent of the *News Chronicle* (London), has been given wide publicity in the Indian Press along with the preface issued subsequently by Gandhi explaining the motive behind the interview. In short, he has obviously adopted a policy of reconciliation by putting forward a demand for the establishment of a National Government at the Centre with facilities to be afforded for advice and criticisms in matters of defence. Gandhi's new move has drawn a fire of criticism from various political quarters but has generally had a favourable reception, in that it has at least opened the door of negotiation with Government.

Another event of political importance during the week was the publication of correspondence regarding the formula offered by C. Rajagopalachariar to M. A. Jinnah, with the approval of M. K. Gandhi, for a Congress-League Settlement on the issue of "Pakistan". The formula has naturally received a mixed reception from political parties, with the leaders of the Hindu Maha Sabha providing vehement opposition and claiming that Gandhi and the Congress have no right to surrender an inch of the country.

It is rumoured in Surat that if the political deadlock is not solved by 9th August 1944, there will be a general strike in the city, and bulletins will be distributed.

*Page 179, para. 604—*

POONA, 22ND JULY 1944.—During the week Gandhi busied himself in issuing statements and giving interviews to Pressmen in order to explain his position in respect of the solution of the Indian political deadlock. His attitude towards Rajagopalachari's formula for the Congress-League Settlement has extremely provoked Hindu Maha Sabhaites who are now out to demonstrate their opposition vehemently. V. D. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha, has issued a statement asking Hindu Maha Sabhaites to observe "Anti-Pakistan Week" all over the country. It is also learnt that a batch of about a dozen volunteers of the Hindu Rashtra Dal staged a black flag demonstration at Panchgani, during Gandhi's prayer time on July 22nd.

*Page 185, para. 621—*

Gandhi watched the reactions to the various statements he has issued in connection with the solution of the "deadlock" and Rajagopalachari's formula. He also held discussions with Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay and Dr. Ahmed Kazi of the Orient Press and gave interviews to Manoranjan Chaudhari of the Bengal Hindu Sabha, Mrs. Kalyani Bhattacharjee, Mohan Kumar Mangalam, Vaijanath Mahodaya and Mr. R. K. Sidhwa.

On 28th July 1944 Gandhi issued a statement denouncing sabotage activities and advising underground workers to discover themselves and take the risk of being imprisoned in the conviction that their imprisonment would help the freedom movement, if they share his thesis that underground activity is not conducive to the growth of the spirit of active non-violence. He also reiterated his faith in the constructive programme, viz., (1) Communal unity, (2) Removal of untouchability, (3) Prohibition, (4) Other Village Industries, (5) Khadi, (6) Village sanitation, (7) New or basic education, (8) Adult education, (9) Uplift of women, (10) Service of the so-called aborigines, (11) Education in health and hygiene, (12) Propaganda of Rashtra Bhasha, (13) Love of one's own language, and (14) Working for economic equality.

*Page 191, para. 642—*

POONA, 5TH AUGUST 1944.—Gandhi busied himself in giving interviews to Pressmen, Congress workers and issuing statements. He had discussions with Nagindas T. Master about the details of the constructive programme drawn up by him and the question of surrender of underground agitators. To a suggestion from Nagindas T. Master, Gandhi said that the programme for the celebration of the 2nd Anniversary of the "9th August" should be within the limits imposed by law and that flag salutations should be held only in private places and attended by groups of less than five persons. Congressmen in general should carry on their normal activities as in the time before the August resolution. On July 29th, about 20 Congressmen from Satara district including R. G. Soman, R. V. Limaye saw Gandhi and described the food problem and political situation in the district.

Gandhi left Panchgani on August 1st and arrived at Poona on the same evening, receiving receptions from villagers *en route*. Next morning (2nd August) he left Poona for Wardha (C. P.) *via* Kalyan where he was accorded a reception from a gathering of about 6,000 persons and was garlanded by various local institutions.

*Page 227, para. 767—*

POONA, 16TH SEPTEMBER 1944.—M. K. Gandhi and party, who arrived in Bombay by the Calcutta Mail, on the afternoon of September 9th, alighted at a level-crossing between Kurla and Sion and were received by Nagindas T. Master, S. K. Patil, Bhulabhai J. Desai, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Shantikumar Murarji and others.

It is reported that about 30 Khaksars boarded the same train at Kalyan, together with 6 Sikhs carrying anti-Pakistan placards. They too alighted at the level-crossing, where a crowd of about 100 persons demonstrated with a placard and shouted anti-Pakistan slogans. Gandhi then proceeded to Birla House by car.

At 4 p.m., 9th September Gandhi met Jinnah at the latter's bungalow on Mount Pleasant Road and had discussions with him for about 3 hours. He then returned to Birla House, where he held prayers before an assembly of about 500 persons. Eight Sikhs in batches of 4 were arrested for attempting to hold anti-Pakistan demonstrations on September 9th. One S. K. Nalvade, who offered Satyagraha at the entrance of Gandhi's residence was also arrested. On September 10th, four Sikhs and one Hindu Mahasabhaite were arrested for similar demonstrations.

On September 10th, about 10,000 persons collected at "Rungta House" where Gandhi held his evening prayers.

*Page 233, para. 780--*

POONA, 23RD SEPTEMBER 1944.—The Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations continued during the week.

*Page 233, para. 790—*

To mark Gandhi's 75th birthday anniversary, the customary "Gandhi Jayanti week" is being celebrated from September 14th throughout Gujarat and B.S.D. The programme includes mass spinning, flag salutation and prayers for Gandhi's long life. All principal markets, textile mills and private schools in Ahmedabad were closed on September 14th, and on September 16th some students of the C. N. Industrial School held a torchlight parade. At some places in Gujarat, Gandhi Kutirs (huts) have been erected with Gandhi's pictures. On September 14th, students meetings (120—200) were held in Surat, Kaira and Broach districts at which speeches in eulogy of Gandhi were made and students were advised to follow his teachings.

A private meeting of the Trustees of the Kasturba National Memorial Fund was held at Bombay on September 9th under the Presidentship of Mr. M. K. Gandhi. Among those present were Sir Purshottam Thakordas J. R. D. Tata, C. Rajagopalachari, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, K. M.

Munshi, Ambalal Sarabhai, Shantikumar Narottam Morarji, A. V. Thakkar and Devidas Gandhi. Mangaldas Pakvasa and Pranal Devkaran Nanjee were present by invitation.

*Page 239, para. 810—*

POONA, 30TH SEPTEMBER 1944.—After 18 days of discussion shrouded in secrecy the Gandhi-Jinnah talks broke down on September 27th. In nationalist circles widespread despondency was evident at the failure to achieve any result which might indicate a way out of the present impasse. The opposition of Hindu Maha Sabha and anti-Pakistan supporters was proportionately jubilant. They do not, however intend to allow the anti-Pakistan agitation to lapse into quiescence and V. D. Savarkar in a press statement has urged strong support for the "Akhand Hindusthan Leaders Conference" to be held in Delhi.

The Urdu Press, not unnaturally, throws the onus of the failure on Gandhi whom it accuses of a disinclination to understand the demand for Pakistan which he visualizes as a side-issue compared to the demand for independence.

*Page 245, para. 829—*

Gandhi left Bombay for Wardha on September 30th.

*Page 295, para. 1008—*

POONA, 2ND DECEMBER 1944.—The proscription of Chapter 14 of the book "Satyarth Prakash" by the Sind Government has been the subject of considerable comment in the Press. M. K. Gandhi has expressed his disapproval of the action of the Sind Government, but the Congress press has generally refrained from comment.

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*Pages 59, 60, para. 171 —*

The Bombay Mill Mazdoor Sangh held a private meeting on February 18th. Gulzarilal Nanda presided and about 40 persons including (1) S. K. Patil, (2) S. B. Mahashabde, (3) G. D. Ambekar, (4) Dr. V. B. Korgaonkar, (5) Amul Desai, (6) Baburao Gholap, (7) Raja Kulkarni and (8) Rohit M. Dave attended.

The President said that he had recently interviewed Mr. Gandhi and had a talk with him regarding the Working Class Movement. Mr. Gandhi had said that the Congress, with the co-operation of labour organisations, should try to unite workers under its (Congress) leadership in order to launch a fight for the freedom of India. The speaker said that the peasants and students were already supporting the Congress and he stressed the necessity of also bringing the state subjects and the working classes into the Congress fold within the next two years.

*Page 94, para. 282 —*

M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by his two secretaries Dr. Miss Sushila Nayar and Dr. Syed Mahmood, arrived in Bombay by the Calcutta Mail

on March 31st. The party was received by about 300 persons including Nagindas T. Master, S. K. Patil, Honourable Mr. Pakwasa, Dahyabhai Patel, Miss Maniben Patel. He is staying at Birla House.

He is expected to attend the meetings of the Executive of the Kasturba Memorial Fund Committee and of the Trustees. It is learnt that a number of important schemes drawn up by the various Provincial and District Committee of the Trust will be considered at the meetings. Fresh collections to the fund are also to be considered.

*Page 102. para. 311 —*

POONA, 14TH APRIL 1945.—Since his arrival in Bombay, M. K. Gandhi has had a number of visitors including the Honourable Mr. Pakwasa, Gulzarilal Nanda, Khandubhai Desai, the Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Bishwanath Das of Orissa. Shrikrishna Das Jaju, Gangadharrao Deshpande, Dr. Syed Mahmood and Mrs. Maitreyes Bose. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, who arrived in Bombay on April 3rd has been almost a daily visitor.

Informal discussions in connection with the Kasturba Memorial Fund took place at Birla House on April 1st, 2nd and 4th and various schemes put forward by provinces were considered. The meeting of the Trustees has been adjourned to April 13th.

As usual Gandhi attended evening prayers first at Birla House and from April 3rd at Rungta House. These functions were well attended and collections were made for the Harijan Fund.

On April 8th, Gandhi received a deputation on behalf of the strikes of the B. E. S. & T. Co., and reported to have said that, if the leaders of the Workers' Union had been arrested by the authorities for suspending work for 10 minutes on April 3rd, they should be released immediately. He is also said to have congratulated their leaders for their extreme moderation and consideration for the convenience of the public.

Gandhi is expected to prolong his stay in Bombay for about a week and will then leave for Mahabaleshwar.

*Page 110, para. 335 —*

M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, A. V. Thakkar Purushottamdas Tandon, Shanti Kumar N. Morarji, paid a visit to the Women Workers Training Camp at Borivli (B. S. D.) on April 11th, where he was taken round by Miss Mrudula Sarabhai.

Gandhi addressed the trainees and spoke about the duties they would be called upon to perform in the villages after their training.

He spoke at some length on subjects connected with the social welfare of women and children, the removal of untouchability, the national language, etc.

Gandhi attended the usual evening prayers at Borivli in which about 7,000 persons took part. After prayers, Gandhi referred to the training

camp and said that the women volunteers would go to different provinces to work among the villagers for the welfare of women and children. He reiterated his faith in truth and non-violence and stressed the need for learning Hindi and for the removal of untouchability. Concluding he said that those prayers were intended for those who wanted to throw off slavery.

At a meeting of the Trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund held at Scindia House on April 13th attended by M. K. Gandhi, G. D. Birla, J. R. D. Tata, Shantikumar N. Morarji, V. L. Mehta, the Honourable Mr. Mavlankar, the Honourable Mr. Pakwasa, A. V. Thakkar and Lady Premila Thakersey several schemes for starting dispensaries in rural areas for the prevention of leprosy and also centres for training nurses and spreading basic education were approved of. A sum of Rs. 36,000 was sanctioned for the maintenance of the Central Office in Bombay.

Evening prayers were held at Rungta House where collections were made for the Harijan Fund. A sum of Rs. 35,000 was made over to Mr. Gandhi by the Bullion Exchange for the use of the dependents of the Chimur and Ashti convicts. At one of the prayer meetings held on April 15th, Gandhi made it clear that he left the question of office acceptance to the discretion of provincial Congress leaders. He personally believed in his fifteen-fold "constructive programme" which would give the Indian people the freedom they wanted.

Two illegal posters in Hindi were noticed pasted on the walls at Rungta House where M. K. Gandhi holds his evening prayers. One of them depicted the incident of "Jalianwala Baug" and exhorted people not to forge the Day of Martyrdom. The second poster pointed out that since the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1942, people have discovered their friends and enemies in the Congress party. The poster showed that Gandhi's schemes have been carried out by selfish men who are around him and suggested that such selfish persons should be eliminated from the Congress for the achievement of independence.

Gandhi arrived in Poona on April 20th and stayed for the night. He is reported to have had a short discussion about the Parliamentary programme with local Congressmen whom he instructed to follow it, if they believed in it. But no one he said, was empowered to speak for the Congress in the absence of the Working Committee. Finally he asked them to implement his constructive programme.

The next morning, 21st April Gandhi accompanied by Pyarelal, Dr. Sushila Nayar and two others left for Mahabaleshwar.

*Extract from file No. 3001 /H —*

BOMBAY CITY, S. B. (I). APRIL 16TH 1945.—On April 14th, Manilal Gandhi (Gandhi's son) returned from South Africa. He is residing at Birla House and is expected to stay in India for about a year.

At a meeting of the Trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund held at Scindia House on April 13th and attended by M. K. Gandhi, G. D. Birla, J. R. D. Tata, Shantikumar N. Morarji, V. L. Mehta, the Honourable Mr. Mavlankar, the Honourable Mr. Pakwasa, A. V. Thakkar and Lady Premlila Thakersey, several schemes for starting dispensaries in rural areas for the prevention of leprosy and also centres for training nurses. and spreading basic education were approved of. A sum of Rs. 36,000 was sanctioned for the maintenance of the Central Office in Bombay.

Evening prayers were held at Rungta House where collections were made for Harijan Fund and a sum of Rs. 35,000 was made over to Mr. Gandhi by the Bullion Exchange for the use of the dependents of the Chimur and Ashti convicts. At one of the prayer meetings held on April 15th, Mr. Gandhi made it clear that he left the question of office acceptance to the discretion of provincial Congress leaders. He personally believed in his fifteen-fold "constructive programme" which would give the Indian people the freedom desired.

Mr. Gandhi will leave Bombay for Mahabaleshwar by the Deccan Queen on April 20th

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan left for Peshawar on April 15th.

*Page 116. para. 358—*

On April 17th, several Pressmen, including American and British War Correspondents interviewed M. K. Gandhi. They were given copies of his statement on the ensuing San Francisco Conference which was published in the Press next day.

On April 18th. leading members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber headed by its President M. A. Master and Vice-President Mahamed Hussein Premji saw Gandhi and discussed with him a report published in the British Press to the effect that India could only be industrialised by British and Indian co-operation on a fifty-fifty basis, in capital and controlling interests. Gandhi is reported to have advised the merchants not to cooperate with such schemes of industrialisation if they found that they were impracticable in India.

On April 19th, Gandhi held his final evening prayers at Rungta House before a gathering of about 500 persons and once more laid stress on his fifteen-fold 'constructive programme' in preference to the parliamentary one.

*Page 159, para. 502—*

Harekrishna Mehtab, member of the Congress Working Committee, arrived at Poona on May 30th. He left for Mahabaleshwar the following day to see M. K. Gandhi.

*Page 176, pare. 554 —*

'Since the announcement of Lord Wavell's plan, M. K. Gandhi has been busy considering the plan and has been in communication with the Viceroy



in clarifying his position as a representative of the Congress; he insisted that the Congress President or a Congress nominee could alone represent the Congress. He took strong objection to the term "Caste Hindus " used by the Viceroy and felt it would create a misunderstanding since the Congress was never a communal body. He also discussed the various aspects of the plan, particularly with Bhulabhai Desai who was one of the, sponsors of the Desai-Liaquat formula and is reported to have assured Bhulabhai that he would support him during the conference to be held of Simla on June 25th. He discussed the plan with Congress leaders such as Vallabhbhai Patel, S. D. Deo. Dr. Syed Mahmud, Jayramdas Daulatram and Acharya Kripalani. He left Panchgani on June 19th, stopped at Poona on route to Bombay and proceeded there the next morning in order to attend the meeting of the Congress Working Committee held on June 21st.

At Bombay he attended the meeting of the Congress Working Committee on 21st and 22nd June and took part in its deliberations. He, left for Simla on the 22nd evening to attend the conference.

*Page 247. para. 773*

M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Vallabhbhai J. Patel and party arrived in Poona on August 21st. He was received at Shiwajinagar Railway Station by a crowd of about 300 persons, including local Congress leaders and Rashtra Seva Dal volunteers.

Gandhi and Patel have taken up their residence at Dr. Dinshaw Mehta's Natural Cure Clinic where Patel has been receiving treatment. Both of them are, however, reported to have seen a number of local Congress leaders and such visitors as S. D. Deo, B. G. Kher, N. V. Gadgil, G. A. Deshpande. Dr. B. C. Lagu, Kaka Kalelkar, S. S. Batliwalla, Miss Mridula Sarabhai. Dr. A. G. Tendulkar and a few others, and to have had private discussions with them.

On August 24th. Sir Jagdish Prasad and Dr. M. R. Jayakar saw Gandhi and Patel and had private discussions.

Gandhi held his usual evening prayers and collected money for the Harijan Fund.

The news about the death of Subhas Bose reached here on August 24th. N. V. Gadgil, President of the M. P. C. C. and J. S. Karandikar, President of the Provincial Hindu Maha Sabha, issued a joint appeal to the public and to students to observe 'hartal' for the day. Further developments will be reported in due course.

*Page 255 para. 794*

POONA, 1ST SEPTEMBER 1945.—M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel saw the following prominent persons during the week:—

(1) Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, (2) B. G. Kher, (3) J. B. Kripalani, (4) Sir Gopaldaswami Iyengar, (5) Acharya Narendra Deo, (6) Ashok Mehta. (7) Prof. Agarwal, (8) Gulzarilal Nanda, (9) P. H. *alias* Raosaheb Patwardhan. (10) N. V. Gadgil, (11) R. K. Khadilkar.

P. H. Patwardhan, N. V. Gadgil and R. K. Khadilkar are reported to have had discussions about the situation in Satara district with Gandhi and Vallabhbhai. S. D. Deo, a member of the Congress Working Committee and N V. Gadgil, President of the M. P. C. C. issued press statements in reply to the Government Press Note describing various instances of gangster activity by underground agitators.

*Page 263, para. 811 —*

POONA, 8TH SEPTEMBER 1945.—A number of political leaders and others saw Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel at Poona during the week, the most prominent being:—

- (1) Ahmed Dastagir.
- (2) Mohan Kumaramangalam.
- (3) Shailesh Chandra Bose (Brother of S. C. Bose).
- (4) R. D. Birla.
- (5) Sir Ardeshir Dalal.
- (6) N. V. Gadgil.
- (7) Miss Prema Kantak.
- (8) Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.
- (9) S. P. Gidwani, President, H. M. Sabha, Karachi.
- (10) The Honourable Mr. Mangaldas Pakwasa.
- (11) Kasturbhai Lalbhai.
- (12) R. K. Divakar.
- (13) Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas.

Ahmed Dastagir, who was deputed by Allama Mashriqui, discussed the draft constitution framed by Mashriqui with Gandhi. L. M. Patil, ex-Minister, discussed with Patel the labour and kisan activities in Maharashtra. Mohan Kumaramangalam, a Bombay Communist, is reported to have discussed the situation arising out of the present strained relations existing between Communists and Congressites in Bombay.

*Page 271, para. 831—*

POONA, 15TH SEPTEMBER 1945.—M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel saw a number of political leaders and visitors at Poona during the week the most prominent being:

- (1) S. S. Batliwalla, (2) Ghanashyam Gupta, (3) B. J. Desai, (4) K. M. Munshi, (5) Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, (6) Nagindas T. Master, (7) Seth Walchand Hirachand, (8) Mr. Si-Liu-Sun, Chinese Vice Consul, (9) Mrs. Si-Liu-Sun, (10) B. G. Kher, (11) P. H. *alias* Rao Saheb Patwardhan, (12) S. K. Patil.

Ghanashyam Gupta is understood to have had discussions with Gandhi regarding the ban on *Satyartha Prakasha* and to have sought his advice. Bhulabhai Desai discussed the statement issued by Liaquat Ali Khan regarding the "Desai-Liaquat Pact" with Gandhi and proposes to issue a statement explaining his position and his discussions with Liaquat Ali on the subject.

Gandhi addressed the members of the Maharashtra Provincial Kaslurba Memorial Committee held at the Nature Cure Clinic on September 9th under the presidentship of B. G. Kher, and advised them to pay special attention to sanitation and epidemics in the Villages.

P. H. *alias* Rao Saheb Patwardhan had further discussions with Vallabhbhai J. Patel on the subject of Satara.

V. J. Palel granted an interview to Mr. Preston Grover of the Associated Press of America and made a statement on the present political situation in India The statement has appeared in the press *Page 271, Para. 832—*

As announced, the Congress Working Committee met in Poona on September 12th under the Presidentship of Maulana Abdul Kallam Azad. The following members were present:—

(1) Pundit J. Nehru, (2) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, (3) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. t4) Bar. Asaf Ali, (5) Dr. Rajendra Prasad. (6) Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh, (7) Harekrishna Mehtab, (8) Govind Vallabh Pant, (9) Vallabhbhai J. Patel, (10) S. D. Deo, (11) Acharya J. B. Kripalani.

M. K. Gandhi. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, C. Rajagopalachari, Gopinath Bardoli and Kiran Shankar Roy were also present.

The members of the Working Committee reviewed the political situation in the country from August 1942 up-to-date and discussed the prospect of general elections. They also discussed the question of self-determination arising out of the statement issued by Congress President.

After four days' deliberations the Committee drafted the following resolutions for the consideration of the A. I.C.C. to be held in Bombay:—

1. The A. I. C. C. at its first meeting after more than three years of want on suppression by the British Government desires to convey its greetings and congratulations to the nation for the courage and endurance with which it withstood the fears and violent onslaught of the British power and its deep sympathy to all those who suffered during these three years of military. police and ordinance rules. The committee regrets that in some places the people forget and fell away from the Congress method of peaceful and non-violent action, but realises that the provocative action of the Government in effecting sudden and widespread arreets of all well-known leaders and ruthless repression of peaceful demonstrations, goaded them to rise spontaneously to resist the armed might of an alien imperialist power which was trying to crush the spirit of freedom and the passionate desire of the Indian people to gain independence. The earnest appeal made by the A. T. C. C. at its last meeting held on August 8th, 1942, for creating conditions necessary for full co-operation with the United Nations in the cause of world freedom was ignored and the suggested attempts to solve the Indian problem by negotiations were answered by the Government by an all-out attack on the Indian people and by

subjecting an unarmed India to many of the horrors of war which accompany an invasion. Three years of rightfulness have left their long trail behind them. of death and agony and suffering and avoidable man made famine which took its toll of millions of lives, and an administrative system which is full of corruption and incompetence, totally incapable of handling on solving India's problem. Yet these years have also demonstrated the courage of the Indian people to meet Governmental repression and have steeled and hardened in their resolve to gain freedom and deliverance from foreign rule.

The world war is happily over and its long shadow still darkens the world and prospects of future war are being considered. The appearance of the atom-bomb as a weapon of war with its frightful and horrible powers of destruction has brought to a crisis the immoral and self-destructive elements of the present day political, economic and spiritual structure of the world. Civilisation is likely to destroy itself unless it gives up its imperialist and acquisitive tendencies and bases itself on the peaceful co-operation of free nations and on the maintenance of the dignity of man. The end of the war has brought freedom to the colonial and dependent countries and the imperialist powers are again engaged in the old contest for dominion over others.

The A. I. C. C reiterates its national and international objectives laid down in its resolution of August 8th, 1942. and its conviction that the independence of India is essential for world peace and must be the basis for the freedom of Asiatic and other dependent nations. The independence of India must be unequivocally recognised and her status among the United Nations must be that of an independent nation, co-operating with others on the equal basis for the establishment, of a world order of peace and freedom.

2. The announcement that fresh general elections will be held for the Central and the Provincial Assemblies has been made in a manner and in circumstances which arose suspicion. There has been no announcement of the policy which the British Government intends to pursue or of the subsequent steps and the objective aimed at. It is only in the context of the full picture that a preliminary step can be judged and a proper decision taken. No such picture has so far been presented by the British Government and it would appear that the old policies, largely laid down and controlled by the reactionary groups of the permanent services in India, are still being pursued. The present constitution by itself and even more so the 1919 Act governing the Central Assembly are completely out of date. Every transitional step can only be viewed in the light of present declaration of Indian Independence and the rapid attainment of it in actual working.

The electoral rolls are many years old, incomplete, full of errors and omissions and containing many false entries. During these years there have been many changes in population, due to war exigencies, migration natural calamities and other causes, Adequate opportunities are not

being offered for their revision, and the conditions for free and fair elections are not present. While the Congress stands for adult franchise, the existing franchise for the Centre is limited to a very small number of persons, numbering less than one per cent of the population. The Central Assembly is still governed by the Act of 1919 and is, for all practical purpose, an advisory body with no real powers, whose advice and recommendations are frequently rejected or overridden by the Governor-General. To continue such an ineffective and impotent Central Legislature and that too on the old franchise and basis is a mockery of all claims to democracy. The sudden dissolution of the legislatures in some provinces has emphasised the hostility of the present Governmental authorities to even the possibility of popular Governments in the meantime, and has been done in a manner which is an affront to the people.

Nevertheless to demonstrate the will of the people and on the issue of the immediate transfer of power, the A. I. C. C. resolves that the forthcoming elections be contested, and directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

3. The Congress, from its earliest beginning 60 years ago, has tried to win Swaraj for all the people of India. But the content and implications of the word "Swaraj" have progressively varied with the march of time as also the people towards their goal. So have the means. Thus Swaraj at one time meant self-government of the people under the tutelage and fostering care of the British Government in India. The means were strictly legal and constitutional. As efforts so circumscribed proved insufficient violence was resorted to from time to time, but this was sporadic, unorganised and secret. At each stage the Government of India responded reluctantly and in a niggardly manner with some sort of reforms accompanied by repression, leaving behind on every occasion a legacy of increasing discontent.

In 1920 the Congress became a mass organisation, basing its methods of action on peaceful and legitimate means and adopted a revolutionary programme of progressive non-co-operation, including civil disobedience, which was confined in certain circumstances to individuals or groups or areas and to the redress of certain grievances. At each stage more and more people began to join the struggle for freedom. In 1929-30 the Congress finally defined Swaraj as complete independence for India and ever since 1930, January 26th' has been observed as Independence Day when the pledge for independence is reaffirmed.

In August 1942, the urgency of the situation and the perils that confronted India led to a programme of immediate severance of the British connection being conceived, and this was to be adopted if the method of negotiated settlement failed. The resolution to this effect had hardly been adopted by the A. I. C. C. late at night, when in the early hours of the following morning, the members of the Working Committee, the A. I. C. C. and other Congressmen and Congress women were arrested in Bombay and all over India and other repressive measures were adopted by

the Government, the people stunned, leaderless and incensed gave vent to their just anger in the manner they thought best, both violently and non-violently, but. the governmental violence in every case put the popular acts of violence into the shade. As a result, military rule on a scale never before known in India became an established fact and sought to choke the vice and liberty of the people.

In June 1945 the British Government in India released the members of the Working Committee and convened a small and, what was intended to be, a fairly representative conference for the purpose of forming an interim National Government. It was understood that any decision arrived at by the conference would be acted upon by the Government. Suddenly, however, the Chairman of the meeting, in the person of the Viceroy, brought the proceedings to an. end, not because there was no general agreement among the members but because one of the participant groups would not co-operate in the formation of an interim government. No charge veiled or open, has been or can be brought against the Congress for the break up.

The noteworthy fact is that throughout all these events the yearning of the people for Swaraj has increased; they have become more and more awakened to the need for freeing themselves from the foreign yoke; and the distrust of the foreign government, in spite of its professions to the contrary, has increased. It was hoped, as would now appear, against hope that although the conference broke up, as it did, the Government would carry out the promise read into the Viceregal declarations that an Indian National Government, giving effect to the voice of the people, would soon take the place of the anarchical one nominated by the Government. If that hope had been well founded, the Government would have without any mental or other reservations, released all political prisoners, whether detained without trial or convicted under farcical procedure. Some releases have undoubtedly taken place but not in answer to popular demand and expectation. Many still remain behind prison bars. Bans on some organisations and restrictions and disabilities on individuals have not yet been removed and civil liberties are restricted. The continuance of sections 93 rule in the provinces and the recent dissolution of the legislatures in a number of provinces are significant and outstanding instances of the policy of the Government, which is determined to hold on to its authoritarian power and to exercise it arbitrarily and autocratically. It is not possible to derive any hope for the future in the shape of frank cooperation on the part of Government with the people in bringing them their long over due freedom and independence.

The method of negotiation and conciliation which is the key-note of peaceful policy can never be abandoned by the Congress, no matter how grave may be the provocation, any more than can that of non co-operation, complete or modified. Hence the guiding maxim of the Congress must remain: negotiation and settlement when possible and non-co-operation and direct action when necessary.

4. The A. I. C. C. has learnt with concern that large number of officers and men and women of the Indian National Army formed in Malaya and Burma in 1942 as well as some Indian soldiers from the western parts, are at present in various Indian and Foreign prisons awaiting trial or other decisions of the authorities. In view of all the circumstances prevailing in India, Malaya, Burma and elsewhere at the time of the formation of this Army and subsequently and further in view of the declared objects of this Army, these officers and men and women should have been treated as combatants and prisoners of war and discharged at the conclusion of hostilities. The A. I. C. C. is, however, strongly of opinion that for other additional reasons of far-reaching consequences and in view of the termination of the war, it would be tragedy if these officers, men and women were punished for the offence of having laboured, however, mistakenly, for the freedom of India. They can be of the greatest service in the heavy work of building up a new and free India, they have already suffered heavily and any additional punishment will not only be unjustified but will cause sorrow in innumerable homes and to the Indian people as a whole, and will widen the gulf between India and England. The A. I. C. C. therefore earnestly trusts that these officers and men and women in this Army will be released.

The A. I. C. C. also trusts that the Indian civilian population of Malaya, Burma and elsewhere who joined the India Independence League will in no way be harassed or subjected to any penalty.

The A. I. C. C. further trusts that any sentence of death already passed on any Indian soldier or civilian in connection with any activities connected with the war will not be carried out.

5. As some misapprehensions have arisen in regard to certain resolutions of the A. I. C. C. and of the Working Committee passed in 1942 relating to the future constitution of India, the Working Committee restates the position as follows:—

In accordance with the August 1942 resolution of the A. I. C. C. it will be for a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one with the residuary powers vesting in the units. The fundamental rights as laid down by the Karachi Congress, and subsequently added to, must form an integral part of this constitution. Further, as declared by the A. I. C. C. at its meeting held in Allahabad in May 1942 the Congress cannot agree to any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation. The Congress, as the Working Committee declared in April 1942, has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity, especially in the modern world when people's minds inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, will be injurious to all concerned and exceedingly painful to contemplate. Nevertheless, the Committee also declared, it cannot think in terms of

compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in and Indian Union against their declared and established will. While recognising this principle. every effort should be made to create conditions which would help the different units in developing a common and co-operative national life. The acceptance of the principle inevitably involves that no changes should be made which results in fresh problems being created and compulsion being exercised on other substantial groups within that area. Each territorial unit should have the fullest possible autonomy within the Union consistency with a strong national state.

6. As it appears to be the policy of the British Government to obstruct. and delay the formation of a People's National Government in India, it may take some time for such a Government to function. During this period the present. unrepresentative and irresponsible Government may enter into various kinds of commitments on behalf of India, which may not be in the interests of the Indian people and which may create shackles preventing growth and development. The A. I. C. C. therefore informs the United Nations and all others concerned that the present Government of India derives no power and authority from the people of India and in no way represents them, it is imposed on the Indian people by alien power and authority and can in no way commit India to any agreement affecting the vital interests of the people. Should any such agreement be entered into he people's representative Government on assuming power will have the right and duty to examine it and in the event of this being injurious to the interests of Indian people, to refuse to be bound by it.

*Page 281;para, 853:—*

POONA, 22ND SEPTEMBER 1945.—M. K. Gandhi attended the sittings of, the Congress Working Committee at all its sessions in Poona. He held evening prayers as usual and collected about Rs. 1,700 for the Harijan Fund.

On September 20th he attended the meeting of the All India Hindustani Talimi Sangh. Those present included B. G. Kher, Dr. Zakeer Hussain, Krishnadas Jaju, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Professor J. C. Kumarappa, G.'Ramchandran. Narhari Parikh and D. B. Kalelkar.

Gandhi left for Bombay on the night of 20th to attend the A. I. C. C. meeting.

*Page 289. para- 874 —*

M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel returned to Poona from Bombay on September 24th and 25th. respectively.

They saw a number of visitors during the week, prominent being:—

(1) N. V. Gadgil, (2) Sailesh Chandra Bose, (3) Surendra Mohan Ghosh, (4) Sir Jagdish Prasad. (5) Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, (6) Wamanrao Mukadam, (7) Rajada Hansraj, (8) Harekrishna Mehtab. (9)B. G. Kher (10) C. J.Ambli, (11) Shrirang Kamat, (12) Sarat Chandra Bose.



On September 26th, Gadgil is reported to have discussed with V. J. Patel the question of Congressmen who are debarred from standing as candidates to the Legislatures due to imprisonment in the 1942 movement, and sought his advice.

Sarat Chandra Bose, who saw Gandhi and Patel on September 28th, is reported to have discussed with them matters pertaining to the ensuing election the situation in Bengal and the Azad Hind Army.

*Page 291, para. 876 —*

After a lapse of about 3 years the A. I. C. C. met for the first time in Bombay at Gowalia Tank Maidan under the Presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on September 21st. About 25,000 persons attended and an equal number assembled outside the pendal. About 2,000 volunteers under Dr. T. R. Naravane and Mrs. Sophia Khan were posted at the pendal to preserve order.

M. K Gandhi did not attend the A. I. C. C. meeting owing to indisposition.

*Page 303, para. 897—*

POONA, 6TH OCTOBER 1945.-M. K. Gandhi and V. J. Patel are having a stream of visitors the more important who saw them during the week being:

(1) K. M. Munshi, (2) B. G. Kher, (3) G. B. Deshpande. (4) S. K. Patil, (5) Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. (6) Dr. A. G. Tendulkar, (7) Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, (8) A. V. Thakkar, (9) Walchand Hirachand.

S. K. Patil who was accompanied by Dahyabhai V. Patel is reported to have discussed with V. J. Patel the names of prospective candidates to be put up by the Congress in Bombay City.

The attendance to Gandhi's evening prayers has dwindled down especially after his return from Bombay, obviously affecting his collection towards the Harijan Fund. The total collections during the week roughly amount to Rs. 1,040.

*Page, 313, para. 920—*

POONA, 13TH OCTOBER 1945. the following persons saw M. K Gandhi and V. J. Patel during the week:—

(1) Janmadas Dwarkadas of Bombay, (2) Shantikumar Morarji, (3) S. D. Deo, (4) Chunilal Dwarkadas, (5) Seth Walchand Hirachand, (6) Labhsing Narang Vice-President, of the All India Sikh League, (7) N. V. Gadgil, (8) S. K. Patil, (9) H. H. Chimanabai, Dowager Maharani of Badoda.

On October 8th, Labhsing Narang discussed with Gandhi and Patel the election prospects in the Punjab and assured his full support to the Congress on behalf of the "All India Sikh League" and the "Akali Dal" in the ensuing elections. He requested Gandhi to make efforts for the release of Shardulsing Kaveeshwar.

*Page 321, para. 945 —*

POONA, 20TH OCTOBER 1945.—M. K. Gandhi and V. J. Patel continued to be busy in interviewing various visitors and holding discussions with them, the more prominent being:—

S. K. Patil, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Dahyabhai Patel, P. Kodandao, B. G. Kher, Darbar Gopaldas, G. B. Deshpande, Sudhir Ghosh, G. D. Birla, R R. Diwakar. Indulal K. Yagnik.

*Page 329, para. 970 —*

POONA. 27TH OCTOBER 1945.—M. K. Gandhi and V. J. Patel kept themselves busy during the week and saw the following prominent persons:—

- (1) Sardar Bahadur Sir Dattarsing.
- (2) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya,
- (3) Diwan Chamanlal.
- (4) Kamraj Nadar.
- (5) Bhaktavatsalam.
- (6) Dr. N. S. Hardikar.
- (7) Maulana Daud Gazanavi.
- (8) Dr. Gopichand Bhargav.
- (9) Mangaldas Pakwasa.

V. J. Patel left for Bombay on the afternoon of October 24th.

*Page 337, para. 998 —*

POONA, 3rd NOVEMBER 1945.—M. K. Gandhi saw several visitors during the week. It is learnt that one Aziz and Vethlingam of Ceylon saw Gandhi, and discussed with him the political situation in Ceylon, with particular reference to the Solubury Commission report.

Vallabhbhai Patel who had been to Bombay for his 71st birthday celebrations, returned to Poona on November 3rd. Acharya J. B. Kripalani accompanied him.

*Page 345, para. 1022—*

POONA 10th NOVEMBER 1945.—The following prominent persons saw Gandhi and V. J. Patel during the week:—

(1) J. B. Kripalani, (2) Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, (3) R. R. Divakar, (4) Sarat Chandra Bose, (5) Mrs. Bose, (6) B. G. Kher, (7) S. H. Agrawal, (8) D. B. Kalelkar.

Sarat Chandra Bose is reported to have discussed with Gandhi and Patel the election prospects in Bengal and about Gandhi's proposed tour of that Province.

*Page 355, para. 1051 —*

POONA 17th NOVEMBER 1945.—M. K. Gandhi saw the following prominent persons during the week:—

(1) Pandit J. Nehru, (2) Prof. R. V. Gogte, (3) Ravishankar Shukla (Ex-Premier, C. P.), (4) D. P. Mishra (Ex. Minister, C. P.), (5) S. D. Deo, (6) Madhavrao Bagal of Kolhapur.

Pandit J. Nehru arrived in Poona on November 12th. He is reported to have had prolonged discussions with Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel during the day. He returned to Bombay the same night.

*Page 365. para 1074—*

POONA, 24th NOVEMBER 1945. the following prominent persons saw Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel during the week:—

(1) The Rt. Honourable Sir T. B. Sapru. (2) Dr. Subbarayan. 'Ex-Minister, Madras. (3) Barrister Purushottam Tricumdas, (4) R. R. Diwakar, (5) D. P. Karmarkar.

It is reported that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru discussed with Gandhi and Patel on matters relating to the I. N. A. trial, present political situation and the ensuing elections. Gandhi and Patel left Poona for Bombay on November 19th.

Gandhi returned to Sevagram on November 21st. At the end of November Gandhi left for Calcutta, within a few hours of his arrival in the city on December 1st he had an interview with Mr. Casey the Governor of Bengal.

*Page 391. para. 1143—*

POONA. 15th DECEMBER 1945. His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Associated Chambers of Commerce and his interview with M. K. Gandhi at Calcutta have caused comment in the Hindu and Muslim Press

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*Page 73, para. 173—*

POONA, 23RD FEBRUARY 1946.—M. K. Gandhi, with his followers arrived in Poona on the evening of February 19th and put up at the Nature Cure Clinic. His primary object in visiting Poona was to make arrangements about the running of the Clinic, which recently became the property of the Kasturba Memorial Fund.

Gandhi saw the following persons during the week:—

(1) Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, (2) P. H. Patwardhan. (3) Four Afghan refugees in Poona and a few others.

He is reported to have had discussions with Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali and the Afghan refugees.

On February 22nd, the death anniversary of his wife, he paid a visit to her tomb and that of Mahadeo Desai.

*Page 81, para. 193—*

POONA, 2ND MARCH 1946.- M. K. Gandhi saw the following important persons during the week:—

(1) H. H. The Aga Khan, (2) The Nawab of Bhopal, (3) R. R. Divakar of Dharwar, (4) Damodhar Dasji of C. P., (5) Pandit J. Nehru, (6) Vallabhbhai J. Patel, (7) D. B. Kalelkar.

Gandhi had prolonged deliberations with H. H. The Aga Khan and the Nawab of Bhopal on February 25th and 26th and on February 28th with Pandit J. Nehru and Vallabhbhai J. Patel. He also issued press statements referring to the R.I.N. strike and subsequent disturbances in Bombay.

*Page 89, para. 214—*

POONA, 9TH MARCH 1946.—M. K. Gandhi saw the following persons during the week:—

(1) Lady Thackersay, (2) Sorabji Rustomji, (3) S. R. Naidu, (4) A. A. Mirza, (5) A. S. Kazi, (6) V. N. Mohmed (7) E. M. Khadiri, (8) Pragji-bhai Khandubhai, (9) P. P. Bulsara. (10) K. T. Tavaria (MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS DELEGATION), (11) Dr. H. D. Kay. Director of National Institute of Research in Dairy Farming, England. (1.2) Z. R. Kothavala, Adviser to the Government of India, Dairy Development Department. (13) S. S. Silverman, President of the Jewish Congress, (14) Camille Henning, Organiser of the Jewish Congress, (15) Jehangir Patel, Trustee of the Clinic,

*Page 109, para. 245—*

The Congress Working Committee met at Bombay from March 12th to 15th, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding over the following members:—

(1) V. J. Patel. (2) J. Nehru, (3) G. B. Pant, (4) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, (5) Harekrishna Mehtab, (6) Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, (7) Asaf Ali, (8) S. D. Deo, (9) Babu Rajendra Prasad, (10) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu J. B. Kripalani and M. K. Gandhi also attended.

The Working Committee ranged over a wide choice of subjects including the political situation, food crisis, the Cabinet Mission, Coalition Ministries, the South African Delegation and foreign propaganda. A majority of members favoured the formation of exclusive Congress Ministries in preference to coalition with the League. The salaries of Ministers also came under discussion and there was unanimous agreement that an increase was necessary. It was agreed that in accordance With M. K. Gandhi's advice every effort should be made to arrive at a settlement during the forthcoming discussion with the Cabinet Mission. Several members, however, sounded warnings against any demonstration of eagerness which might be misinterpreted as weakness. It was suggested that the Mission should first be asked whether they were prepared to establish a popular Government at the centre despite the obstructionist tactics of the League or any other party. The Working Committee also gave serious consideration to the advisability of taking action against those who both within and outside Congress failed to adhere to the policy of non-violence After considerable deliberation, the Working Committee adopted four resolutions dealing with the food situation, the international situation the recent popular disturbances in Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta and the racial discrimination in South Africa. These resolutions have appeared in full in the press.

*Page 109, para. 246—*

M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Poona on March 11th. He, attended the meetings of the Working Committee at Birla House, mainly in an advisory capacity. The four resolutions passed by the Working Committee were adopted on his advice. On March 14th, he addressed a large public meeting at Shivaji Park when he dwelt at length on "Satyagrah". He left Bombay for Poona on March 16.

*Extract from file No. 3001-H-XIII: (P. 171)*

BOMBAY CITY, S. B. (I), MARCH 16TH.—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Poona on March 11th. He attended the sittings of the Congress Working Committee held at Birla House, mainly to advise the members on the policy to be adopted in regard to the British Cabinet Mission and the food problem. On his advice, the Working Committee adopted the resolutions which have been reported to Government separately.

He addressed a largely attended public meeting at Shivaji Park on March 14th when he explained the implications of 'Satyagraha' and duties of a "Satyagrahi" who is, according to him, not supposed to deviate a little from the path of truth and non-violence.

He left Bombay for Poona on March 16th. He is expected to be in Delhi by March 25th at the time of the arrival of the British Cabinet Mission. He has instructed the members of the Working Committee to be in readiness for a call from Delhi whenever required in connection with the negotiations.

*Page 116, para. 265 —*

POONA MARCH 30TH 1946. -M. K. Gandhi who has been staying at Uruli (Poona) since March 22nd saw the following visitors during the week: —

(1) Sorabji Rustomji, (2) S. R. Naidu. (SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN DELEGATION), (3) Mrs. Suchela Kripalani. (4) A. V. Thakkar, (5) Sudhir Ghosh.

He presided over a meeting of Provincial Agents of the Kasturba National Memorial Trust on March 27th and 28th.

*Extract from file No. 3001-H-XIII: (Page 67) —*

BOMBAY CITY, S. B. APRIL 16TH.—Gandhi came to Bombay from Poona on 31st March 1946.

During the week, Mr. Gandhi had a number of visitors at Birla House including Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Babu Purshottamdas Tandon. His son Manilal Gandhi with his wife came to Birla House on April 14th and is expected to stay in India for about a year.

Mr. Gandhi visited the Women's Training Centre at Borivli on April 11th in company of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Purshottamdas Tandon and had his evening prayers at Borivli instead of in Bombay.

Meeting of the trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund was held at Scindia House on April 13th and was attended by Mr. Gandhi, G. D. Birla, J. R. D. Tata, Shantikumar N. Morarji, V. L. Mehta, Hon. Mr. Mavlankar, Hon. Mr. Pakwasa, A. V. Thakkar and Lady Premila Thakersey. Several schemes for opening homes and dispensaries in rural areas for preventing spread of leprosy and for training nurses and opening classes in Basic Education were considered and approved of. They also sanctioned a sum of Rs. 36,300 for the maintenance of the Central office.

As usual, daily evening prayers were held at Rungta House and were Well attended. Besides, the collections made for the Harijan Fund, a large sum was given by the Bullion Exchange for the use of the dependents of the seven Chimur and Ashti condemned prisoners.

Babu Purshottarndas Tandon and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan had discussions with the local congressmen on constructive programme.

Khan Abdul Galfar Khan left for Delhi *en route* to Peshawar on April 15th Mr. Gandhi is expected to leave for Mahabaleshwar on April 20th.

*Page 205, para. 563—*

POONA, 13TH JULY 1946.- The Congress Working Committee met at Worli, Bombay, on July 5th, Mr. Niranjan Singh Gill attending by special invitation. In addition to framing resolutions the A.I.C.C. and Working Committee discussed with Mr. Abdul Aziz the question of Indians in Ceylon.

Some 260 members of the A.I.C.C. attended the session at the Cowasji Jehangir Hall on July 6th and 7th when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presided. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad moved the main resolution for ratification of the acceptance of the long term proposals of Cabinet Mission and the rejection of the interim Government. The left-wing led by Messrs. Jai Prakash Narain. Achyut Patwardhan and Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali provided the opposition. After two days debate the Working Committee's decision was ratified by 204 vote to 51. The resolution regarding civil resistance in South Africa was carried unanimously.

The proceedings of the A.I.C.C. were unmarred by any incident except for demonstrations by members of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation, a few members of the Forward Bloc and some 15 Khaksars who paid a flying visit on bicycles. The Demonstration by the Scheduled Cates Federation was arranged with great secrecy by Messrs. B. K. Gaikwad, G. M. Jadhav. P. N. Rajbhoj and the others. The Demonstrators dispersed at 4 p.m. after receiving an assurance by Mr. S. K. Patil that they would be interviewed by Mr. Gandhi on July 8th.

Presidents of Provincial Congress Committees who were present at the A. I. C. C. meeting were to meet at Congress House to discuss the question of the organization of volunteers under the supervision of Mr. Shah Nawaz Khan.

The speeches of delegates to the A.I.C.C. as also the various resolutions passed at the session have not been reported in detail, as they have already received wide publicity in the press.

**HOME DEPARTMENT**

(Home Department Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 3)

DETENTION CAMP,  
November 16th, 1943.

Sir,

I enclose herewith for dispatch a letter addressed to the Government of India, but it need not be dispatched if the Government of Bombay can *suo moto* deal with the matters referred to therein. My object is to secure as prompt relief as possible.

I am. Yours, etc.,  
M. K. GANDHI.The Secretary,  
Government of Bombay, Home Department

(Home Department Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 5)

DETENTION CAMP,  
November 16th, 1943.

Sir,

Dr. Nayyar whom the Government of India, or may be the Government of Bombay, have placed with me received on the 12th inst., a wire addressed to her by her brother, who is a railway employee in New Delhi, to the effect that his wife had a caesarian operation and had lost so much blood that he had applied for Dr. Nayyar's temporary discharge. This wire was received in Yeravda, as appears from the date marked on it, on the morning of the 5th. The second wire which was sent from New Delhi on the 9th inst., and received at Yeravda the same afternoon, was delivered to her on the 15th inst. The wire reports the patient's death. Dr. Nayyar has already complained about the delay in the delivery of the first wire. She is naturally prostrate with grief which has been aggravated by the delay in the delivery of the wires. I do not know that, if she were condemned criminal, the news of the death of a dear one would be withheld from her, as this has been without any cause that I can guess.

It seems to me that those who are lodged with me have to suffer extra hardship by reason of their being so lodged. For, it is not only Dr. Nayyar who has to suffer, others do likewise. Thus, Dr. Gilder is debarred from receiving visits even from his ailing wife or his daughter Little Manu Gandhi can deceive neither her father nor her sisters, nor can my wife receive visits from her sons or grandchildren. I discount



the fact that the former could have gone out if they resented the restrictions. I know too that my son Ramdas was permitted to visit his mother when she was very ill. I do not understand tin's denial of ordinary rights of prisoners. I can understand the restrictions against me by reason of the Government's special displeasure against me. But the restrictions on the others it is difficult to understand, unless it be that the Government do not trust those who are put in charge of us. On any other basis it is difficult to understand why the Superintendent of the Camp or even the Inspector-General cannot deal with the wires of the nature I have referred to and with the visitors who may be permitted to visit the co-detenus.

I request early relief.

I am yours,  
M. K. GANDHI.

The Additional Secretary,  
Government of India (Home Department).  
New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 7)

The practice is that all letters, telegrams and parcels received for the detenus at the Aga Khan's Palace are sent on to the Secretariat by the Superintendent. The first telegram was received in Poona on the 5th and was sent on to Bombay where it arrived on the 6th, after office hours. The 6th being a Saturday, the telegram was not passed by me till Monday morning. Unfortunately, there was a delay in office of three days thereafter, for which I can find no excuse. It was despatched to Poona on the 11th and arrived there on the 12th.

2. The second telegram reached Poona on the 9th, was received in Bombay on the 11th, and was despatched from here on the 12th. It is not known why it took three days for it to reach Poona.

3. The difficulty that has arisen in this case has not arisen in the case of the detenus at Ahmednagar because the relatives all know that censoring is done in the Home Department and all telegrams are addressed C/o the Secretary, H. D. If that had been done in this case, the delay would have been avoided. However, we cannot expect relatives, particularly when they are in a state of great distress due to serious illness in the family, as in this case, to address the telegrams correctly. I suggest we inform K. B. Kately that in future he should open telegrams received direct for the detenus at the Aga Khan's Palace and, if any of them appears to be very urgent, he should get the orders of Government by telephone. If this view is accepted, we may inform Mr. Gandhi that the delay in the despatch of the telegrams is regretted and that arrangements have been made for expediting their disposal.

4. On the subject of interviews to Dr. Gilder, I have already written to the Government of India, We may further write to them on the

same lines regarding Miss Manu Gandhi and, in the meanwhile, inform Mr. Gandhi that his request has been passed on to the Government of India for orders.

18th November,

H. V. R. I.

A(H) Yes, but K. B. Katel should only telephone matters which contain nothing which needs to be kept confidential.

C. B./18th November 1943.

His Excellency (G. S.):

I agree with the action proposed, the delay in dealing with these telegrams appears to be unexcusable. By what method were they sent from Poona to Bombay and back ?

For report to me please.

JOHN COLVILLE.

21st November 1943.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 7)

SECRET.

D. O. No. 3-21-42

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

HOME DEPARTMENT.

New Delhi, the 18th November, 1943.

My dear Iengar,

We have recently been approached separately by Shiva Rao and Mohan Lal Nayar, in connection with the application of November the 3rd, addressed by the latter to the Additional Home Secretary (Political), Bombay Government, asking for the release on parole for six weeks of his sister Dr. Sushila Nayar.

2. As you may have seen in the papers, Mrs. Mohan Lal Nayar has since died and the question of the release of Sushila Nayar, therefore, no longer arises. In our view, however, the release of Sushila Nayar or any other member of Gandhi's menage on whatever grounds would, to a large extent, undo the effects of Gandhi's seclusion. We must regard the long contact of these people with Gandhi as making them dangerous from the point of view of carrying messages from him or, at least, of revealing much of what has been going on in the Palace. We are inclined to the view that, if the release of any member of the menage did become necessary, it could only be permitted after a period of confinement in some other place, so that any news or message from Gandhi would have become stale: in effect a period of quarantine.

3. Since writing the above I have received your D. O. No. S.D.VI/ 12222, dated November 12th, about the Gilders. While much of what I have said about releases on parole applies with almost equal force to interviews, we recognize that the two cases are not quite the same and

that there are special features about the Gilder case which made it difficult to refuse an interview altogether. We, therefore, agree to this interview under the conditions which you suggest, to which should be added that it should take place under official supervision and on the understanding that nothing except purely family and domestic matters will be discussed.

4. We realize that this case may set a precedent and, therefore, consider it most important that a definite formula should be laid down to govern the matter for your guidance, of course, and not for the information of the inmates of the Palace. This, we think, should be that the only circumstances in which an interview with any inmate of the Palace Would be allowed would be—

- (a) if the interviewer was a very close relation (husband, wife, son or daughter);
- (b) if there was some *special* domestic reason for the interview;
- (c) on the condition that the interview took place outside the Palace under official supervision;
- (d) on the condition that nothing except purely family and domestic matters would be discussed; and
- (e) on the condition that the Government of India should be consulted in each case.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM.

H. V. R. Iengar, Esq., CLE., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 9)

No. S.D.V-12771  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),  
Bombay Castle, 23rd Nov. 1943.

SECRET.

From:

H. V. R. Iengar, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

TO

KHAN BAHADUR KATELY,  
Superintendent,  
Aga Khan's Palace, Yeravda.

Sir

With reference to your letter No. 534. dated the 16th instant, please hand over the accompanying reply to Mr. Gandhi.

2. In future, if you receive any telegram addressed to any of the security prisoners in the Aga Khan's Palace or to Miss Manu Gandhi, please open it, and if the subject matter is urgent and provided the telegram does not contain matters which need to be kept confidential, please obtain the orders of Government by telephone.

Yours obedient servant,

H. V. R. IENGAR

(o/c)

22nd November 1943.

*Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.*

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SECRET.

No. S.D.V.-12771

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),

Bombay Castle, 23rd November 1943.

Copy, with a copy of the accompaniment, forwarded with compliments. to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,

H. V. R. IENGAR

(o/c)

*Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department,*

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 11)

No. S.D.VI-12772

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),

Bombay Castle, 23rd November 1943.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter dated the 16th instant and to say that Government much regrets that there has been so much delay in the transmission to Miss Nayyar of the two telegrams addressed to her. Arrangements have now been made by which telegrams will be handled more expeditiously, and it is hoped there will be no occasion in future for a similar complaint.

2. On the subject of Dr. Gilder's interviews with members of his family, a letter was recently received from his daughter and it has been referred to the Government of India. A copy of your letter under

reference has now been forwarded to the Government of India in continuation.

Yours obedient servant,

H. V. R. IENGAR,  
(o/c)

*Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.*

22nd November 1943.

For approval  
H.V.R.I.  
22-11.  
A(H) 22-1-43.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 11)

No. S.D.V.-12803  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),  
Bombay, 23rd November 1943.

Dear Miss Dear Gilder,

With reference to your call here the other day and your letter, dated the 7th instant, I am desired to inform you that Government is agreeable to Dr. Gilder having an interview with your mother and yourself. The accessory instructions have been communicated to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Colonel Bhandari, and I am to suggest that you put yourself in touch with him.

Yours sincerely,  
(o/c) H. V. R. IENGAR.  
23rd November 1943.

Miss K. M. Gilder,  
Gilder House,  
Warden Road,  
Bombay.

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*Page 12:*

SECRET

No. S.D.VI-12804  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),  
Bombay, 23rd November 1943.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons.

Province of Bombay.

2. The Government of India have agreed to Dr. Gilder having an interview with Mrs. Gilder and Miss Gilder. The interview should not take place in the Aga Khan's Palace but in the office of the Inspector-General of Prisons. For this purpose a date and time should be fixed after a communication is received from Mrs. or Miss Gilder, and Dr. Gilder should be taken from the Aga Khan's Palace to the office of the Inspector-General of Prisons and taken straight back to the Palace after

the interview is over. The interview should take place under official supervision, and the Gilders should be informed that nothing except purely family and domestic matters should be discussed.

3. The Govetnment of India are being asked whether periodical interviews should be allowed on the same scale as for class I security prisoners. For the present their sanction is for one interview only.

(o/c) H. V. R. IENGAR,  
*Secretary to the Government of Bombay,*  
*Home Department.*

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 13)

The Government of India letter dated the 18th instant deals with two matters—(1) interviews to the inmates of the Aga Khan's Palace, excluding Mr. Gandhi, and (2) their release on parole. So far as interviews are concerned a letter has been addressed to-day to the Government of India asking them both to clarify their decision regarding Dr. Gilder and to let us know what reply we should give to Mr. Gandhi who has written to us on the subject. This note deals with the subject of release on parole referred to in para. 2 of the Government of India letter.

The context suggests that the Government of India are considering in this para release *on parole* and not outright release. if so, their decision is not understood. Taking, for instance, the particular case of Dr. Sushila Nayar. which has given rise to this reference, it is obvious that the question of granting parole was one of the greatest possible urgency. *Ex hypothesi*, there could be no question of quarantine; that would have frustrated the whole object of granting parole, I suggest we put this point to the Government of India A(H), with whom I discussed this case, also suggested that the following point might be put to the Government of India, namely, that so far as we know Gandhi is not indulging in political discussions inside the Palace as he has no one there coming anywhere up to his level with whom he could possibly discuss political questions. The only information, therefore, that an inmate could carry would be personal tittle-tattle about the daily lives of the inmates. On further consideration I am not at all sure that the Government of India will accept this argument because it is not based on any precise knowledge; it is merely a hypothesis. It is for orders whether this point should also be included in our reply to the Government of India.

H. V. R. IENGAR.

*Home Member:*

I think we should say it is unlikely that Gandhi has such discussions since no one in the Palace is in any sense a political leader.

C. H. BRISTOW.  
23rd November 1943.

H. E. (G.S.).  
John Colville.  
25-11-43.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 15)

No. S.D.VI-13057  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),  
Bombay, 26th November 1943.

My dear Tottenham,

Will you please refer to paragraph 2 of your D. O. No. 3-21-42-Poll(I), dated the 18th instant ?

2. The context suggests that the Government of India are referring in this paragraph to releases on parole and not to outright releases. If so, we find considerable difficulty in following how the procedure suggested by you is feasible. Parole applications are invariably matters of urgency, for they are considered only in cases of serious illness. Thus, in the particular case of Dr. Sushila Nayar, which has given rise to this reference the question of granting parole was one of the greatest possible urgency. *Ex hypothesi*, there could not in such cases be any question of quarantine which would frustrate the whole object of granting parole.

3. Apart from the consideration suggested above, which appears conclusive, we consider that the danger in not imposing quarantine is not really a serious one. There is no political leader in the Palace with whom Gandhi can discuss politics, and we think it unlikely that he has had any discussion on it with the other inmates. The only stories which an inmate is likely to take out are purely personal ones relating to the daily life in the Palace, and this would not appear to be of any moment.

Yours sincerely,

(o/c) H. V. R. IENGAR.

26th November 1943.

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 21 )

**SECRET**

D.O. No. 3/21/42-Poll(I)

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
Home Department,  
New Delhi, the 30th November 1943.

My dear Iengar,

Your D. O. No. S.D.VI/12802, dated 23rd of November enclosing a letter from Mr. Gandhi. Will you please have the enclosed reply to that letter delivered to Mr. Gandhi in the ordinary way ?

2. As regards your paragraph 2, our definite intention is that we should avoid committing ourselves to regular interviews for the inmates of the Palace. The object of paragraph 4(b) of my letter of November 18th was to make it clear that they should only be granted for *special* reasons of a domestic character and our reply to Mr. Gandhi is designed

to the same effect. There would be no objection to allowing more than one interview to Mrs. Gilder, if the circumstances justified it, but we must avoid granting interviews as a matter of course. We realise that circumstances may occasionally arise in which the special reasons justifying an interview may be of such urgency as to make it impossible for you to consult us beforehand (see paragraph 4(e) of my previous letter) and in such cases we should of course, agree to your acting at your discretion so long as our general principles are observed.

3. I await your further letter with reference to paragraph 2 of my letter of November 18th.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM.

H. V. R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

Aug. 30/11.

(Horne Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-I, Pages 3, 4, 5)

SECRET

2 Cranbourne Court,  
Albea Bridge Road,  
London S. W. 11.  
December 2nd, 1943.

Dear Gandhiji,

I am writing this letter in the faith that it will reach you. I asked Mr. Amery if he would expedite its delivery to India, and he very kindly said he would. At the same time he reminded me of the strictures that have been placed on all correspondence.

Just ten years ago, at this time, I was preparing to come to India. I had not seen you since the R. T. C. days though we had corresponded frequently. The night before you left London you talked with a few of us. You said you foresaw "a great strain ahead" between our two countries and that people were needed to work for "mutual understanding"—people who could pass between various circles here and who would keep closely in touch with India. You also suggested that some of us should visit India to see for ourselves what was happening; not from any one point of view, but in an honest attempt to see the situation as a whole. I remember that someone asked you if language would not be a difficulty; you replied that "the language of the heart was all that was necessary". Some of us shouldered this task of working for mutual understanding, and in the weeks and months that followed your arrest in 1932 we struggled with all that resulted at this end.

It was out of this background of experience I came to India in February 1934.

On arrival in Bombay there was a letter waiting for me from you. You said you were in Patna and would shortly be leaving, with Rajendra



Prasad, to tour the earthquake stricken area of Bihar. You asked me to accompany you on this tour. During my stay in Bombay I sensed the situation. I met officials, both British and Indian, and several of the men and women just released from prison. Tension was high on both sides; there was a fear in official circles lest the Congress Relief work in Bihar would be used for political advantage.

What I saw and learnt in those crowded weeks is burnt into my memory. C. F. Andrews' INDIAN EARTHQUAKES is a faithful record of these days. I watched you and Rajendra Prasad "steady" distraught and homeless people. I saw the hold you had on them and how completely they trusted you both. Instead of commiserating with them in their plight...you asked "What has this calamity taught you? This is no time for differences between Government and Congress; between Hindu and Moslem; between touchable and untouchable. If you take money from the Relief Funds—see that you earn it". You must have addressed hundreds of meetings during that tour but you always said the same thing.

I saw the able administration of the Relief work. I recall very vividly the night you drafted your statement calling off Civil Disobedience. The fears that had been expressed to me of political advantage being taken—I found, had no substance, for you and Rajendra Prasad watched this with a vigilant eye. And when one of your party—young Bulow—without consulting you or any other member of your party before hand took upon himself to address some students in the town—I well remember your drastic handling of that incident. Bulow brought to you the letter of stern reprimand he received from the local British official. This was the first intimation you had of Bulow's action, and your reaction was instantaneous. You told him that he had "offended" and that an "humble apology" must be written immediately to the British official; you drafted what you felt should be said. You pointed out to him that you were under a self-imposed vow to engage in no political agitation, and you asked him to imagine how his action must appear to the British official; you told him that he must leave your party, unless he wrote the kind of letter that you felt his unseemly action warranted.

I can't forget the incident, for you turned the rather pompous young Bulow over to me to see your instructions were carried out—and it took five hours before you were satisfied !

With all this in memory, I write to you now as ten years latter India is faced with famine, not earthquake; and it is set, as in the case of the Bihar disaster, in the midst of political deadlock. This time a world war is added and a stifling atmosphere of distrust and suspicion is abroad.

We watch this tragedy. The suffering of India is stirring people here very deeply. (I wish you could see the evidence of this in the letters that accompany money sent to the Relief Funds). From the articles you wrote some time ago in HARIJAN it is clear to see that you foresaw the disaster. Horace Alexander, who is now back amongst us, tells

of the brief talk he had with you in February and how the situation was then burdening your mind, and of your wish to help. Those of us who are privileged to call you and your colleagues our friends, realise that there is a reservoir of help and experience, as yet untapped; that is utilised might change the situation over night. We press this conviction and cite the precedent of Bihar. But we are met with answers such as these; "Yes, that happened in 1934, what proof have we that it would happen now? The threat to Civil Disobedience remains. There is far too much at stake to risk a recurrence of all that happened after August 1942", etc., etc. And that same fears as were expressed at the time of the Bihar disaster (of Congress taking political advantage) are expressed again now.

Reading this, I can hear you say; "It is for the Government to take the initiative", and you would refer to the correspondence that passed between Lord Linlithgow and you and what you said about the need for consultation with your colleagues. And so this vicious, hopeless circle goes round. Who will cut it?

I bring this "circle" to you-Gandhiji. In doing so, you will appreciate that this is no one-sided approach. The responsibility for cutting it, at this end—is ever pressed. But, political limits seem to have been reached. When that is the case, then something else has to come in. The close contact I have had with you since the London days, together with the knowledge gleaned from working with C. F. Andrews of you and your methods—leave me with the belief and conviction that you will find a way to cut the circle. You have done so many times in the past, for you have an understanding of the limitless possibilities of the forces of the spirit.

As I write this letter I have on my desk a cartoon by Low that appeared the other day in the EVENING STANDARD. The caption reads BETWEEN THE UNHELPFUL AND THE HELPLESS. It depicts an Indian street; the pavements on each side are crowded with dead and starving men, women and children. In the middle of the road is a huge broken-down motor lorry-labelled INDIA-FOOD DISTRIBUTION. Two ropes are attached to the front of the lorry—one tightly bound to the straining figure of Lord Wavell. The other rope he is holding out with a beckoning hand to a seated Indian figure in front of him, who is reading a paper entitled POLITICAL PLATITUDES.

I would have made a very different picture. For I would have shown you coming swiftly to meet Lord Wavell and with you Mr. Jinnah. One of your hands would be held out for the second rope and the other would be holding a paper with the words. "We call a truce on Civil Disobedience".

My caption for this cartoon would be your own words spoken in Bihar; " THIS IS NO TIME FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND CONGRESS:

BETWEEN HINDU AND MUSLIM.

Yours sincerely,  
AGATHA HARRISON.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Pages 17)

No. 3/21/42-Poll(I),  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT.  
New Delhi, the 3rd December 1943.

My dear Iengar,

Your D. O. No. S.D.VI-13057, dated November 26th. I am afraid the words "on parole" should not have occurred in para. 3 of my letter of November 18th. Para 2 of that letter dealt with the particular problem of releasing any one under any conditions from the Aga Khan's Palace and, as you say, the quarantine idea would be quite inappropriate for a parole release which, if granted at all, must be granted for urgent reasons. We are shortly issuing a circular letter to all Provincial Governments regarding the general question of parole release. There will, however, still remain the special problem of the release in any circumstances whatever of persons who have been associated with Gandhi in the Aga Khan's Palace. We cannot help thinking that your view that it is "unlikely that he has had any discussion (on politics) with the other inmates" is, to say the least of it, optimistic. We know from Gandhi's various communications that his own mind has been busy with politics and we can hardly believe that he has not discussed the contents of those communications with any one in the Palace. Indeed, his letter of September 23rd, 1942, was actually in Sushila Nayar's handwriting, and I had a long political letter from Pyarelal during the Fast. We should, however, be interested to know more about the interior routine of the Palace. Who, for instance, does all the typing work for Gandhi?

I am sending you a separate letter about the particular case of Sushila Nayar in reply to your D. O. No. S.D.VI-13178 of November 30th.

Yours sincerely,  
R. TOTTENHAM.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 11)

SECRET

No. S.D.VI-13432,  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),  
Bombay, 4th December 1943.

My dear Bhandari,

In confirmation of my telephone conversation this afternoon, I write to inform you that the following are the orders which the Government of India have passed in regard to Mrs. Gandhi's interviews: —

(1) Ramdas Gandhi, Devadas Gandhi and their wives and children may be allowed to see Mrs. Gandhi in the Aga Khan's Palace.

(2) There is no objection to Mr. Gandhi being present, but his sons should not be allowed to see him separately without invigilation.

(3) The Government of India have no objection to more than one interview, provided that it is justified by the condition of Mrs. Gandhi's Health. You should grant only one interview for the present, and if more are asked for, you should get in touch with me on the telephone.

(4) If more than one interview is allowed, as far as possible, they should be at fixed hours.

(5) The duration of the interview or interviews should be limited to a reasonable period, and the persons coming for interview should not be allowed to stay in the Palace.

(6) Every person coming for interview should be informed that the condition of the interview is that he or she will not publish any account of what is seen or heard in the Palace except with the approval of the Bombay Government.

Yours sincerely,  
(O/c) H. V. R. IENGAR.  
4th Dec. 1943.

Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-1, Page 15 and 16)

SECRET

No. S.D.-VI-13756  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)  
Bombay, 11th December 1943.

My dear Tottenham,

I write this in continuation of my letter No. S.D.-VI-13723, P. 13 of yesterday with which I enclosed copies of notes regarding interviews with the Gandhi family.

2. In the notes of interviews on the 7th, you will have noticed the sentence "during the parole discussion Mr. Gandhi said that it is the duty of every satyagrahi to court the jail again if released". I told Col. Bhandari this morning that this was an objectionable statement because it amounted to a political discussion, and asked him how the point was allowed to be developed. He told me that he understands from K. B. Katel that the sentence does not correctly record what happened. The family was discussing the question of parole for Dr. Nayar. Devadas happened to mention that Prithvising was on parole and that it was understood that he was trying his best to get himself permanently released. At this stage Gandhi said that was a wrong thing to do and that a satyagrahi who is released on parole should, without question,

surrender himself at the end of that period. The statement, therefore, is far less innocuous than it sounds.

Yours sincerely,  
(O/c) H. V. R. I.  
11th December 1943.

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secy, to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

No. S.D.-VI-13757  
11th December 1943.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-1, Pages 11 and 12)

*Interview with Mr. Devdas Gandhi from 4-15 to 5-20 p.m.*

Mr. Devdas informed his father about the telegram he sent to Sir Richard Tottenham regarding the condition of his mother.

He asked his father whether he receives the following Newspapers. Free Press, Social Reformer and Indian Express.

Mr. Gandhi replied that these papers are not supplied to him, though a copy of Reformer came during the week.

Enquiry about the health of Prabhudas Gandhi, Narhari Parikh, Kishorilal Mashruwala and Rajaji.

Mr. Devdas said that Prabhudas is in Bareilly jail and is in very bad state of health. He had typhoid.

Narhari Parikh was released and rearrested. He is now keeping fair health.

Kishorilal Mashruwala is in Nagpur jail and is completely broken down in health. His weight is only 75 lbs.

Rajaji had an attack of influenza. He is better now, but very weak.

Mr. Gandhi said that about the ill-health of Mirabehn that she is getting acute pain in her back and arm for the last six months. Doctors, Civil Surgeons and Specialist examined and treated her but there is no Visible relief.

Mr. Devdas spoke that food situation in Bengal is improving but there is a great scarcity of cloth. Mr. G. Birla has arranged for a free supply of cloth worth Rs. 2,50,000.

A. E. KATELY.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-1, Pages 7 and 8)

*Interview with Mrs. Ramdas Gandhi from 3-30 to 4-35 p.m. on 7-12-43.*

Talk about domestic affairs and enquiry about the health of relations, friends and some people of Sevagram Ashram.

Mrs. Ramdas asked about the health of other inmates of the Palace.

Mrs. Ramdas said that Dr. Dinshaw Mehta, with whom she is now staying, has sent words that he is willing to offer his services for Mrs. Gandhi if permitted by Government.

Mrs. Gandhi told her not to come again for interview and Mr. Gandhi told her to inform Mr. Ramdas that there is no need for him to come from Nagpur for the present.

A. E. KATELY.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Pages 3 to 5)

*Interview with Mr. Devdas Gandhi from 4-45 to 6-45 p.m. on 7-12-43.*

After making mutual enquiries about the family members, Mr. Devdas mentioned about the talk which took place between him and Sir Richard Tottenham, before he left Delhi for Poona regarding (1) Nayars' family, (2) The newly born baby of Mr. Mohanlal Nayar and (3) whether he would discuss with his father about some political affairs. Mr. Devdas said that he was not permitted by Sir Richard to discuss about the political affairs.

Then they talked and discussed lengthily about the baby's care and where and how to arrange for it and also about the release on parole of Dr. Nayar. During the parole discussion Mr. Gandhi said that it is the duty of every satyagrahi to court the jail again if released. He also said that I am in correspondence with the Government about the baby and regular monthly interviews for other inmates of this camp. Some talk took place about the Bengal famine and Mr. Devdas said that laterly some good arrangements are being made and the funds raised, are used through public hands and not through Government.

Mr. Devdas asked his father how he passes his time. Mr. Gandhi replied that he teaches Sanskrit, to Doctor Nayar and Miss Manu and his major time passes in preparing an index on all subjects from the various newspapers and filing the cuttings from the papers.

Mr. Gandhi said that there was some correspondence between him and Government of India on "Congress responsibility" and he had asked the Government to release the correspondence but Government have refused. From the replies received from Government I understand that I will be kept in custody for 5 years more.

Enquiry about health of Prithwising, Jaiprakash, Pandit Govind Malavia, Vallabhbhai and Meherali.

Mr. Devdas said Prithwising was on parole and during that period he got married.

Mr. Devdas does not know where Jaiprakash is kept but he said that the reports regarding the ill-treatment given to Jaiprakash were wrong,

Pandit Govind Malavia is still in jail and not keeping good health.

Vallabhbhai was not well a few months back but is now better.

Mr. Devdas was permitted to see Mr. Meherali only for 30 seconds. He is very weak.

Mr. Devdas met Miss Mridulla Sarabhai and through her he knew about Vallabhbhai's health, as his daughter Maniben was kept with Miss Mridulla in one jail.

A list of books required, was given to Mr. Devdas, which was signed by me before handing over to him.

A. E. KATELY.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Pages 127 to 129)

*Statement showing interviews with Mrs. Gandhi by her relatives.*

Date (1)	Name (2)	Relationship with Mrs. Gandhi (3)	Remarks (4)
7-12-43	Mr. Devdas Gandhi	.. .. Son.	
	Mrs. Ramdas Gandhi	.. .. Daughter-in-law.	
8-12-43	Mr. Devdas Gandhi	.. .. Son.	
	Mrs. Ramdas Gandhi	.. .. Daughter-in-law.	
9-12-43	Mrs. Manorama Mashruwala	.. .. Grand-daughter.	
	Mrs. Raniben Parekh	.. .. Do.	
	Mr. Madhavdas Kapadia	.. .. Brother.	
	Mr. Devdas Gandhi	.. .. Son.	
10-12-43	Mrs. Manorama Mashruwala	.. .. Grand-daughter.	
	Mrs. Raniben Parekh	.. .. Do.	
	Mr. Devdas Gandhi	.. .. Son.	
19-12-43	Mr. Devdas Gandhi with his wife and children.		Son, daughter-in-law and grand-children.
20-12-43	Do.	.. .. Do.	
21-12-43	Do.	.. .. Do.	
26-12-43	Do.	.. .. Do.	
	Mr. Jamnadas Gandhi	.. .. Nephew of her husband.	
	Mr. Shamaldas Gandhi, wife and children.		Do.
	Mr. Ramdas Gandhi and his son Kanu.		Son and grandson.
27-12-43	Mr. Devdas Gandhi with his wife and children.		Son, daughter-in-law and grand children.
	Mr. Jamnadas Gandhi	.. .. Nephew of her husband.	

Date	Name			Relationship with Mrs. Gandhi		Remarks
(1)	(2)			(3)		(4)
28-12-43	Mr. Devdas Gandhi, his wife and children.			Son, daughter-in-law and grand children.		
29-12-43	Mr. Kanu Gandhi	..	..	Grand nephew of her husband.		Sang two Bhajans.
	Mr. Jaisukhlal Gandhi	..	..	}	Grand nephew of her husband	
	Mr. Dhiru Gandhi	..	..			
	Mrs. Jayaben Desai	..	..	Niece of her husband.		
	Mrs. Vijiaben Desai	..	..	Grand niece.		
	Mrs. Sanyukta Shah with two children			..	Grand niece of her husband.	
1-1-44	Mr. and Mrs. Shamaldas	Gandhi.	..	Nephew of her husband and his wife		
2-1-44	Mrs. Santokben Gandhi.					
	Mr. and Mrs. Keshav Gandhi	..	..	Grand nephew of her husband and wife		
	Miss Radhaben Gandhi.					
	Mr. Kunverji Parekh and two children			Grand son-in-law.		
6-1-44	Messrs. Devdas and Kanti Gandhi.			..	Son and grandson.	
7-1-44	Mrs. Chhaganlal Gandhi	..	..	Wife of her husband's nephew.		
	Mrs. Prabhudas Gandhi and three children.					
	Mr. Devdas Gandhi	..	..	Son.		
	Mr. Kanti Gandhi	..	..	Grandson.		
8-1-44	Mr. Kanu Gandhi	..	..	Grand nephew of her husband.		
9-1-44	Chandrakala Desai	..	..	Daughters of niece of her husband.		} Gave a musical performance.
	Bindumati Desai					
	Mr. Dhiru Gandhi	..	..	Grand nephew of her husband.		
	Mr. Kanu Gandhi	..	..	Do.	..	
10-1-44	Mr. Kanu Gandhi	..	..	Do.	..	Sang some Bhajans and read Bhagwat.
11-1-44	Mrs. Mathuradas Tricumji with her three children and Bai Fulkor.			Wife of her husband's nephew.		
12-1-44	Mrs. Chhaganlal Gandhi	..	..	Wife of her husband's nephew.		
	Mrs. Prabhudas Gandhi and three children.			..		



Date	Name	Relationship with Mrs. Gandhi	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
12-1-44	Mr. and Mrs. Mashruwala, one child.	Grand son-in-law and grand daughter and great grand child.	
	Mr. Kanu Gandhi .. ..	Grand nephew of her husband.	
14-1-44	Mr. Kanu Gandhi .. ..	Do	
16-1-44	Mr. Kanu Gandhi .. ..	Do.	.. Sang some Bhajans.
18-1-44	Mr. Devdas Gandhi .. ..	Son.	
20-1-44	Mr. Devdas Gandhi .. ..	Son.	
20-1-44	Mrs. and Mr. Harjiwandas Shah their two children.		
	Mr. Kanu Gandhi .. ..	Grand nephew of her husband.	
24-1-44	Hiralal Gandhi .. ..	Son.	
	Kanu Gandhi .. ..	Grand nephew of her husband.	.. Sang some Bhajans.
	Ramdas Gandhi and his daughter	Son. Grand daughter.	
25-1-44	Hiralal Gandhi .. ..	Son.	
	Jamnadas Gandhi .. ..	Nephew of her husband.	
	Devidas Gandhi .. ..	Son.	
	Ramdas Gandhi and his daughter	Son, Grand daughter.	
26-1-44	Chhaganlal Jaisukhlal.		
	Devdas .. ..	} Sons.	
	Ramdas Gandhi .. ..		
	Ramdas Gandhi and his daughter	Grand daughter.	.. .. Sang some Bhajans.
27-1-44	Hiralal Gandhi .. ..	Son.	
	Ramdas Gandhi and his daughter.	Son. Grand daughter.	
	Kanu Gandhi .. ..	Grand nephew of her husband.	.. Sang some Bhajans.
28-1-44	Ramdas Gandhi and his daughter.	Son. Grand daughter.	
29-1-44	Kanu Gandhi .. ..	Grand nephew of her husband.	.. Sang some Bhajans.
30-1-44	Mr. Venilal Amritlal Gandhi. Mr. and Mrs. Nipunchandra V. Gandhi.		

Date	Name	Relationship with Mrs. Gandhi	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
30-1-44	Mrs. Pushpa R. Shah, one baby Mr. Ramniklal K. Shah. Mr. Kantilal V. Gandhi.		
31-1-44	Kanu Gandhi	Grand nephew of her husband.	Sang some Bhajans.
10-2-44	Lady Thakersey.		
13-2-44	Mr. and Mrs. Shamaldas Gandhi, one child. Mr. Ranchhoddas Gandhi. Mr. Jaisukhlal Gandhi	Nephew of her husband. Grand nephew of her husband.	
16-2-44	Mr. Mathuradas Tricumji. his wife, three children and Miss Radha.	Nephew of her husband.	
17-2-44	Hiralal Gandhi	Son.	
18-2-44	Navinchandra Gandhi Dhirendra Gandhi Nirmala Chandralekha Bindumati	Grand nephew of her husband. Do. } Daughters of niece of her husband.	The girls sang Bhajans.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 19)

D. O. No. S.D.-VI-13800  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)  
Bombay, 13th December 1943.

My dear Advani,

Can you ascertain from Kately and let me have whatever information he can supply on the following points:—

(1) Does Gandhi discuss political questions with the other inmates-Gilder, Sushila and Pyarelal Nayar and Miss Slade ?

(2) What is the daily routine of life in the Aga Khan's Palace ?

(3) Who does the typing work for Gandhi ?

Yours sincerely,  
(o/c.) H. V. R. I.

Lt. Col. R. T. Advani, I.M.S.,  
Inspector General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Page 35)

SECRET

D.O. No. 3-56-42-Poll (I)  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT, NEW DELHI,  
14th December 1943.

My dear Iengar,

Your D.O. No. S.D.-V-13723, dated December 10th enclosing Kately's notes of interviews with Gandhi. We see that, as we feared, Gandhi was able to inform his son Devadas that he had replied to our "Congress Responsibility" pamphlet and that Government had refused to release the correspondence. Devadas will presumably not communicate this information to the press and if his father did not succeed in conveying to him that his reply to the pamphlet was an all-out apologia, the harm done may not be great. We should, however, like Khan Bahadur Kately to amplify this part of his report if the conversation consisted of more than the words actually quoted. Indeed it would be useful to us to know more exactly what Devadas did gather about it. We assume that Mrs. Gandhi is getting on all right and that there will be no need of further interviews unless her condition deteriorates. From several points of view we should prefer not to allow Devadas further interviews unless absolutely necessary. The more time he spends inside the Palace, the more he will be able to glean. If, however, you consider that interviews cannot be stopped altogether, we suggest that Devadas should not be allowed more than formal greetings to his father. We note that one of the interviews allowed lasted for two hours and the other for over an hour and we cannot help thinking that this was excessive.

H. V. R. Iengar, Esq., Cl..E., I.C.S.

Yours sincerely,  
R. TOTTENHAM.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Page 17)

No. S. D. VI-13944,  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),  
Bombay, 14th December 1943.

My dear Tottenham,

There is a typographical error in my D. O. No. S. D. VI-13756, dated the 11th instant. The last sentence in that letter should read "The statement, therefore, is far more innocuous than it sounds" and not "less".

Yours sincerely,  
(o/c) H. V. R. I.

14/XII.

Sir Richard Tottenham, CSI, CIE,  
Addl. Secy, to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 23)

SECRET No. 604

AGAKHAN'S PALACE,  
Yeravda, 15-12-43.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

Sir.

With reference to your confidential D. O. No. 6247, dated 14-12-43, I have the honour to give below the required information.

1. Mr. Gandhi discusses political questions with other inmates, especially with Mr. Pyarelal and Miss Slade, Miss Nayar is always there. Very rarely with Dr. Gilder. This takes place generally when they are reading newspapers.

2. The daily routine life of Mr. Gandhi—

He gets up at about 6-30 a.m. and after finishing morning ablution and breakfast he reads books or newspapers.

From 8-15 to 9 a.m. morning walk in the garden with Pyarelal and Misses Slade; Nayar and Manu. While walking they talk on political and other subjects.

Doctors Gilder and Nayar give him massage for about 45 minutes, and then bath up to 11-15.

From 11-15 to 12 noon he takes his food and Miss Slade talks or reads books to him.

From 12 noon to 1-0 p.m. teaching Sanskrit to Miss Nayar.

1 to 2 p.m. rest.

From 2-0 to 3-0 p.m. Mr. Pyarelal reads papers to him and discusses on several points arising from the papers, while he is either spinning or filing cuttings from the papers.

From 3-0 to 4-00 p.m. teaching Miss Manu.

From 4-0 to 5-30 p.m. indexing of newspapers cuttings on various subjects. He is assisted in this work by Pyarelal, Drs. Gilder and Nayar. They remove the selected and marked portions from the papers, paste them on slips of paper and give them to Mr. Gandhi for indexing and filing.

From 5-30 to 6-30 p.m. Miss Slade reads papers to him and discusses on various political and other subjects.

From 6-30 to 7-15 p.m. evening walk with other inmates in the garden.

From 7-30 to 8-15 p.m. spinning while Pyarelal reads to him some books.

From 8-15 to 9-0 p.m. prayer.

From 9-0 to 10-0 p.m. reading and talking with Mr. Pyarelal and Miss Nayar.

He goes to bed at 10 p.m.

He changes his time according to climatic conditions.

3. Mr. Pyarelal does the typing work of Mr. Gandhi. When the big letter was sent to the Government of India regarding the reply of the " Congress Responsibility " Dr. Gilder typed the major part of the letter.

I have the honour to be Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) x x x

\_\_\_\_\_  
Officer, Agakhan's Palace.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-1, Page 31)

*Report of Mrs. Gandhi's present condition.*

She was very much better yesterday after a good night's rest. She did not sleep well last night owing to her cough disturbing her. All the same she is fairly well today. Her general condition is low. She has shortness of breath on the slightest exertion and it is very difficult to keep her quiet in bed as she will occasionally insist on sitting up or even getting off her bed. Her condition varies a good deal. She may be fairly comfortable for hours and then for no apparent reason she gets acute pain in her chest and shortness of breath. As to allowing visitors to see her, I should like to say that the visitors she had, certainly did her good though it occasionally tired her out.

Yeravda:

15th December 1943.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARL

Lieut. Col.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-1, Page 39)

SECRET.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),  
D. O. No. S. D. VI-14192  
Bombay, 18th December 1943

My dear Khan Bahadur,

Please refer to your No. 590, dated 8th December 1943, enclosing notes of interviews with the Gandhis.

Your record states " Mr. Gandhi said that there was some correspondence between him and the Government of India on ' Congress Responsibility ' and he had asked the Government to release the correspondence, but Government have refused". Please state whether this passage is a reproduction of the words actually used on this subject and if not, can you amplify it ? The Government of India would like to know more exactly what Devdas did gather about it.

Yours sincerely,  
H. V. R. I.

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel,  
C/o The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Page 37)

SECRET

D. O. No. S.D. VI-14191  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),  
Bombay, 18th December 1943.

My dear Tottenham,

Please refer to your demi-official letter No. 3/56/42-Poll (I), dated the 14th instant.

I am finding out from Kately whether he has kept further notes or remembers more about the passage you refer to and will let you know after hearing from him.

I enclose the latest report from Col. Shah regarding Mrs. Gandhi. We have told Devdas that he can have only one more interview with his mother along with his wife and children who have not yet seen her. This matter of interviews is very difficult as Mrs. Gandhi's condition is liable to sudden fluctuations but we have done our best to keep the number down as much as possible. We have refused to let any of the grandnephews or grandnieces see her and, in fact, the only person who has seen her, other than the sons and grand-children, is her brother Madhavdas Kapadia.

Yours sincerely,  
H. V. R. I.

Sir Richard Tottenham, CSI, CIE., ICS.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

P. S. After I signed the letter, I got a telephone message from Poona (Col. Advani, acting Inspector-General of Prisons) to say that Mrs. Gandhi had a bad heart attack last night causing her severe exhaustion. She is somewhat better this morning. It looks as if we may have to let Devdas see her more often.

H. V. R. I.  
8/12.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Pages 21 and 22)

Interview with Mrs. Manorama Mashruvala and Mrs. Raniben Parekh.

From 2-20 to 3-15 p.m. on 9-12-43.

Talk on domestic affairs.

Mr. Devdas Gandhi. From 4-20 to 5-15 p.m. on 9-12-43.

Talk on domestic affairs and enquiries on the health of some persons named below. G. Ramchandra, Brijkison, Girdharilal, Krishna Nayar, Iftikar, Abdulgafarkhan and his sons, Narendradev, Mrs. Jairajani. Ramkrishna, members of the Bajaj family, Vasukaka, Sir Tejbahadur Sapru, and Mr. Jayakar.

Mr. Devdas said that Rajendrababu was given one interview. Haribhau who is in Ajmer jail was also given one interview.

Dayabhai who was released twice on parole, is now in jail.

A. E. KATELY.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 39)

Sir Richard Tottenham telephoned to me this morning and raised the following points:—

(1) He said that Government of India had received my telegram of Saturday informing them that Mrs. Gandhi had had a severe heart attack on Friday night, and they wanted to know whether we had considered the question of issuing another press communique. I told him that, so far as Bombay Province itself was concerned, another communication did not appear to be quite necessary because it was fairly well-known here that Mrs. Gandhi is in a rather bad way, and it her illness terminated fatally that would not cause any great surprise. Tottenham said that the Government of India had to consider public reactions in other Provinces and in the outside world, and he suggested that we might consider issuing another communique today, drafted in such a way that it would prepare the public for news of her death should that unfortunately happen. I told him that I saw no objection to this course.

(2) He next asked whether we had considered the question of releasing her. I replied that the question had been considered time and again and that our view continued to be the same, viz., that so long as Mr. Gandhi is in detention it is best not to release Mr. Gandhi. Tottenham asked whether we had considered the point that Mrs. Gandhi's detention, in present conditions, is probably illegal in terms of rule 26 of the D. of I. Rs. as it cannot be contended that her liberty is prejudicial to public safety, etc. I said we had not looked at the case from that point of view and did not think it necessary to do so, as the case was altogether exceptional and could not be decided on a purely legalistic basis. In our view, the conclusive argument was that, in case she is released, the question of releasing Mr. Gandhi to be with her in case she gets another heart attack or dies would undoubtedly arise and Government would be in an extremely awkward position. It was a question of releasing either both or neither. Tottenham did not press the point any further.

He added as a piece of information that the Government of India had advised the Secretary of State to suggest in his reply to the House of Commons that Mrs. Gandhi may not herself be desirous of coming out. The Secretary of State had apparently not followed up the suggestion.

(3) Tottenham asked me whether we are clear as to the arrangements that should be made in case Mrs. Gandhi dies. I told him that the orders were quite clear on the point, viz., that she should be cremated inside the compound, as Mahadev Desai was.

(4)Tottenham asked whether we could confirm, what the Government of India had heard, that Mrs. Gandhi had a severe heart attack some time before her detention, viz., during the Cripps negotiations. I said I would find out what information was available on this subject.

(5)Tottenham finally asked that, in case Mrs. Gandhi's health deteriorated rapidly or ended fatally, a telegram should be sent direct to the Secretary of State. I agreed to this arrangement.

After this telephone conversation, I rang up Col. Advani. He said that the attack on Friday night was unusually severe. He saw her yesterday afternoon and she seemed better; but it was impossible for him to say when another heart attack might develop. Should it prove to be as severe as the one on Friday, he would not be surprised if she died as a result of it.

Col. Advani has read the orders regarding the funeral arrangements in case Mrs. Gandhi dies. He told me that it would not be possible to avoid bringing in an outside priest.

He is enquiring from Col. Shah about Mrs. Gandhi's previous medical history and will let me know in due course.

After discussion with A (H). I issued the following press communique to the Director of Information:—

"Mrs. Gandhi has had another severe heart attack. Although she had rallied from it and is now somewhat easier, her condition, having regard to her age and general frailty, must continue to cause anxiety. "

I attach for information, a further telegram I have sent to Tottenham

H. V. R. IENGAR.

20-12.

A(H). 20-12-43.

H. E. (G.S.). J. C. 21-12-43.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 45)

*TELEGRAM (STATE)*

No. 242.

Dated 22-12-43.

To

Foreign, New Delhi,  
For Tottenham from Iengar.

*Mrs. Gandhi.* His Excellency who was out of Bombay has just seen my notes recording my conversation with you. After full consideration he has asked the following to be communicated to you.

2. In view of the possibility that the death of Mrs. Gandhi in prison may give rise to charges of inhumanity and lead to undesirable public excitement. His Excellency has considered whether she may not be released on condition that she stays in Poona. She would probably stay in



Parnakuti which is close to Agakhan Palace. This course has obvious advantages but the difficulty would be that Mr. Gandhi would have to be allowed to visit her should condition deteriorate. He would also, should she unfortunately die, have to be allowed to attend funeral where his presence may well lead to public demonstrations. It would not be impossible to make adequate security arrangements but H. E. thinks balance of advantage lies in keeping her where she is. He desires that the point should be brought to notice of Government of India.

3. By being kept in prison, Mrs. Gandhi is deprived of doctors of her own choice and of visits from members of her family. His Excellency thinks there would be advantage in asking her if she would like any other doctor and if so to give a panel of 3 or 4 names. His Ex. also considers that interviews with members of family may be allowed more freely and to a larger circle than at present. She has strong domestic instincts and will undoubtedly appreciate this. From point of view of public opinion it will also take some of the sting out of her detention.

Will you please telegraph reply ?

Bombay Special  
H. V. R. IENGAR.  
22-12.

Secretary to Government of Bombay, Home Department.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 47)

Col. Advani telephoned to me this afternoon and said that with regard to the additional help required in the Aga Khan's Palace for nursing Mrs. Gandhi, the Gandhis had given him the following two names in order of preference (1) Kanu Gandhi, (2) Prabhavati Devi, wife of Jayaprakash Narain. Although the names were expressed in order of preference, the Gandhis wanted both of them to be admitted. With regard to Prabhavati Devi, they desired it to be communicated to Government that she was for several years an inmate of the ashram and was looked upon by Mrs. Gandhi practically as her own daughter.

2. I communicated this to Tottenham. I said we could express no opinion about the lady but that we knew Kanu Gandhi, who had nursed Mr. Gandhi during his fast. We had no objection to his being admitted.

3. Tottenham said that he would have to take higher orders on these matters and would let me know as soon as possible. *Prima facie*, he thought there might be some advantage in transferring Prabhavati Devi to the Aga Khan's Palace.

4. I have informed A (H) of this conversation.

H. V. R. IENGAR.  
22-12.

Tottenham telephoned to me this afternoon with regard to the request of the Gandhis for Kanu Gandhi and Prabhavati Devi and also the telegram which we sent to the Government of India yesterday.

2. Our telegram of yesterday was considered this morning by the Viceroy, who agreed with the Governor's views in para. 2, *viz.*, that the balance of advantage lay in not releasing Mrs. Gandhi. With regard to para. 3, the Government of India have no objection to our allowing interviews with members of the family more freely and to a larger circle than at present, provided we kept these interviews within reasonable limits. The Government of India would leave this matter to the discretion of the Bombay Government.

3. The question of nursing was also discussed with the Viceroy who had decided, as a matter of principle, that if nurses were required, then only trained professional nurses should be brought in. I pointed out that this had been considered before and that the objection was that trained nurses could not be confined in the Palace all the 24 hours, also, that there was some difficulty about feeding them in the Palace. Tottenham said that the Government of India were aware of this difficulty, but their decision nevertheless was as stated above. Accordingly Kanu Gandhi would not be allowed as a nurse. With regard to Prabhavati Devi, who is a prisoner, the Government of India were in communication with the Government of Bihar and would let us know in due course. In the meanwhile, we could appoint professional nurses as required.

4. With regard to the question of asking Mrs. Gandhi whether she would like another doctor, the Government of India were opposed to this proposal, unless the Government Medical Officer-in-charge himself thought that extra-medical attention was necessary. The Government of India's view was that the care of security prisoners is a responsibility which Government must discharge and, unless the Government doctor in-charge feels that he must have extra-medical aid, Government should not ask the prisoner whether he or she wants such aid. Accordingly, the Government of India's suggestion is that we should ask Col. Advani whether, in the opinion of the Government Medical Officer, it is necessary to have extra-medical aid. In case his answer is in the affirmative, then the Government of India have no objection to our asking Mrs. Gandhi for a panel of three or four names.

5. The Government of India have approved of the accompanying press communique, and they desire that the Government of Bombay should issue it. I pointed out to Tottenham that there seems to be no reason why the Government of India should not themselves issue this communique and that although Mrs. Gandhi has been detained under the orders of the Government of Bombay, the reason for not releasing her is connected intimately with the detention of Mr. Gandhi, who is a prisoner of the Government of India. Tottenham said that as we had issued press communiques about Mrs. Gandhi, the Government of India thought that we should issue the communique now telephoned to us. I told him that our communique on the Gandhis have been entirely factual and never argumentative, and that as the matter of Mrs. Gandhi's release has evoked controversy in the House of Commons, it seemed to me inappropriate that the Provincial Government should issue any press note. Tottenham said that he could only reply that the matter had been

considered by the Viceroy and that he wanted the Bombay Government to issue the communique. I said that I would place the matter before His Excellency the Governor and, if he thought that the communique should not be issued from Bombay, I would telephone back.

H. V. R. IENGAR.  
23-12.

On the instructions of H. E., I telephoned back to Tottenham as follows:—

The issue of this press note is a matter either for the Government of Bombay or for the Government of India. If it is a matter for the Bombay Government, H. E. does not propose to issue the press note. If it is a matter for the Government of India, he would recommend its not being issued. If the Government of India propose nevertheless to issue it, he would recommend redrafting of the following two phrases which are likely merely to irritate public opinion: "since Mr. Gandhi could naturally not be allowed to accompany or visit her" and "conclusion, which they believe will commend itself to public opinion."

Tottenham said that we need not issue the press note and that the Government of India would either issue it themselves or drop it.

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.  
13-12.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Page 51)

SECRET No. 619

AGAKHAN'S PALACE,  
Yeravda, 22nd Dec. 1943

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Mr. Devdas Gandhi along with his wife and children interviewed his parents on 21st December 1943 from 3-25 to 5-10 p.m.

They talked on domestic affairs and discussed for a long time as to who should be selected as an attendant on Mrs. Gandhi. Ultimately two persons were selected whose names are given below. (1) Mr. Kanu Gandhi, (2) Mrs. Prabhadevi w/o Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan. She is now in Patna Jail.

Mr. Devdas read the letter, which he received from Mrs. Naidu enquiring on the health of Mrs. Gandhi.

Mr. Devdas was told that Mrs. Gandhi had very high blood pressure. viz., 212 on Monday. So he took down the figures of blood pressure of Mrs. Gandhi of some days of each month of the year.

I have the honour to be Sir,

Yours Most Obedient Servant,

A. E. KATELY.  
Officer-in-Charge Agakhan's Palace.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 61)

*24th December 1943.*

Telephone message from Tottenham.

The Government of India after consulting the Government of Bihar, agree to Prabhavati Devi, wife of Jaiprakash Narayan being allowed to stay in the Aga Khan Palace in order to nurse Mrs. Gandhi. Prabhavati Devi is a security prisoner in Bihar and would have to stay as a security prisoner in the Aga Khan Palace. The Government of India think she may as well stay there indefinitely and not merely after the present crisis has passed.

They consider, however, that the I. G. Prison must first give a trial to professional nurses; and only in the event of their proving unsatisfactory for some reason or other should Prabhavati Devi be sent for. The Government of Bombay should arrange the transfer direct with the Bihar Government.

H. V. R. IENGAR,  
24-12-43.

Inform G.s and Col. Advani.

H. V. R. IENGAR,  
25-12.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 69)

**PRESS NOTE**

Government have carefully considered the question of releasing Mrs. Gandhi in view of the deterioration in her health. Apart from the fact that she is receiving every possible medical care and attention where she is, to release her would involve separating her from her husband for the period of her illness, since Mr. Gandhi could naturally not be allowed to accompany or visit her. Neither Mr. Gandhi nor his wife has made any request that she should be released. In these circumstances Government have come to the conclusion, which they believe will commend itself to public opinion, that it will be better and more considerate from every point of view to leave Mrs. Gandhi where she is. Her sons and grandchildren, and also her brother, have been allowed to see her and her wishes in this matter are being met as far as possible; but in the present state of her health, rest and quiet are essential and it is undesirable that she should have any large number of visitors.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 127)

*TRANSLATION*

To

Khan Bahadur,

After the talk I had with my son Devdas today, I have ascertained Kasturba's wishes which are as follows:—

(1) In case Kanu Gandhi cannot stay here during patient's illness, he should be allowed to visit her for about an hour daily. So that he can sing her some bhajans and also do some little nursing. As you are aware the patient is insistent upon having Kanu as a whole time nurse.

(2) The son and daughter of Jayaben, whose names, I have already given, and Dharendra Gandhi should be permitted to come and sing and play to her, whenever they can come.

(3) Including my father they were six brothers. Their descendants and sons in-law would, according to the common practice, be regarded as near relations, such of them whose names may be sent up by Devdas, Shamaldas or Jamnadas Gandhi, should be permitted to come and see her. The idea underlying this, is that if some one of the relations can see the patient once a week, it would give her some mental peace. In case they are given the permission, it is of importance that those who can come should be able to see her all together. The patient does not mind their number. On the contrary greater the number, the more pleased she would be.

(4) I must confess that the patient has got into very low spirits. She has despaired of life and is looking forward to death to relieve her. If she rallies on one day, more often than not, she is worse on the next. The state is pitiful. The visits from relations soothe her.

I regard the experiment of having an "aya" has failed. Smt. Prabhavati Jayaprakash Narayan has done a lot of nursing for the patient before. She is like a daughter to us. Her father himself sent her to stay in the ashram, when she was quite young. If she is sent here she will be of great help.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Page 49)

SECRET

No. S.D.VI-14461,  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),  
Bombay, 24th December 1943.

My dear Tottenham,

Please refer to paragraph 2 of my letter No. S.D.VI-14191, dated the 18th December 1943. Kately, of whom I made enquiries, has now submitted the following report:

"The passage under reference is not a reproduction of the words actually used on the subject. The Gandhis were talking in Gujarati and I have translated into English according to the notes taken at the

time of utterance. There was no further talk on this point and Mr. Devdas also did not say anything on the subject.

Before entering the Palace, Mr. Devdas was informed not to discuss on any political matters, and hence, it appears that he did not say or give any reply to this point."

2. Kately also reported that Devdas Gandhi and his wife and children had interviews on Sunday the 19th and Monday the 20th. The whole talk was confined to domestic affairs.

Yours sincerely,  
H. V. R. 1ENGAR.  
23-12.

Sir Richard Tottenham. C.S.I., CLE., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Page 61)

AGAKHAN'S PALACE,  
Yeravda, 25th Dec. 1943.

SECRET No 631

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Mr. Devdas Gandhi with his wife and children interviewed his parents on Monday the 27th instant, from 3-45 to 4-40 p.m. and talked on domestic affairs.

Mr. Devdas told his father that Mr. Dinshah Mehta of Nature Cure Clinic is observing fast for 7 days each month, since he paid Rs. 500 towards the Bengal Famine Relief Fund. Mr. Gandhi told Devdas to inform Mr. Dinshah to stop this, as otherwise he will ruin his health and the patients in his charge will suffer.

Mr. Jamnadas Gandhi also interviewed from 4-45 to 5-25 p.m. and talked on domestic affairs.

Your Most Obedient Servant,  
A. E. KATELY.  
Officer-in-Charge Agakhan's Palace.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 29)

D. O. No. S.D.VI-14632,  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL)  
Bombay, 28th December 1943.

SECRET

My dear Tottenham,

Will you please refer to your d.o. letter No. 3/21/42-Poll (I), dated 3/6-12-1943?

As desired by the Government of India, I enclose a note showing the daily routine of the inmates of the Aga Khan's Palace.

I am afraid that the statement in my previous letter that "it is unlikely that (Mr. Gandhi) has had any discussion (on politics) with the other inmates" did not correctly convey what we had in mind. Gandhi does undoubtedly discuss current affairs with his inmates. None of them, however, is a leader; for, with the possible exception of Dr. Gilder, they merely minister to his creature comforts and we think it unlikely that he discusses his deeper thoughts on politics with them. This, however, is mere hypothesis.

Pyarelal does Gandhi's typing work but a major part of the letter to the Government of India containing a reply to "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances" was typed by Dr. Gilder.

Yours sincerely,  
H. V. R. I.

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-1, Page 13)

DETENTION CAMP,  
December 29th, 1943.

Dear Agatha,

It was a perfect pleasure to receive your unexpected letter yesterday afternoon. Dr. Gilder and Mira and Pyarelal and Sushila have shared it with me. I gave Ba its gist. She is oscillating between life and death. The complications are many and great. She is receiving all the attention possible in a detention camp.

As for the subject matter of your letter, I am the same man you have known me. The spirit of Andrews is ever with me. But suspicion about my motives and utter distrust of my word in high places has hitherto rendered every move made by me nugatory. However, I am watching, waiting and praying. Truth and non-violence remain my sheet anchor as never before. They sustain me. I do not give up the hope that light will shine through the surrounding darkness.

Much love to you and all our friends.

Yours,  
(Sd.) BAPU.  
(M. K. Gandhi).

Miss Agatha Harrison,  
2 Cranpourn Court,  
Albert Bridge Road,  
London, S. W. 11.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 37)

DETENTION CAMP,  
4th January, 1944.

To

The Officer-in-Charge,  
Aga Khan's Palace, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to the communication you gave me from the Government of Bombay as regards interviews with my family, I have to request you to bring the following facts to their notice.

My wife, who has been a diabetic for some years and who has to have insulin injections every day, suffered from arthritis of the lumbar spine with pressure on the nerves causing pain and inability to walk in 1934 Radio active mud baths at Dax (South France) then relieved her.

For the last two or three months a similar condition has started in her neck vertebrae, giving her pain and weakness in the arms. So far treatment has been of no avail. At the last interview I examined her, and the X-ray plate which she had brought with her, in the presence of the Inspector-General of Prisons, and suggested a line of treatment similar to that carried out at Dax (except for the baths). It is necessary to examine her again to evaluate the relief obtained and to carry on the treatment further.

So much for my function as her medical adviser, the mental factor in a patient is as important as the physical. I am of opinion that each time my wife meets me, she takes away from me mental strength and satisfaction which is of no small use to her in alleviating distress.

As to my daughter, she is studying for her M. D. Examination. She has fits of dispondency. She needs a father's help and encouragement.

I trust that Government will, therefore, see that there are special circumstances for an interview.

I have the honour to be Sir.

Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) M. D. D. GILDER.

No. 7 of 1944.

Yeravda. 4th January 1944.

SECRET

Forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona, for favour of disposal.

(Sd.) A. E. KATELY.  
Officer, Agakhan's Palace.



(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 67, Page 1)

SECRET.

D. O. No. III-7-43-M.S.,  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi, 10th Jan. 1944.

My dear Iengar,

Mrs. Gandhi's health does not appear to be making any substantial improvement and I presume that we must face the possibility of a fatal termination at any time. In that event, it will be a question whether to transmit the numerous condolence messages that will doubtless be sent to Mr. Gandhi; and there will be the even more difficult question of the extent to which we should allow Mr. Gandhi to answer such messages as he may receive. On the first point, the Secretary of State has already suggested that there need be no objection to forwarding such messages as may emanate from friends in England. He proposes, and we have told him that we agree, to inform enquirers that they can despatch their messages to the Home Department, Bombay, but that there can be no obligation on the part of the Bombay Government to communicate replies. We think that the same principle should govern messages of sympathy from persons in India—that is to say they may be delivered to Mr. Gandhi provided, of course, that they are simple condolence messages. We do consider it necessary, however, to restrict the opportunities for evoking political sympathy to which his replies to such messages might lead themselves. We consider, therefore, that he should be informed that he may, of course, answer messages from his own relatives and that Government will, if he so wishes, inform other correspondents that their messages have been delivered to him, but that Government are not prepared to allow correspondence beyond these limits. There is, of course, no necessity to inform Mr. Gandhi at present and we may still hope that the contingency will not arise.

Yours sincerely,  
R. TOTTENHAM.

H. V. R. Iengar, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay.  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Page 85)

SECRET No. 25

AGAKHAN'S PALACE,  
Yeravda, 11th January 1944.

To,  
The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Kanu Gandhi interviewed Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi on Monday the 10th instant from 3-0 to 5 -5 p.m. He sang some Bhajans and read Bhagwat before Mrs. Gandhi.

Your most obedient servant,

A. E. KATELY,  
Officer-in-Charge Agakhan's Palace.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46, Page 43)

No. 3/1/44-Poll(I),  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi, the 13th January 1944.

My dear lengar,

Your d.o. No. S.D.VI/204, dated January 6th enclosing a further representation from Dr. Gildar. I am afraid that we cannot altogether accept your view that the circumstances mentioned by him constitute special reasons justifying more frequent interviews for him with his wife and (more particularly) his daughter. It is certainly inconsistent with the objects of detention to allow Dr. Gilder to carry on his practice as a doctor with outside persons, even including his own wife; and we only agreed to interviews on entirely special grounds. We would not strongly object to his having an interview with his wife at occasional intervals if her health gives special cause for anxiety, but these intervals should not be too frequent and we can hardly contemplate a regular series of meetings between them. It seems to us that the very desirable privacy of the Palace is now being subjected to considerable invasion, and we must draw the line somewhere. If, however, the Bombay Government definitely wish to enlarge the liberties of the inmates of the Palace, we should like to have a considered statement from them of the reasons in favour of such a course.

2. We realise, of course, that Dr. Gilder is a security prisoner of the Bombay Government and we are not sure how his case for release would be regarded if he were not in the Aga Khan's Palace. We also do not know exactly the grounds for his original detention, but presume that he was detained simply as an ex-Minister of the Congress Government who was known to support the Congress cause. It may be that the time has come to release him, in which case a period of segregation elsewhere would presumably be desirable. Perhaps, you would let us know further about this aspect of the case.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM.

H. V. R. lengar, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secy, to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special)  
Bombay.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-I-P.35.)

15th January 1944.

From:

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit,  
2 Mukerjee Road, Allahabad.

To

Mahatma Gandhi.

My dear Bapu,

This is to give you the sad news of the passing away of Ranjit yesterday morning at 5-50 in Lucknow. We brought him here for the last rites which were performed in the orthodox way in the evening.

Ranjit had been ill for one year in prison and, when he was released in October last he was a very sick man. He was eager to attend to various matters in connection with his latest book and spent a fortnight in Bombay working hard, later a fortnight at Khali where his condition became worse. He reached Lucknow from Khali on November 8th and was examined and found to be suffering from wet pleurisy. He was immediately put to bed and the best available treatment was given to him. For the first month he showed considerable improvement but later he caught a chill and there was congestion of the lung and various complications set in. The trouble in breathing was very acute and whenever the attacks came on he suffered dreadfully. He was magnificent throughout—patient, considerate of those attending on him, co-operating fully with the doctors and fighting bravely and without complaint. Sometimes when I was depressed he would smile and press my hand and say "you and I are allies in this as in all other battles and we shall win through"— But we did not win—death was too powerful an opponent for our combined strength.

I am thankful for my worst memories—for the good times and the bad we shared together. I pray his courageous spirit and his goodness of heart may be transmitted to me so that in all ways I may remain worthy of sharing his name.

Rita has been wonderful. She is a tower of strength to me—so brave herself.

I have cabled the girls in America. I am sure they will bear this blow with fortitude. My heart aches for them.

If I could be permitted to have a line from you it would strengthen me.

My love and pranams,

Yours affectionately,  
**SARUP.**

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-I-P.31.)

2-MUKERJEE ROAD, ALLAHABAD.  
15th January 1944.

To

The Home Secretary,  
Bombay Government,  
Bombay.

Sir.

I enclose a letter for Mahatma Gandhi which speaks for itself.

I am aware of the rule by which he is permitted to correspond only with relatives but shall be grateful if my letter could be forwarded to him as a special case.

Both my husband and I are very much nearer than "relatives" to Mahatma Gandhi and it will mean a great deal to me if he can receive news of my sorrow from me.

Yours faithfully,

**VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT.**

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 67- P. 3.)

SECRET.

Poll I

D.O. No. 3-4-44.  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
POLITICAL AND SERVICES DEPARTMENT.  
New Delhi, 19-1-1944.

My dear lengar,

I enclose herewith, in original, a telegram of condolence addressed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. You have probably received many others from other sources. We think that the procedure should be generally the same as that suggested in my letter No. III-7-43-M.S., dated the 10th January 1944 in the case of Mrs. Gandhi. In both cases, however, we are inclined to think, on further consideration, that a distinction might and should be drawn between personal messages of condolence and those that are clearly of a political character. The enclosed telegram, for instance, purports to convey the condolences of the citizens of Cuttack, few, if any, of whom can probably claim any personal knowledge either of Mr. and Mrs. Pandit or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We think, therefore, that such 'political' messages should be withheld altogether. The rule would then be that personal messages of condolence could be forwarded and the addresses would be allowed to answer those which come from members of his family. He would not be permitted to answer those which do not come from members of his family but, if he

so wishes, Government would inform the senders that the messages had been delivered.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM

H. V. R. Iengar, Esq., CLE., I.C.S.  
Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76—P. 165.)

AGAKHAN'S PALACE, YERAVADA.  
19th January 1944.

**SECRET No. 48.**

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Mr. Devdas Gandhi had an interview with Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi on Tuesday, the 18th instant from 3-25 to 5-20 p.m. He talked on domestic affairs.

Mr Gandhi told Devdas that whenever he sees Mr. Iengar he should tell him that Kanu should be sent here as an attendant. Kanu is our child and nursed Mrs. Gandhi many a times before. If there is any objection for Kanu then Devdas should suggest the names of Rishananayar, Brijkison and Surendra, but he should press for Kanu.

Further he said that Desai sisters, who gave a musical performance a few days back should be allowed to do so often.

Mr. Gandhi said that Khorsedben, who is now in Bhagalpur jail, should be transferred to a jail in the Bombay Province, as she is a resident of this Province and also a registered inmate of the Sabarmati Ashram. Because, by the transfer of Prabhavati to this place, Khorsedben feels very lonely as there is no other woman of her company there.

Your Most Obedient Servant,  
(Sd.) x x x  
Officer-in-Charge Agakhan's Palace.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76—P. 169.)

AGAKHAN'S PALACE, YERAVADA,  
20th January 1944.

**SECRET No. 53.**

To

The Secretary to Government.  
Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Mr. Devdas had an interview on Wednesday, the 19th instant, from 1-45 to 3-15 p.m. He talked on domestic affairs.

Mr. Gandhi said that if we succeed in getting Kanu here then Devdas should ask Mr. Iengar to allow Mr. Dinshah Mehta of Nature Cure Clinic and Lady Thakersey to visit this place every alternate day.

Devdas asked his mother whether she would like to be released on parole. She replied that she would not like to leave the place without Mr. Gandhi.

Your Most Obedient Servant.

A. H. KATELY.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-I, P. 33.)

D. O. No. 1028  
HOME DEPARTMENT, BOMBAY,  
20th January 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

I am desirous to enclose a copy of a letter addressed to us by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit together with its accompaniment. We are referring the case for the orders of the Government of India as our instructions do not authorise the transmission of Mrs. Pandit's letters to Mr. Gandhi. The view of the Government of Bombay in this matter is that in view of the circumstances in which the letter has been written and its contents it may be passed on as a special case. Whether the reply from Mr. Gandhi should be passed on to Mrs. Pandit would of course depend on its contents. We will naturally send you a copy before taking any action on it.

Yours sincerely.

H. V. R. IENGAR.

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secretary to the Govt, of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 173)

**SECRET No. 59.**

AGAKHAN'S PALACE Yeravada,  
21st January 1944.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Mr. and Mrs. Harjivandas Shah, their two children and Kanu Gandhi had an interview with Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi on Thursday the 20th instant, from 3-0 to 5-0 p.m. They talked on domestic affairs.

Mr. Harjivandas said that:—

(1) Mr. Mangaldas Pakwasa is very seriously ill and Doctors Yodh and Munshif have performed operation on him. On account of his sickness Mr. Morarji Desai has been released on parole for three days.

(2) Dr. Shiv Sharma, who is a heart specialist in Lahore can be consulted for Mrs. Gandhi. He is willing to come here from Lahore. Mr. Shantikumar Morarji knows him and can be arranged through him.

(3) Dr. Gajjar says that Mrs. Gandhi's blood should be tested. The condition of heart can be traced from the Blood-test. Dr. Gajjar is a specialist in that line.

Your Most Obedient Servant,

A. E. KATELY.

Officer-in-Charge Agakhan's Palace.

Through:  
The Inspector-General  
of Prisons,  
Poona.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 171)

D. O. No. VI/1230.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay, 24th January 1944

My dear Tottenham,

Please refer to the correspondence resting with my telegram to you No. 3. dated 3rd January 1944 Mrs. Jai Prakash Narain arrived in Poona some days ago and we understand that she has been of much assistance in looking after Mrs. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi has, however, renewed his request that Kanu Gandhi should also be allowed to stay in the Palace to look after Mrs. Gandhi. He communicated this request to Col. Bhandari a couple of days ago and passed it on again to Government through Devadas Gandhi who came and saw me about it yesterday. What Mr. Gandhi actually told his son is recorded in two letters from the Superintendent of the Detention Camp of which I enclose copies.

I have consulted Col. Bhandari as to the necessity of extra assistance in the Palace. He says that Mrs. Gandhi's condition is low and she requires attention almost continuously. As Miss Slade is of no use on account of her severe shoulder trouble and Miss Nayyar is required to look after both Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, the only persons who are now solely engaged in looking after Mrs. Gandhi are Mrs. Jai Prakash Narain and Miss Manu Gandhi. Col. Bhandari thinks that they are very hard pressed and that an extra person would be useful. It appears, however from the Superintendent's letter dated the 20th instant that although the request for Kanu Gandhi may be perfectly genuine, Mr. Gandhi regards it as merely a thin end of the wedge and proposes to ask for more favours.

Our own opinion is that Kanu Gandhi, who is a harmless youth but a competent nurse may be allowed to stay in on the same terms as a detainee, but that Mr. Gandhi should be definitely told that requests for further, assistance or interviews with persons who are not near relations will not be agreed to.

Would you kindly let me know in what terms we should reply to Mr. Gandhi ?

Yours sincerely,  
H. V. R. I.  
22-1.

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-I, Page 37)

**SECRET.**

D. O. No. II/16/43-M.S.  
HOME DEPARTMENT.  
NEW DELHI,  
25th January 1944.

My dear lengar,

Your D. O. No. 1028 of January 20th enclosing copy of a letter from Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. We have no objection, as a special case. to the transmission of Mrs. Pandit's letter to Mr. Gandhi, on the understanding mentioned in your letter that a copy of any reply from Mr. Gandhi should be shown to us before any action is taken on it.

Yours sincerely,  
R. TOTTENHAM

H. V. R. lengar, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.  
Secretary to the  
Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 189)

Col. Bhandari telephoned this morning to say that Mrs. Gandhi has asked for the services of Dr. Mehta, the Nature Cure specialist of Poona. She is apparently feeling that the allopathic treatment which she is receiving has done her no good and she would like to try nature cure treatment. Dr. Mehta had been called in during Mr. Gandhi's fast and is well known to the family.

Col. Bhandari asked Dr. Gilder what he thought about this request. Dr. Gilder's opinion was that "nature cure" could not be of any help to Mrs. Gandhi but neither would it do any harm. This is also the view of Col. Bhandari himself.



I discussed this case with A(H) this afternoon and he suggested that we should communicate Mrs. Gandhi's request to the Government of India together with the opinions of Dr. Gilder and Col. Bhandari and leave it to the Government of India to decide whether the request should be granted. The case is accordingly submitted to His Excellency for orders.

H. V. R. I.  
25-1-.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 179)

Copy.—Original sent to the P. & S. D. in accordance with its letter No. FRM-1056-105162-B, dated 25-9-56.

DETENTION CAMP,  
January 27th, 1944.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay (H.D.),  
Bombay.

Sir,

I enclose herewith for dispatch a letter addressed to the Government of India, but it need not be dispatched if the Government of Bombay can *suo moto* deal with the matters referred to therein. As the object is to obtain relief as promptly as possible instructions from the Central Government, if necessary, may be obtained on the phone.

I am, etc.  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 181)

Copy.—Original sent to the P. & S. D. in accordance with its letter No. FRM 1056/105162-B, dated 25-9-56.

DETENTION CAMP,  
January 27th, 1944.

Sir,

Some days ago Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi told the Inspector-General of Prisons and Col. Shah that Dr. Dinshah Mehta of Poona be invited to assist in her treatment. Nothing seems to have come out of her request. She has become insistent now and asked me if I had written to the Government in the matter. I, therefore, ask for immediate permission to bring in Dr. Mehta. She has also told me and my son that she would like to have some Ayurvedic physician to see her. I suggest that the I. G. P. be authorised to permit such assistance when requested.

I have no reply as yet to my request that Kanu Gandhi who is being permitted to visit the patient every alternate day, be allowed to remain in the camp as a whole time nurse. The patient shows no signs

of recovery and night nursing is becoming more and more exacting Kanu Gandhi is an ideal nurse, having nursed the patient before. And what is more, he can soothe her by giving her instrumental music and by singing *bhajans*. I request early relief to relieve the existing pressure. The matter may be treated as very urgent.

The Superintendent of the camp informs me that when visitors come, one nurse only can be present. Hitherto more than one nurse has attended when necessary. The Superintendent used his discretion as to the necessity. But when difficulty arose I made a reference to the I. G. P. The result was that an order was issued that a doctor in addition may be present. I submit that the order has been issued in ignorance or disregard of the condition of the patient. She often requires to be helped by more persons than one. Therefore, I ask that there should be no restriction as to the number of the attendants.

It would be wrong on my part if I suppressed the fact that in the facilities being allowed to the patient grace has been sadly lacking. The order about the attendants is the most glaring instance of pin pricks, besides being in defeat of the purpose for which attendance during visits of relatives is allowed. Again, my three sons are in Poona. The eldest Harilal who is almost lost to us, was not allowed yesterday, the reason being that the I. G. P. had no instructions to allow him to come again. And yet the patient was naturally anxious to meet him to cite one more pinprick, every time visitors who are on the permitted list come, they have to apply to Government office, Bombay, for permission. The consequence is that there is unnecessary delay and heart burning. The difficulty I imagine arises because neither the Superintendent nor the I. G. P. has any function except that of passing on my requests to Bombay.

I am aware that Mrs. Kasturba is a Government patient, and that even as her husband I should have no say about her. But, as the Government have been pleased to say that instead of being discharged she is being kept with me in her own interest perhaps in interpreting her wishes and feelings I am doing what the Government would desire and appreciate. Her recovery or at least mental peace when she is lingering is common cause between the Government and me. Any jar tells on her.

I am, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Additional Secretary to the  
Government of India (H. D.),  
New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 191)

No. 19, dated 28th January 1944.

For Tottenham from Iengar Mrs. Gandhi has asked for services of Dr. Mehta nature cure specialist of Poona who attended on Gandhi during fast. Col. Bhandari and Dr. Gilder both think that Mehta cannot be of any use but they consider he can do no harm. Please tele-

graph whether Government of India have any objection to Mehta being called in.

Bombay Special.

Issue  
H. V. R. J.  
28-1.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 193)

**CONFIDENTIAL**

*TELEGRAM*

No. 1078, dated the 29th January 1944.

From: Home Department, New Delhi.

To: Bombay Special, Bombay.

IMPORTANT

Your No. 19, dated the 28th January. We consider that Mehta should *not* be called in Writing.

[TRUE Copy ]

Cypher Assistant,

Home Department (Special).

Bombay. 30th January 1944.

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(Home Department. Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 201)

Telephone conversation with Col. Bhandari, I. G. Prisons.

Col. Bhandari said that Mrs. Gandhi is still very weak. In his opinion it is necessary that Kanu Gandhi should be allowed to stay with her. In view of the fact that my message reached him late last night on account of break-down in telephonic and telegraphic communications Col. Bhandari was not able to arrange for Kanu Gandhi to stay in the Palace last night. I agree to get the orders of Government and pass it on to him as soon as possible.

Telephone conversation with Sir Richard Tottenham.

I informed Tottenham that in our opinion Kanu Gandhi should be allowed to stay in. He is not interested in politics, is a competent nurse and is very much liked by Mrs. Gandhi. Tottenham said that in actual fact he wrote to us two days ago agreeing that Kanu Gandhi may stay in on the same, terms as Manu Gandhi that is to say he agrees in writing to stay all the 24 hours under the same conditions as for other security prisoners in the Palace.

When I inquired about Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Tottenham said that the responsibility for deciding whether another consultation is necessary or not must remain with the Government Medical Officer-in-charge and not with Dr. Gilder. The Government of India are not impressed with the

argument that a Doctor may not do any good nor would he do any harm. It is only if Col. Bhandari as the Medical Officer-in-charge thought that a consultation was necessary with Dr. Jivraj Mehta that he may be called in. Government of India had no objection to Dr. Jivraj on personal grounds but they considered that he should not be allowed to stay in the Palace but merely come in for consultation. I stated that it was never our intention to let him stay in the Palace.

I inquired whether the Government of India thought that a press note regarding Mrs Gandhi is necessary. Tottenham said that the Government of India thought so and I have promised to do so immediately.

Further telephone conversation with Col. Bhandari.

I communicated the orders of Government to him regarding Kanu Gandhi and read out the following press-note and he agreed that it is factually correct:

"Mrs. Gandhi had a severe heart attack yesterday. Her condition is very weak. "

I told Col. Bhandari of the Government of India orders on the subject of Jivraj Mehta. Col. Bhandari said that there was very little about heart diseases which Dr. Gilder did not know and it was unlikely that Dr. Jivraj Mehta would be able to do anything more for her but he would decide in the evening after seeing Mrs. Gandhi again whether it is necessary to consult Dr. Jivraj Mehta.

I have asked the Director of Information to issue the press-note. A(H) and H. E. have been informed about these conversations.

H. V. R. I.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 183)

D. O. No. S.D.VI/1685,  
HOME DEPARTMENT, Bombay.  
29th January 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

I enclose copies of a letter addressed to us by Mr. Gandhi together with its enclosure. The position with regard to the various matters dealt with by him is as follows.

We telegraphed to you yesterday about Dr. Dinshaw Mehta. We are asking Col. Bhandari to ascertain whether Mrs. Gandhi has any particular Ayurvedic Physician in mind. I rather think that the idea of an Ayurvedic Physician has been put into her head by Devdas Gandhi, for he mentioned it to me when he was here a few days ago. I told him that I was not prepared to take any action on suggestions emanating from him regarding the treatment of his mother.

About Kanu Gandhi I wrote to you in my D. O. No. S.D.VI-1230, dated the 24th instant. To save time could you telegraph your reply? Our instructions to the Superintendent of the Detention Camp were that

when visitors come to see Mrs. Gandhi there is no objection to Mr. Gandhi being present.

The Superintendent interpreted this to mean as no one else should be present. As soon as we heard about this we set it right and told him that one attendant may be allowed to be present and that one of the Doctors may also visit the patient during the interview. It is, of course, understood that in the case of sudden collapse or attack of pain other attendants will be permitted. Col. Bhandari does not think it necessary that all the detenus should be present in the capacity of attendants and we agree with him.

You will doubtless remember that, when discussing the question on the telephone sometime ago of the authority who should sanction interviews, it was settled that that authority should be the Government of Bombay. Accordingly all applications have been dealt with here. I use the telephone a good deal and in so far as I can see there has been no undue delay in any case. Such delay as has occurred in certain cases has been deliberate.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 184)

For instance we were told by Col. Bhandari that the eldest son Hiralal, who is a drunken wastrel, is indiscreet in his talk and we were, therefore, not anxious to let him have more interviews than we considered absolutely necessary. We do not think that the present arrangement should be disturbed.

Yours sincerely,  
H. V. R. I.  
29-1-.

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 209)

SECRET.

D. O. No. III/7/43-M.S.  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi, 29th Jan. 1944.

My dear Iengar,

Will you please refer to your demi-official letters No. S.D.VI-1230 of January 24th and S.D.VI-1309 of January 25th and your telegram No. 19 of January 28th, to the last of which I have sent a telegraphic reply ? We are inclined to agree with you that the concessions granted on account of Mrs. Gandhi's illness and the possibility that she might die are being exploited with the object of enlarging the number of people who may come in and out of the Aga Khan's Palace. So far as doctors

are concerned, we gather that additional medical assistance is not really required in the nature of the case and adhere to our opinion that no outside doctors should be allowed in unless the Government doctors consider that it is absolutely necessary for medical reasons. As regards attendants, we are prepared to agree, with some reluctance, to the admission of Kanu Gandhi, especially as we see from the enclosure to your letter of January 25th that he has apparently already had an interview. His admission must, however, be clearly on the understanding that he must stay in the Palace of his own free will and be subject to the same restrictions as the detained persons until Government decide that he may leave. He should give a written-statement to this effect, as in the case of Manu Gandhi. He will not be allowed to go out whenever he wants. It should further be understood, as you suggest, that no requests for any further assistance will be accepted. As regards visitors, it seems to us that Mrs. Gandhi's life is not in immediate danger and that it is quite wrong that the latitude allowed on that basis should be continued indefinitely. Our own opinion is that no visitors should be allowed unless there is some sudden turn for the worse in Mrs. Gandhi's condition such as to give cause for immediate anxiety and that, even in those circumstances, the number of visits and particularly their duration should be strictly limited. We should like to have your definite recommendation on this point. We notice that persons who are not apparently close relations (e.g., Kanu Gandhi) have been allowed interviews recently for exceedingly long periods.

Incidentally, we do not understand the reference in the enclosure to your letter of January 24th to the musical performance of the Desai sisters. We presume that no concert took place actually inside the Aga Khan's Palace and I also remember that it was agreed that they were not to have any wireless set. Could you please explain this further?

Yours,  
R. TOTTENHAM.

H. V. R. Iengar, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Page 107)

SECRET No. 77

AGAKHAN'S PALACE, Yeravda,  
29th January 1944.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Mr. Ramdas Gandhi and his daughter interviewed Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi on Friday the 28th instant from 3-10 to 5-15 p.m.

Mr. Ramdas said that Government is taking unnecessary risk in detaining Mrs. Gandhi. The old man replied that there is a greater risk in releasing her. In case she is released and if she dies, Government will be compelled to release him, which they do not like to risk.

Mr. Ramdas said that it is his impression that Harilal being an irresponsible man, may give in papers anything about the Palace, and hence Government are reluctant to give Harilal frequent interviews. Mr. Gandhi laughed and said "Perhaps I may take advantage of Harilal's weakness and ask him to do something for me".

Your Most Obedient Servant,  
A. E. KATELY,  
Officer-in-Charge Agakhan's Palace.

Through:

The Inspector-General of Prison.

Poona.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76-I, Page 101)

SECRET No. 12.

AGAKHAN'S PALACE, Yeravada,  
29th January 1944.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Messrs. Chhaganlal, Jaisukhlal, Devdas, Ramdas Gandhi and his daughter interviewed Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi on Wednesday the 26th instant, from 3-30 to 5-00 p.m. They talked on domestic affairs and Miss Gandhi sang some Bhajans.

Mr. Devdas said that Mr. Mangaldas Pakwasa is getting better. He met Mr. Morarji Desai who was on 3 days' parole. He is Keeping very good health. Kishorilal Mashruvala who is in Nagpur Jail, is now better. Sometime back he was very ill.

Mr. Devdas suggested that some country medicine should be tried for his mother. She has faith in Ayurvedic Physician. Mr. Gandhi replied that Devdas should try for this and approach Government for allowing some "Vaidya" to treat her. Further he said that he is going to write to Government for allowing Dinshah Mehta and Shiv Sharma of Lahore to give treatment to Mrs. Gandhi.

Mr. Devdas said that why Mr. Pyarelal and Miss Nayar are not applying to the authority for interview with their mother. He said that it is the duty of a prisoner to ask for the right and he thinks that Government will give permission for the same. He applied to the Government of India three times on behalf of their mother for the interview, but the

request was turned down. Mr. Gandhi replied that he had once written to Government on the subject and will write again.

Your Most Obedient Servant.

A. E. KATELY,  
Officer-in-Charge Agakhan's Palace

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 205)

SECRET.

D. O. No. 776,  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY,  
Poona, 31st January 1944.

My dear Iengar,

Reference your Secret D. O. No. S.D.VI-1686, dated 29-1-1944.

The Superintendent, Aga Khan's Palace states that Mrs. Gandhi is not in a fit state to reply. (In this connection see my D. O. No. 768, dated 31-1-1944). But Mr. Gandhi states as follows:--

"She has no particular Ayurvedic physician in mind but my son Devdas has suggested the name of Vaidraj Sharma of Lahore. Any physician who is permitted will be in addition to Dr. Dinshah Mehta and that too, if and when the latter has failed to give satisfaction. She has often expressed a desire to be seen by an Ayurvedic physician. If the permission is granted it should be of general character. She is losing will power and I have to judge between a multiplicity of advices, so long as I am permitted to have responsibility for her peace of mind which is about all that is possible at this stage. "

Yours sincerely.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

To

H. V. R. Iengar, Esquire, CLE., I.C.S., J.P.,  
Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.



DETENTION CAMP,  
January 31st 1944.

# APPENDIX A

Sir,

I sent on the 27th instant a very urgent letter addressed to the Government of India. I am, still without a reply. The patient is no better. The attendants are about to break down. Four only can work—two at a time on alternate nights. All the four have to work during the day. The patient herself is getting restive, and inquires, " When will Dr. Dinshah come". May I know as early as may be—even tomorrow if possible:—

- (1)Whether Shri Kanu Gandhi can come as full time nurse.
  - (2)When Dr. Dinshah's services may be enlisted for the present,
  - (3)and whether the restriction on the number of attendants during visits can be removed.
- I hope it may not have to be said that the relief came too late.

I am, etc.,  
(Sd.) M, K GANDHI

Secretary to the Government of Bombay (H D.).  
Bombay.

# APPENDIX B

DETENTION CAMP,  
31st January 1944.

Dear Col. Bhandari,

As you know Smt. Kasturba Gandhi has been gradually losing ground. Last night she had very little sleep, and this morning she had a bad collapse. She became very short of breath (res. 48), the pulse was very feeble in volume and tension and 100 to the minute, and her colour was ashy grey. She recovered after about twenty minutes treatment. Now at mid-day she is restless, complains of pain in the left chest and back, is cyanotic and dyspnoeic. The pulse rate is 108, the B. P. is 90/50, resp. 40.

Under these circumstances we would like to have the help in consultation of Dr. Jivraj Mehta (Yeravda Central Prison) and Dr. B. C. Roy (Calcutta) who have seen her in her former illnesses and, in whom she has faith. We might state that the patient's condition is such that if the help of these doctors is to be of any use it should not be delayed.

We might also point out that as she has to be watched all night and day, nursing has become difficult and patient herself has been constantly asking for Kanu Gandhi and Dr. Dinshah Mehta.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) S. NAYAR.  
(Sd.) M. D. D. GILDER.

P. S. Gandhi's blood pressure this morning was 206/110.

## APPENDIX C

DETENTION CAMP,  
February 3, 1944

Sir,

Smt. Kasturba asked me yesterday when Dr. Dinshah was coming, and whether a Vaidya (Ayurvedic physician) could see her and give her some drugs. I told her I was trying for both but that we were prisoners and could not have things as we liked. She has since been repeatedly asking whether I could not do something to hasten matters. She had a restless night again. This is of course nothing new for her at present. I request immediate orders about Dr. Dinshah and Vaidyaraj Sharma of Lahore. The latter will be some time coming. But Dr. Dinshah can come even today, if authority is given for calling him in.

I must confess that I do not understand this delay when a patient's life is hanging in the balance and may be saved by timely aid. After all for a patient alleviation of pain is as important as the highest matters of state.

I am etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K GANDHI.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Bombay.

## APPENDIX D

Regarding request for services of Dr. Dinshah Mehta and Ayurvedic physician.

(Communication from Government conveyed by the Superintendent of the camp on 31-1-44 at 4 p.m.)

"Government wants to know whether Mrs. Gandhi has any particular physician in mind and whether she would want one in addition to Dr. Dinshah Mehta."

Scribbled out reply to the above handed immediately to the Superintendent of the camp—it being Monday, the day of silence.

"She has no particular Ayurvedic physician in mind, but my son Devadas suggested the name of Vaidyaraj Sharma of Lahore. Any physician who is admitted will be in addition to Dr. Dinshah and that too if and when the latter has failed to give satisfaction. She has often expressed a desire to be seen by an Ayurvedic physician. If the permission is granted, it should be of a general character. She is losing will-power and I have to Judge between a multiplicity of advice so long as I am permitted to have responsibility for her peace of mind, which is about all that is possible at this stage."

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-I, P. 47)

Translation of a letter in Hindi dated 1-2-44 from Mr. M. K. Gandhi to Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, 2 Mookerji Road, Allahabad, U. P.

Through the Bombay Government,  
1-2-44.

Dear daughter,

Your letter reached me yesterday about 2 p.m. What can I write to you? The news which I read in the papers was read out by me to Ba. Thereupon with tears in her eyes Ba said: Oh God (Ram) I am at death's door and I am not taken away while Ranjit is taken away! What will happen to Sarup? I did not feel like that. You cannot become helpless. You are a brave daughter of a brave father and a brave sister of a similarly brave brother. The disease of Ranjit was such that he had to go before his time. His body was not meant to suffer jail life. But all these are my imaginations. The fact is that God gives you birth and whenever He likes He takes you up. And this is all for the body. Soul, however, neither takes birth nor dies. You had married a soul named Ranjit. You can never become a widow. You have rightly stated that you will represent all the qualities of Ranjit. May God satisfy this wish of yours. You should look after your body and be engrossed in your duty.

It is good that Rita is with you. Please send my blessings to Chand and Tara. Also give my blessings to Krishna, Phiroz and Indu. May God bless you.

Your letter has been delivered to me against the rules. And this will also be delivered against the rules. This is my first letter from jail.

Ba has been counting her days in the hope of death.

Blessings to you from us both.

Shrimati Vijayalaxmi Pandit, 2 Mookerji Road,  
Allahabad, U. P.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 46—P. 53.)

D. O. No. 3-I-44-Poll-(I),  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi, the 1st February 1944.

My dear lengar,

Will you please refer to your D. O. No. S. D. VI-1153, dated 22nd January. The holding of interviews outside the actual Palace precincts does not necessarily avoid an "invasion of its privacy"; it is the letting out of secrets that we wish particularly to prevent and anyone coming from the Palace can convey information both outwards and inwards. Your statement that Dr. Gilder was brought into the Palace solely for Government's convenience also does not seem to us to be quite correct. He was brought in for Mr. Gandhi's convenience and at the latter's

request when he decided to fast. Any adverse results for Dr. Gilder that may flow from that ill-judged step on Mr. Gandhi's part must be accepted by him with such philosophy as he can command and cannot be laid at the door of Government.

2. We agree, however, to the proposal in the penultimate paragraph of your letter subject to the understanding that "special reasons" should be strictly interpreted. We consider for instance that while special reasons may arise from time to time in the case of Dr. Gilder's wife, they are less likely to exist in the case of his daughter. Having agreed to interviews only for special reasons strictly interpreted, it seems to us impossible to specify the intervals at which they should be allowed.

Yours sincerely.

(Sd.) R TOTTENHAM

H. V. R. Iengar. Esq C.I.E., I.C.S.  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No 76, Page 223)

SECRET

D. O. No. III-7-43-MS  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi. 2nd February 1944

My dear Iengar.

Your D. O, No. S. D. VI / 1685, dated January 29th enclosing certain letters from Mr. Gandhi. It is not clear from your letter whether you wish us to answer Mr. Gandhi's communication to the Government of India or whether you propose to do so yourself as suggested in his covering letter to the Government of Bombay. We think the latter course would be preferable and you now have all the necessary material to do so in my D. O. No. III/7/43-M.S. dated January 29th and our telephone conversation yesterday, which was confirmed in our telegram of the same date. It is true that the decisions conveyed in these communications, combined with what you say in your letter under reply, do not meet Mr. Gandhi's wishes on one point, namely that the I. G. of Prisons should be authorised to permit any medical assistance for which Mrs. Gandhi may ask, including some Ayurvedic physician. We consider that the line we have taken in this respect is correct. Government are in charge of the case and their responsibility is to see that Mrs. Gandhi receives all the medical attention that is necessary. If our doctors are satisfied that further doctors, Ayurvedic or otherwise would be of no material assistance, we cannot agree that they should be called in merely because they would do no harm. It might, I suppose, be argued that, although additional doctors could do no real good the meeting of Mrs. Gandhi's wishes in this respect might add to her peace of mind and

thus, perhaps, alleviate her physical condition. That however, is again a point for our doctors to consider; but in considering it we do think that they should bear in mind the undesirability for other reasons of increasing the number of persons who are allowed in and out of the Palace.

If you send a reply to Mr. Gandhi, as we suggest, will you please let me have a copy?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM,

H.V. R. Iengar, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
H. D., S. P., Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 211)

No. D. O. S. D. VI/2008,  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay, 3rd February 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

Please refer to your D. O. No. III/7/43-M.S., dated the 29th January.

The latter part of paragraph 1 of your letter has been answered by the attack which Mrs. Gandhi had the day before yesterday and which we understand was a coronary attack. The difficulty in refusing interviews is that Mrs. Gandhi's condition has been uniformly low and is subject to sudden deterioration by heart attack. We have therefore found it very difficult to decide when to stop sanctioning interviews. We are constantly in touch with the Inspector-General of Prisons and the Government of India may be assured that we will not prolong these interviews for longer than is absolutely necessary. We had asked the Inspector-General of Prisons to see that the duration of interviews is not more than one hour. He tells us that the difficulty is that Mrs. Gandhi often pleads for a little more time and it is not always easy, having regard to her condition, to refuse such a request without appearing unduly harsh. The Superintendent of the Camp has again been given instructions to see that the interviews are as short as possible.

There is no wireless set at the Agakhan Palace. Mr. Gandhi had asked us sometime ago to allow a few of his relatives to sing some Bhajans. While we were not prepared to agree with this as a regular feature we said that we had no objection to the relatives singing a few Bhajans during an interview. This is the musical performance of the Desai sisters referred to by you.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I.  
O.C. 2/2

Sir Richard Tottenham,, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 217)

No. S. D. VI/2035,  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),  
Bombay, 3rd February 1944.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter of the 31st January and to reply as follows to the 3 points raised by you:—

(1) Government have agreed to Kanu Gandhi staying in for the purpose of helping in nursing Mrs. Gandhi on condition that he agrees to be bound by the same regulations as other security prisoners in the detention camp. Government consider that with Kanu Gandhi staying in, the nursing assistance provided should be adequate, and they cannot agree to any requests for further assistance.

(2) Government have decided that no outside doctors should be allowed unless the Government Medical Officer considers that it is absolutely necessary for medical reasons. The question whether Dr. Dinshaw Mehta should be called in is accordingly for the Government Medical Officer to decide on medical grounds.

(3) Interview with near relatives have been sanctioned for Mrs. Gandhi. While Government have no objection to your being present during these interviews they consider that other inmates of the detention camp should not be present except to the extent demanded by the condition of Mrs. Gandhi's health. It is understood that the Inspector-General of Prisons has agreed that one attendant may stay throughout the interviews and that a doctor may come in, if necessary. Government consider that normally this should be adequate but the matter is one to be decided solely on medical grounds by the Inspector-General of Prisons.

I have, etc.,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I.  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 219.)

D. O. No. 2036.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay, 3rd February 1944

My dear Tottenham,

We have communicated to Col. Bhandari the instructions of the Government of India regarding outside medical doctors for Mrs. Gandhi viz; that no such doctor should be allowed unless the Government Medical

Officer in charge considers that it is absolutely necessary for medical reasons. Col. Bhandari has pointed out that he can discharge this responsibility so far as allopathic doctors are concerned. The request that has been made by Mrs. Gandhi is, however, that Dr. Dinshaw Mehta, who is a nature cure specialist and an Ayurvedic Physician, should be allowed, apparently on the ground that allopathic medicine has failed to give her relief. Col. Bhandari thinks that it is not possible for him to decide whether the patient would be better off under a non-allopathic system of treatment. We understand that Mrs. Gandhi has had little sleep during the last 3 days and that she considers that the massage which Dr. Dinshaw Mehta gives will have the effect of giving her some sleep. I attach in this connection a copy of a statement given to Col. Bhandari by Mr. Gandhi.

I also enclose for your information a copy of another letter addressed to us by Mr. Gandhi together with the reply that we have sent him.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V R. I

Sir Richard Tottenham,, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

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#### APPENDIX D

No. S. D. VI/2033,  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),  
Bombay, 3rd February 1944.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

M. K Gandhi, Esquire.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter of the 31st January and to reply as follows to the 3 points raised by you:—

(1) Government have agreed to Kanu Gandhi staying in for the purpose of helping in nursing Mrs. Gandhi on condition that he agrees to be bound by the same regulations as other security prisoners in the detention camp. Government consider that with Kanu Gandhi staying in, the nursing assistance provided should be adequate and they cannot agree to any requests for further assistance.

(2) Government have decided that no outside doctors should be allowed unless the Government Medical Officer considers that it is absolutely necessary for medical reasons. The question whether Dr. Dinshaw Mehta should be called in is accordingly for the Government Medical Officer to decide on medical grounds.



(3) Interviews with near relatives have been sanctioned for Mrs. Gandhi. While Government have no objection to your being present during those interviews they consider that other inmates of the detention camp should not be present except to the extent demanded by the condition of Mrs. Gandhi's health. It is understood that the Inspector-General of Prisons has agreed that one attendant may stay throughout the interviews and that a doctor may come in, if necessary. Government considers that normally this should be adequate but the matter is one to be decided solely on medical grounds by the Inspector-General of Prisons.

Your obedient servant,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR,  
Secretary to the Govt of Bombay (H. D.).

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 229)

*Copy.*—Original sent to the P. & S. D. in accordance with its letter No. FRM-1056-105162-B, dated 25-9-56.

DETENTION CAMP,  
February 3, 1944.

Sir,

Shri Kasturba asked me yesterday when Dr. Dinshah was coming, and whether a Vaidya (Ayurvedic Physician) could see her and give her some drugs. I told her I was trying for both but that we were prisoners and could not have things as we liked. She has since been repeatedly asking me whether I could not do something to hasten matters. She had a restless night again. This is of course nothing new for her at present. I request immediate orders about Dr. Dinshah and Vaidyaraj Sharma of Lahore. The latter will be sometime coming. But Dr. Dinshah can come even today, if authority is given for calling him in.

I must confess that I do not understand this delay when a patient's life is hanging in the balance and may be saved by timely aid. After all for a patient alleviation of pain is as important as the highest matters of state.

I am, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 239)

# **CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1444, Home Department, Full Stop, For IENGAR from Tottenham Full Stop Your Telegram No. 38 February 7th Full Stop My Telegram No. 1386 dated February 6th was issued before receipt your letter 2162 dated Full Stop On basis that Government could not pronounce an opinion

on necessity for treatment by nature cure specialist or AYURVEDIC physician Full stop Since Colonel Shah has decided treatment by DINSHAW MEHTA is necessary and is producing good results we agree that visits may continue at his discretion so long as those results are obtained Full Stop But we find some difficulty in understanding why massage and enemas should be regarded as non-allopathic system of treatment which can only be administered by MEHTA Full Stop Perhaps you could explain further by letter Full Stop

Foreign.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-I, P. 53)

D. O. No S. D. VI-2113  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, 4th February 1944.

My dear Sir Richard Tottenham,

As desired in your D. O. letter No. II-16-43-M. S., dated the 25th January 1944, to Iengar, I am to enclose a copy of a reply sent by Mr. Gandhi to Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and to say that we see nothing objectionable in it. Will you please state whether there is any objection to the letter being passed on to the addressee ?

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

Sir Richard Tottenham,, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, No. 76, P. 225)

D. O. No. 2/62  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay, 5th February 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

Your D. O. letter No. III-7-43-M. C., dated the 2nd instant has crossed my D. O. No. 2036, dated the 3rd instant. Col. Shah, the regular Medical Officer at the Agakhan Palace has now come back from Delhi where he had gone to attend some meetings and has taken the view that Dr. Dinshah Mehta should be called in. I understand that both he and Dr. Gilder consider that while Dr. Dinshah Mehta cannot prescribe any medicines more effective than they themselves can, his line of treatment will at least make the patient a little more comfortable and sleep better. Col. Bhandari rang me up about this this morning and I told him that Col. Shah must decide the matter in terms of the Government instructions already communicated to him. I gather that Mr. Dinshah Mehta will be sent for some time today.

I have received another letter from Mr. Gandhi on the same Subject of which I attach a copy. As it has crossed my letter to him of the 3rd instant of which I have already sent you a copy, I do not propose to reply to it further.

Either on account of the fact that Kanu Gandhi is now staying in or because she is now much worst Mrs. Gandhi has not, during the last few days, asked for interviews with anybody and I have accordingly not authorised any interviews to her various relatives who have applied to me. None of her sons is now in Poona.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I.  
5-2.

Sir Richard Tottenham,, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 247)

SECRET

D. O. No. III-7-43-M. S.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi, 7th February 1944.

My dear Lengar,

This is to acknowledge the receipt of five letters from you, Nos. S. D. VI-1808, dated 1st of February; 1909, dated 2nd of February; 1945, 2008 and 2036, all dated 3rd of February 1944. The main point for orders was whether a visit should be allowed from Dr. Dinshaw Mehta, the Nature Cure Specialist, and we sent you a telegram yesterday agreeing to this on the understanding that only one visit should be allowed for the present and that further permission would have to depend on whether the first visit actually produced beneficial results. The claim was that massage might help Mrs. Gandhi to sleep better. I do not think it was suggested that it could cure her disease. The other points in your letters have been noted.

2. On Saturday, February 5th, Devadas Gandhi came to see me and made two main requests. The first was that Government should reconsider the question of cancelling the detention order against his mother or at least, the possibility of releasing her on parole for a few months. He said that, if so released, his mother would probably stay for a few days with Lady Thakersey, then go on to Bombay and subsequently visit Sevagram and possibly Delhi. He thought that the change of air and scene might be good for her, but could not quote any medical opinion to that effect and I gathered from him that she was really much too ill to be moved at all. If anything were to be done, I think it would have to be in the form of cancelling the detention order and at the same time making it clear that, if Mrs. Gandhi left the Aga Khan's Palace and subsequently fell ill (or even died) in some other place, it would be impossible

to allow Mr. Gandhi to go there. It would obviously be impossible, however, to make this understanding a condition of her release, since Mr. Gandhi would almost certainly say that she was Government's prisoner and if they had no grounds for imposing a condition of that kind. We, therefore, think that we must maintain the present position, but we should like to have the further views of the Bombay Government on the point.

The second request made by Devadas Gandhi was that Pyarelal and Sushila Nayyar should be allowed to have an interview with their old mother and their brother, Mohanlal, on the ground that they had had no contact with their family for a very long time—see also the last paragraph of Khan Bahadur Kately's report enclosed with your letter of February 1st. Devadas added that, if such an interview were allowed, it should be inside the Palace, because, as he put it, his father and mother and Pyarelal and Sushila Nayyar were all practically a single family group. We would not object to an interview if Pyarelal and Sushila Nayyar want it, but we do not think that the humanitarian grounds on which such an interview would be permitted provides any occasion for allowing Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi to see the visitors. We, therefore, consider that the interview, if asked for and permitted, should take place under the same conditions as interviews allowed to Dr. Gilder. Devadas also suggested that the brother and sister might have an interview of this kind once a month. Here again, we can hardly agree. A special case should be made out for each visit allowed and there should be no routine contacts. If you agree, the position may be explained to Pyarelal and Sushila Nayyar, who will no doubt be able to give you the address of their mother and brother.

You will also have received our telegram of February 6th agreeing to an interview for Lady Thakersey. Here again, we do not want any routine contacts established but thought that a single visit might be allowed as a special case and, of course on the usual conditions about communications to the press etc. Strictly speaking, the visit should be to Mrs. Gandhi alone, but we imagine that it would be impossible to refuse to allow Mr. Gandhi to be present when Lady Thakersey came.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM.

H. V. R. Iengar., Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-I, P. 23)

Copy—Original sent to the P. & S. D. in accordance with its letter No. FRM 1056/105162-B, dated 25-9-56.

DETENTION CAMP:  
February 7th, 1944.

Sir,

In pursuance of the right conferred upon me, of making a representation against my detention I sent one on 24th January 1944. May I know when I shall be favoured with a reply thereto ?

I am etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay  
(Home Department), Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-I, P. 55)

SECRET

D. O. No. II-16-43-M. S.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi, 10th February 1944.

My dear lengar,

Will you please refer to your D. O. No. S. D. VI—2113, dated February 4th enclosing copy of Mr. Gandhi's reply to Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit ? There is no objection to the letter being passed on to the addressee. Will you please take action accordingly and inform Mr. Gandhi ?

I have just received your D. O. No. S. D. VI-2362 undated enclosing copies of two letters from Gandhi, one of which asks whether his letter to Miss Harrison was forwarded. He may be informed that the letter was sent on to Miss Harrison some time ago.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM.

H. V. R. lengar, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, 1943-44, P. 249)

D. O. No.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay, February 1944.

My Dear Symington,

With reference to my discussion with His Excellency yesterday I enclose the draft of a telegram to the Government of India which he wanted me

to put up. I understood. He wanted this draft as a basis for further consideration and discussion with A (H).

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I.  
11-2.

D. Symington, Esquire, C.I.D., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Governor of Bombay,  
Bombay.

Submitted.

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.  
11-2.

A (H):

I do not like proposal 4. I think the odium of Mrs. Gandhi dying in the palace with her husband has been exaggerated.

(Sd.) C. H. B.  
12-2-44.

H. E. (GS):

H. E. has discussed with A (H) and the revised draft telegram below has been approved,

(Sd.) X X X.  
12-2.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 251 )

To

HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi.

Reference paragraph 2 of Tottenham's D. O. letter No. III-7-43-MS. dated the 7th instant regarding Mrs. Gandhi. We have once again considered possible alternative ways of dealing with her case. These seem to be four as stated below of which the fourth has not previously been considered.

2. The first is to maintain the existing position. The objections to this are that having regard to Mrs. Gandhi's antecedents and the present critical state of her health it is manifestly impossible to maintain that her detention is necessary on grounds of public safety or the defence of the country. Consequently her death in prison would throw considerable odium on Government. Also, although we are doing all that is humanly possible in prison, it is probable that freedom will give her happier psychological environments and make her last days easier. The objection to releasing her centres entirely on the fact that it has been considered necessary to keep Gandhi in detention.

3. Second alternative has been suggested in Tottenham's letter quoted in paragraph 1. We think it is open to serious objection. It would be considered inhumane for Government to offer to release Mrs. Gandhi on the understanding that in no circumstances would her husband be allowed to see her. Even if she did agree to release on such understanding which is most unlikely to enforce it against her when she is at the point of death would give rise to serious public outcry and we would be putting ourselves tactically in a worse position than at present.

4. The third alternative was referred to in my telegram No. 242\* (\*copy below 45) dated 22nd December 1943. It does not suffer from the disadvantages of the second alternative. However since it was made Mrs. Gandhi's health has so deteriorated that it would probably be necessary to let Mr. Gandhi visit her almost continuously; also as will appear from enclosure to my letter No. VI-1230, dated 24th January. Mrs. Gandhi would in all probability decline to leave without her husband.

5. In view of considerations stated above we have been thinking of a fourth alternative. It is a somewhat radical departure from proposals hitherto considered, but it seems at any rate worth thinking over and we accordingly bring it to the notice of Government of India. The suggestion is that if Mr. Gandhi agrees with the following conditions his wife may be released and he may be allowed parole. The conditions would be that they would both stay in Lady Thakersey's bungalow in Poona, that he would not leave its precincts, that he takes no part in political discussion or address any meeting or issue any statement. To prevent third parties from exploiting conversation with him there would simultaneously have to be an order under the Defence of India Rules forbidding newspapers in India from printing any news purporting to emanate from Mr. Gandhi or any member of his entourage. These conditions would effectively deny publicity to Gandhi but they would not, of course, prevent him from meeting anybody he likes. That, in the absence of publicity, would not appear to involve any serious danger. If Gandhi agreed and went out on parole it is unlikely that Government would be accused of having weakened in their general policy towards Congress. On the contrary they may get some approbation for having gone to the farthest limit to assist Mrs. Gandhi without deviating from their policy. If Gandhi declines to accept conditions the whole matter would be dropped and the *status quo* maintained, but we shall have put ourselves tactically in a strong position in regard to world opinion.

6. As stated in my telegram No. 242 this suggestion of 22nd December would involve extra security arrangements. These are not impossible but would have to be carefully thought out. There are also subsidiary questions such as who should be allowed to go out with the Gandhis. Please let us know whether you consider it worthwhile our proceeding with the consideration of these questions.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 261)

D. O. No. 1081  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY,  
Poona, 11th February 1944.

SECRET

My dear Iengar,

Reference your D O, No. S. D. VII-2411, dated 9th February 1944.

It was not suggested that massage and enema are non-allopathic treatments. The Allopaths as well as physicians following other systems do prescribe these. But physicians do not carry them out personally. This is generally left to a trained nurse and a masseur. Consequently Dr. Dinshaw Mehta who I understand is a trained masseur was called in for this at the special request of the patient, who stated that she was massaged by him on previous occasions with good results. I understand that he has attended on Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi on many previous occasions. To my knowledge he attended on Mr. Gandhi during his fast in 1943 and also during his fast in 1932 in Yeravda Central Prison.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. BHANDARI.

To

H. V. R Iengar, Esquire, C I. E . I. C. S., J. P.,  
Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 273)

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**Immediate**

Bombay Special Bombay 1549, your number forty one dated February 9th Full Stop Visit by Ayurvedic or Unani physician may be permitted under usual conditions but GANDHI must understand that no Government doctor can possibly accept responsibility for treatment of case under two entirely different systems of medicine Full Stop If, therefore, visit takes place Gandhi must absolve Government doctors in writing from all responsibility Full Stop He should also state definitely whether he wishes allopathic treatment to be discontinued.

Foreign

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 277)

The responsibility for bringing in non-allopathic assistance would be wholly mine and the Government shall stand absolved from responsibility for any unfavourable result following such treatment. I am not sure that



I shall accept the advice that such Vaidyas or Hakims may give but if I do and if the prescription is ineffective, I would like to reserve the right to revert to the present treatment.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

11-2-1944.

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THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY, POONA.

#### APPENDIX H

The responsibility for bringing in a non-allopathic assistant would be wholly mine and the Government shall stand absolved from the responsibility for any unfavourable result following such treatment. I am not sure that I shall accept the advice that such Vaidyas or Hakims may give. But if I do and if the prescription is ineffective, I would like to preserve the right to revert to the present treatment.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Detention Camp:  
11-2-44.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76. P. 257  
1943-1944.

#### *SECRET TELEGRAM (IMMEDIATE)*

Draft Approved by:

H. E.

(Sd.) X X X

12-2.

#### **SECRET IMMEDIATE**

Issued

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.

12-2.

(Sd.) X X X

12-2-44.

8-45 p.m.

To

Foreign Department, New Delhi,  
for Tottenham from Iengar.

Reference paragraph 2 of your D. O. Letter No. III/7/43-MS, dated the 7th instant regarding Mrs. Gandhi. There seem to be four alternative courses as stated below of which the fourth has not previously been considered.

2. The first is to maintain existing position. The objections to this are that having regard to Mrs. Gandhi's antecedents and the present critical state of her health it is manifestly impossible to maintain that her detention is necessary on grounds of public safety or the defence of the country. Consequently her death in prison would throw considerable odium on Government. Also, although we are doing all that is humanly possible in prison, it is possible that freedom will give her happier psychological environments and make her last days easier. The objection to releasing her centres entirely on the question of separation from Gandhi.

3. Second alternative has been suggested in your letter referred to. We think it is open to serious objection. It would be considered inhumane for Government to offer to release Mrs. Gandhi on the understanding that in no circumstances would her husband be allowed to see her. Even if she did agree to release on such understanding which is most unlikely, to enforce it against her when she is at the point of death would give rise to serious public outcry and we would be putting ourselves tactically in a worse position than at present.

4. The third alternative was referred to in my telegram No. 242, dated 22nd December 1943. It does not suffer from the disadvantages of the second alternative. However, since it was made Mrs. Gandhi's health has deteriorated that it would probably be necessary to let Mr. Gandhi visit her almost continuously; also as will appear from enclosure to my letter No. VI/1230, dated 24th January. Mrs. Gandhi would in all probability decline to leave without her husband.

5. In view of the above a fourth alternative suggests itself. It involves radical departure from proposals hitherto considered but appears worth consideration. The suggestion is that Mrs. Gandhi be released and Mr. Gandhi allowed parole. Conditions would be (1) both will stay in Lady Thackersey's bungalow in Poona; (2) that he will not leave its precincts; (3) that he takes no part in political discussions or activities. To prevent third parties from exploiting conversations with him we have considered whether there should simultaneously be an Order forbidding newspapers to print any news purporting to emanate from Mr. Gandhi or any member of his entourage. Past experience, however, leads us to think that this could not be made effective, and it would be necessary to rely on strict observance of the Parole. Government would make it plain that this action does not involve any alteration in their policy towards the Congress Party, and that it was dictated by purely humanitarian motives and accepted by Gandhi as such. If he declines to accept the conditions the suggestion would be dropped, but we would have put ourselves tactically in a stronger position in regard to world opinion.

6. The four alternatives mentioned above appear to exhaust all possible courses. Hitherto we have always recommended No. 1, but we suggest that all should be examined, although No. 2 is in our view inadvisable.

## APPENDIX G

DETENTION CAMP,

February 14, 1944.

Sir,

I told you yesterday that Shri Kasturba was so bad during the night that Dr. Nayar got frightened and awakened Dr. Gilder. I felt that she was going. The doctors were naturally helpless. Dr. Nayar had, therefore, to wake up the Superintendent who kindly phoned the Vaidyaraj. It was then 1 a.m. Had he been on the premises he would certainly have given relief. I, therefore, asked you to let him stay at the camp during the night. But you informed me the Government orders did not cover night stay. The Vaidya, however, you said, could be called in during the night. I pointed out the obvious danger of delay but you were sorry the orders would not allow you to go further. In vain, I argued that the Government having given the authority to call in Vaidyaraj on condition that I absolved them from responsibility for any untoward result of the *vaidic* treatment they could not contemplate any restriction on the duration of the physician's stay at the camp so long as it was thought necessary in the interest of the patient. In view of your rejection of my request I had to trouble the Vaidyaraj to rest in his car in front of the gate so that in case of need he might be called in. He very humanely consented. He had to be called in and he was able to bring the desired relief. The crisis has not passed as yet. I, therefore, repeat my request and ask for immediate relief. I would like, if I can, to avoid the last night's experience. I do wish that the vexations caused by the delay in granting my requests about the patient's treatment came to an end. Both Dr. Mehta and the Vaidyaraj were permitted to come in after protracted delay. Precious time was lost making recovery more uncertain than it was. I hope you will be able to procure the necessary authority for the Vaid's stay in the camp during night, if the patient's condition requires it. The patient needs constant and continuous attention.

Yours, etc.,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

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 (Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76 P. 281)

 D. O. No. SD.-V1-2889  
 HOME DEPARTMENT,  
 Bombay, 14th February 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

With reference to your telegram No. 1549, dated the 10th instant. I enclose for the information of the Government of India, a copy of a statement made by Mr. Gandhi. In view of this statement he has been allowed to have an Ayurvedic physician. I have not yet got the full name of this physician, but I understand that he is well known and was

President of the Ayurvedic Conference sometime ago. He told Col. Bhandari that he thought Mrs. Gandhi's case pretty hopeless.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.

14-2

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76. P. 299)

*Copy*—Original sent to the P. & S. D. in accordance with its letter No. FRM-1056-105162-B, dated 25th September 1956.

DETENTION CAMP.

February 14, 1944.

Sir,

I told you yesterday that Shri Kasturba was so bad during the night that Dr. Nayyar got frightened and awakened Dr. Gilder. I felt that she was going. The doctors were naturally helpless. Dr. Nayyar had therefore to wake up the Superintendent who kindly phoned the Vaidyaraj. It was then about 1 a.m. Had he been on the premises he would certainly have given relief. I therefore asked you to let him stay at the camp during the night. But you informed me the Government orders did not cover night stay. The Vaidya, however, you said, could be called in during the night. I pointed out the obvious danger of delay but you were sorry the orders would not allow you to go further. In vain I argued that the Government having given the authority to call in Vaidyaraj on condition that I absolved them from responsibility for any untoward result of the *vaidic* treatment that could not contemplate any restriction on the duration of the physician's stay at the camp so long as it was thought necessary in the interest of the patient. In view of your rejection of my request. I had to trouble the Vaidyaraj to rest in his car in front of gate so that in case of need he might be called in. He very humanely consented. He had to be called in and he was able to bring the desired relief. The crisis has not passed as yet. I therefore repeat my request and ask for immediate relief. I would like, if I can, to avoid the last night's experience. I do wish that the vexations caused by the delay in granting my requests about the patient's treatment came to an end. Both Dr. Mehta and the Vaidyaraj were permitted to come in after protracted delay. Precious time was lost making recovery more uncertain than it was. I hope you will be able to secure the necessary authority for the Vaid's stay in the camp during night, if the patient's condition requires it. The patient needs constant and continuous attention.

I am, Yours, etc.,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Inspector-General of Prisons.

Poona.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 313)

D. O. No. III-7-43-M.S.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi, 15 th February 1944.

My dear lengar,

We have considered your long telegram No. 46, dated February 12th and agree that you have stated the four possible courses that are open to Government. There is, of course, another course, which would be the most satisfactory of all, but which unfortunately does not depend entirely on our decision—I mean that Mrs. Gandhi should agree voluntarily to stay in the Aga Khan's Palace, in which case the detention order against her could be cancelled. The two main questions it seems to us are:

(1) Are there sufficient grounds on which still to maintain a detention order against Mrs. Gandhi, and

(2) Can we hope for co-operation from Mr. Gandhi in arriving at the reasonable solution suggested above ?

As regards (1), we do not think the existing order could be called in question by any court and it seems to us to be arguable, in spite of Mrs. Gandhi's illness, that there would be some danger in releasing her unconditionally—not on account of what she would do so much as on account of what she might say. In other words, we do not necessarily accept the second sentence in para. 2 of your telegram under reply.

As regards (2) above, we feel that Mr. Gandhi would probably advise his wife not to give any written agreement to remain voluntarily in the Aga Khan's Palace if the order against her was withdrawn. He would take the line that he and his wife were both Government's prisoners; it was for Government to decide what to do with them and it was not for them to help Government in the matter. It is difficult to see how even an approach could be made to this solution of the difficulty since any indication on our part that we should be prepared to cancel the detention order if she gave the kind of undertaking required would in itself argue that we regarded the order as unjustifiable.

In any case, however, we do not think that your fourth alternative could be contemplated, namely that Mr. Gandhi himself should be allowed to go out on parole. It seems to us that it would give rise to far too many complications. Mrs. Gandhi may live for many months yet; parole might have to be indefinitely extended; Lady Thackersey's bungalow would become a centre of attraction to an extent to which even she might object; and even if Mr. Gandhi did agree not to talk politics, it is difficult to give that word a precise definition and anyhow he would be continually in the public eye. There would also be the difficulty of what to do with the other inmates of the Palace.

In these circumstances, it seems to us that, unless some means can be found, without committing ourselves in any way, of getting Mrs. Gandhi to say that she wishes to stay where she is voluntarily, it will be best to

go on as we are. Some people may try to make capital out of the continuance of the detention order against an old lady who is so ill, but I imagine that there is no very real criticism and that most people do not bother very much about the order and recognize that to keep Mrs. Gandhi with her husband is the kindest and most satisfactory course. We should, however, be glad to have any further suggestions you may wish to make in the light of this letter.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM,

H. V. R. Iengar, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-1, P. 57)

D.O. No. S.D.-VI-3021  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay, 15th Feb. 1944.

My dear Bhandari,

With reference to your endorsement No. 844, dated the 2nd instant forwarding a letter from Mr. Gandhi to Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, will you please inform Mr. Gandhi that the letter has been forwarded to Mrs. Pandit without any deletion.

Mr. Gandhi wrote a letter to me on the 7th instant inquiring whether his letter addressed to Miss Agatha Harrison was passed. Please inform him that letter was passed on to Miss Harrison some time ago.

Yours sincerely,  
(O/c) (Sd.) H. V. R. I.  
15/2

Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector General of Prisons,  
Poona.

The letter to Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit should be posted to her. In future letters to the Government of India as regards correspondence from the Agakhan Palace and the Ahmednagar Fort had better be put up to me.

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 301)

No. 49  
Dated 16-2-44.

*For Tottenham from Iengar.*

Gandhi has requested that Ayurvedic physician attending on his wife should be allowed if her condition requires it to stay in the court during night. The physician is one Sharma from Lahore reported to be a

leading practitioner of whom we know nothing here. Please telegraph whether you have any objection to request being granted. If so the decision on each occasion would be made by Bhandari.

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 311)

*Copy*—Original sent to the P. & S. D. in accordance with its letter No. FRM-1056-105162-B, dated 25th September 1956.

DETENTION CAMP,  
February 16th, 1944.

Sir,

This is in continuation of my letter of the 14th instant.

When I asked for a Vaidyaraj and took upon myself the responsibility of changing Smt. Kasturbas treatment and absolved the Government physician of all responsibility I naturally took for granted that the Vaidyaraj would be allowed such facilities as would in his opinion be necessary for carrying out his treatment. The patient's nights are much worse than her days and it is essentially at night that constant attendance is necessary. The Vaidyaraj considers himself handicapped in his treatment of the case under the present arrangements.

In order to be within immediate call, he has been good enough to sleep in his car outside the gate of this camp for the last three nights and every night he has had to be called up at least once. This is an unnatural state of things and though he seems to have infinite capacity for suffering inconvenience for the sake of the patient, I may not take undue advantage of his generous nature. Besides it means disturbing the Superintendent and his staff (in fact the whole camp) once or more often during the night. For instance, last night she suddenly developed fever with rigor. The Vaidyaraj who had left the premises at 10-30 p.m. had to be called in at 12 midnight. I had to request him to leave her soon afterwards, although he would have liked to have stayed with her longer, because so long as he stayed in, it would have meant keeping the Superintendent and his staff awake which might have been even for the whole night. I would not do this even for saving my lifelong partner especially when I know that a humane way is open.

As I have said already the Vaidyaraj considers it necessary to be in , constant attendance on the patient. He varies the drugs from moment to moment as the patient's condition requires. Drs. Gilder's and Nayar's assistance is at my disposal all the time—they are more than friends and would do everything in their power for the patient. But as I have said in my last letter, they cannot help while treatment of a wholly different nature from theirs is going on. Besides being in its very nature impracticable, such a course would be unjust to the patient, to the Vaidyaraj and to themselves.

I, therefore, submit below the following three alternative proposals:—

(I) Vaidyaraj should be permitted to remain in the camp day and night so long as he considers it necessary in the interests of the patient.

(II) If the Government cannot agree to this, they may release the patient on parole to enable her to receive the full benefit of the physician's treatment.

(III) If neither of these two proposals are acceptable to the Government I request that I be relieved of the responsibility of looking after the patient. If I as her husband cannot procure for her the help she wants or that I think necessary, I ask for my removal to any other place of detention that the Government may choose. I must not be made a helpless witness of the agonies the patient is passing through.

The Government have kindly permitted Dr. Mehta to visit the patient at her repeated requests. His help is valuable, but he does not prescribe drugs. She needs the physical therapy given by him which soothes her greatly but she cannot do without drug treatment either. Drugs can only be prescribed by the doctors or the Vaidyaraj. The doctor's treatment has already been suspended. In the absence of a satisfactory reply to this letter by this evening I shall be constrained to suspend Vaidyaraj's treatment also. If she cannot have the drug treatment which she should in full, I would rather that she did without it altogether.

I am writing this by the patient's bedside at 2 a.m. She is oscillating between life and death. Needless to say she knows nothing of this letter. She is now hardly able to judge for herself.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-11, P. 5)

*EXPRESS TELEGRAM*

DETENTION CAMP.

February 16th, 1944.

Honourable Finance Member,  
New Delhi.

Having read your statement about salt clause in Gandhi Irwin agreement I beg to draw your attention to notice that was issued by Sir George Schuster explaining implications of that clause. Any amendment should be in terms of that notice.

Gandhi

Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

[TRUE COPY]

Personal Assistant to the Inspector General of Prisons.



(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 323)

*SECRET*

DO. No. S.D.-VI

HOME DEPARTMENT, Bombay, 17th Feb. 1944.

My dear Symington,

His Excellency asked me this morning to send him, as soon as I got it, a copy of Tottenham's reply to our telegram regarding Mrs. Gandhi. I enclose accordingly a copy of his reply together with a copy of the telegram.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.

D. Symington, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secy. to the Governor of Bombay,  
Bombay.

His Excellency has minuted as follows: A possible line—

Colonel Bhandari might be allowed to talk to Mr. Gandhi in this sense—

We are most anxious that Mrs. Gandhi should have every possible care. We have obtained permission for the Ayurvedic specialist to live in the palace but do you think there is anything more that could be done for her comfort and peace of mind *outside* bearing in mind that this would involve separation.

The answer to that would almost certainly be let her stay in..... if it was not Government would still have to face the same issues as it faces now and decide them in relation to public security.

(Sd.) D. SYMINGTON,

18-2-44.

By order,

H. E. has decided to  
this.

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.

19-2

(Sd.) A (H) C.H.B. 21-2-44.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 319)

With regards to the fifth alternative mentioned by the G. of I. it is not so new to us as they suffer. Please see pages 73—79 of file 1110 (63)-B placed below.

I think in view of the terms of the G. of I. reply is quite useless for us to make any further proposal officially. I fear the G. of I have missed a first opportunity of acting with magnanimity and striking the public imagination without in any way injuring public security.

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.

18-2.

A (H) I think the present arrangement is the best and should continue. C. H. Bristow.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, P. 335)

*Copy*—Original sent to the P. & S. D. in connection with its letter No. FRM-1056-105162-B, dated 25th September 1956.

DETENTION CAMP,  
February 18th, 1944.

Sir.

Vaidyaraj Shri Shiv Sharma regretfully informs me that having putforth all the resources at his disposal he has been unable to produce a condition in Shri Kasturba so as to give him hope of final recovery. As his was simply a trial to see whether Ayurvedic treatment could yield better result, I have now asked Drs. Gilder and Nayar to resume the suspended treatment. Dr. Mehta's assistance was never suspended and will be continued till recovery or the end.

I want to say that the Vaidyaraj has been most assiduous and attentive in the handling of this most difficult case, and I would have willingly allowed him to continue his treatment if he has wished to do so. But he would not continue it, when his last prescription failed to bring about the result he had expected. Drs. Gilder and Nayar tell me that they would like to receive the benefit of the Vaidyaraj's assistance in the matter of sedatives, purgatives and the like. These have proved effective both from the doctors' and the patient's point of view. I hope that the Government will have no objection to the Vaidyaraj continuing to come in for the purpose. Needless to say, under the altered circumstances, he will not be required for night duty. I cannot refrain from regretfully saying that had there not been the wholly avoidable delay in granting my request for allowing the services of the Vaidyaraj and Dr. Mehta, the patient's condition might not have been so near the danger point as it is today. I am well aware that nothing happens outside the Divine Will, but man has no other means of interpreting that Will apart from the result he can see.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 333)

SECRET

D. O. No.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY,  
Poona, 19th February 1944.

My dear Iengar,

I herewith enclose a letter from Mr. M. K. Gandhi for orders.

It appears that it is going to be a mixed treatment by allopaths vaid with a little bit of assistance from Mr. Mehta the masseur. Evidently Dr. Gilder has agreed to this arrangement. Of course Col. Shah will visit the palace but under the present conditions he will not have anything to do with the treatment. The vaidyaraj left the palace yesterday evening at about 5-30 p.m. But Mr. Gandhi has asked him to continue some of his drugs (what he calls sedatives and purgatives). As Mrs. Gandhi was not passing sufficient urine for last 7-8 days (only 10-12 ozs. a day) Dr. Gilder gave her some intravenous injection yesterday afternoon. This increased the quantity of urine by about 4 ozs

Please let me have definite instructions whether the vaid is to be allowed to visit the palace. I understand he is leaving Poona for Lahore on the 23rd and is returning on 29th. He says he is going to bring some special medicines for the patient. My impression is that he knows he cannot do anything, so he has persuaded Dr. Gilder and Dr. Nayyar to share the responsibility with him by suggesting this mixed treatment.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

To  
H. V. R. Iengar. Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S., J. P.,  
Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 341)

TELEGRAM

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),  
Reg. No. S.D.VI-25-48-A,  
Date 20-2-44.

CONFIDENTIAL

Date 19th February 1944.

No. 1967

From

Home, New Delhi.

To

Bombay Special, Bombay.

IMPORTANT

Following cable for Mrs. Gandhi received from Durban. Begins " Regret your serious illness. If you desire MANILAL SHUSHELA'S

presence can arrange their passage. We pray for your and BAPU'S blessings. SHIRINBAI JALBHOY RUSTOMJEE, Box 1610, Durban" Ends. Please convey urgently to Gandhi with intimation that Government are prepared to give him facilities for reply which you should pass or refer to us, if necessary.

[TRUE COPY]

(Sd.) x x x

Cypher Assistant, H. D. (Special).

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 343)

IMMEDIATE.

*TELEGRAM*

To

Shirinbai Jalbhoy Rustomjee,  
Box 1610, Durban, South Africa.

Thanks Stop Ba slowly going Stop Manilal Sushila should continue their work Stop Love.

BAPU,  
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Bombay, 21st February 1944.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 329)

CONFIDENTIAL

Immediate.

No. 52,  
Dated 21st February 1944.

Tottenham from Iengar.

Have you any objection to our letting the Press know that at the instance of the Government of India the American military authorities have agreed to fly Penicillin to Poona for Mrs. Gandhi stop. We think this will have good effect on the public but are not sure whether it may not embarrass the military authorities.

Telegram should be sent out at once as directed by Secretary.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 331)

CONFIDENTIAL

Immediate

Bombay Special, Bombay. For IENGAR from Tottenham Full Stop Have just heard PENICILLIN cannot reach before Wednesday Full Stop.

Foreign 2008

Received and decoded at  
1-15 a.m. on 22-2-44.  
S. D. Neogohnale,  
R. U. S.

He subsequently telephoned to say that it is arriving on Tuesday afternoon.

The drug actually arrived at 3 p.m. on Tuesday when Mrs. Gandhi was fast sinking. Col. Bhandari tells me it was injected to Mrs. Gandhi.

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.  
23-2.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-II, Page 9)

No. S.D.VI-3849,  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay, 25th February 1944.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire.

Sir,

On the 16th February 1944 you requested that the following telegraphic message be transmitted to the Finance Member of the Government of India:

"Having read your statement about salt clause in Gandhi-Irwin agreement I beg to draw your attention to notice that was issued by Sir George Schuster explaining implications of that clause. Any amendment should be in terms of that notice. "

This message was communicated by the Inspector-General of Prisons the same day to this Government who passed it on immediately to the Government of India. The Finance Member has now requested that the following reply should be communicated to you:

"After discussion in House it was felt best course was to leave matters to be regulated as hitherto by notification issued in 1931 terms of which have been scrupulously observed by Government. No amendment was therefore made." I have the honour to be Sir,

Your Most Obedient Servant,  
*Secretary to the Government of Bombay,*  
*Home Department.*

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 339)

D. O. No. S.D.VI  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),  
Bombay, 26th Feb. 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

I think I ought to pass on to you for your record copies of the accompanying four letters addressed by Mr. Gandhi to the Inspector-General

of Prisons, on the subject of Mrs. Gandhi's treatment. You will recollect that in the statement which Mr. Gandhi made to Col. Bhandari on the night of the 22nd regarding the funeral arrangements he said that "grace had been lacking" in Government's handling of requests regarding Mrs. Gandhi's treatment and he expressed the hope that grace would be displayed in the matter of her funeral arrangements. I think the reference to the lack of grace is to the fact that although Gandhi's requests have all been met with the one exception of a consultation with Dr. B. C. Roy—they have only been met after some delay and in some cases after a preliminary refusal. Thus the request for Kanu Gandhi was at first refused by the Government of India and later accepted reluctantly. Likewise the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta were at first refused and later acquiesced in on the advice of Col. Shah.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I.  
25-2.

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

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(Source—Home Department. Special Branch (6), File No. 27, Page 9)

DETENTION CAMP.  
4-3-44.

Sir,

It is not without regret and hesitation that I write about my dead wife. But truth demands this letter.

According to the news-papers Mr. Butler is reported to have said in the House of Commons on 2nd March 1944. "She was receiving all possible medical care and attention, not only from her regular attendants but from those desired by her family". Whilst I gratefully acknowledge that the regular attendants did all they could, the help that was asked for by the deceased or by me on her behalf when at all given was given after a long wait and the Ayurvedic physician was permitted to attend only after I had to tell the prison authorities that if I could not procure for the patient the help that she wanted or I thought necessary I should be separated from her; I ought not to be made a helpless witness of the agonies she was passing through. And even then I could make full use of the Vaidyaraj's services only after I wrote a letter to the Inspector-General of Prisons of which a copy is hereto attached. My application for Dr. Dinshah was made in writing on 27th January 1944. The deceased herself had repeatedly asked the inspector-General of Prisons for Dr. Dinshah Mehta's help during practically a month previous to that. He was allowed to come only from 5-2-44. Again the regular physicians Drs. Nayar and Gilder made a written application for consultation with Dr. B. C. Roy of Calcutta on 31st January 1944. The Government simply ignored their written request and subsequent oral reminders.

Mr. Butler is further reported to have said, "No request for her release was received and the Government of India believed it would be no act of kindness to her or her family to remove her from the Aga Khan's Palace". Whilst it is true that no request for her release was made by her or by me (as Satyagrahi prisoners it would have been unbecoming) would it not have been in the fitness of things if the Government had at least offered to her, me and her sons to release her. The mere offer of release would have produced a favourable psychological effect on her mind. But unfortunately no such offer was ever made.

As to the funeral rites Mr. Butler is reported to have said, "I have information that the funeral rites took place at the request of Mr. Gandhi in the grounds of the Aga Khan's Palace at Poona, friends and relatives were present". The following however was my actual request which the Inspector-General of Prisons took down in writing from dictation at 8-7 p.m. on 22-2-1944. (I) "Body should be handed over to my sons and relatives which would mean a public funeral without interference from Government. (II) If that is not possible, funeral should take place as in the case of Mahadev Desai and if the Government will allow relatives only to be present at the funeral. I shall not be able to accept the privilege unless all friends who are as good as relatives to me are also allowed to be present. (III) If this also is not acceptable to the Government, then those who have been allowed to visit her will be sent away by me and only those who are in the camp (detenus) will attend the funeral.

"It has been as you will perhaps be able to bear witness my great anxiety not to make any political capital out of this most trying illness of my life companion. But I have always wanted whatever the Government did to be done with good grace, which I am afraid, has been hitherto lacking. It is not too much to expect that now that the patient is no more whatever the Government decide about the funeral will be done with good grace."

Government will perhaps admit that I have scrupulously avoided making any political capital out of my wife's protracted illness and the difficulties I experienced from the Government. Nor do I want to make any now. But in justice to her memory, to me and for the sake of truth I ask the Government to make such amends as they can. If the newspaper report is inaccurate in essential particulars or the Government have a different interpretation of the whole episode, I should be supplied with the correct version and the Government interpretation of the episode. If my complaint is held to be just, I trust that the amazing statement said to have been made in America by the Agent of the Government of India in U. S. A. will be duly corrected.

I am, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Additional Secretary to the  
Government of India (Home Department), New Delhi.

(Home Department. Special Branch (6), File No. 27,1944, Page 11)

DETENTION CAMP.  
March 4th, 1944.

Sir,

In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Hon'ble the Home Member is reported to have said, "The provision for the expenses of Mr. Gandhi and those detained with him in the Aga Khan's Palace amounted about Rs. 550 a month.

In my letter dated to you 26th October last I remarked as follows:— "The huge place in which I am being detained with a big guard around me, I hold to be waste of public funds. I should be quite content to pass my days in any prison". The Honourable the Home Member's reply quoted above is a sharp reminder to me that I should have followed up the remark just referred to by me. But it is never too late to mend. I, therefore, take up the question now.

The expenses on behalf of my companions and me are not merely Rs. 550 per month. The rent of this huge place (of which only a portion is open to us) and the expense of maintaining the big outer guard and an inner staff consisting of Superintendent, Jamadar and sepoy have got to be added. Add to this a large squad of convicts from Yervada to serve the inmates and to look after the garden. Virtually the whole of this expense is, from my point of view, wholly unnecessary; and when people are dying of starvation, it is almost a crime against Indian humanity. I ask that my companions and I be removed to any regular prison Government may choose. In conclusion I cannot conceal from myself the sad thought that the whole of this expense comes from taxes collected from the dumb millions of India.

I am, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Additional Secretary  
to the Government of India  
(Home Department),  
New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-I, Pages 27-28)

2-CRANBOURNE COURT,  
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD,  
LONDON S. W. 11,  
March 10th. 1944.

Dear Gandhiji,

The many messages that reached you by cable can give you but little idea of the sympathy that stretched out to you from here when the news of your wife's death came. I feel as though I have lost a friend; her welcoming smile that greeted me whenever I came to Sevagram—I shall always remember. How you will miss her quiet, serene presence after



your long years of companionship. Memorial meetings have been held in London and some of the Provinces; and Indo-British gathering takes place at the Caxton Hall next week.

You say that my letter was "an unexpected pleasure"; you will know then what it meant to me to get yours. I am grateful to the authorities here and in Delhi for allowing this transmission.

I waited to answer until Lord Wavell had made his speech to the Legislature. Then came the news of Ba's death and I know you would have little heart or mind for anything else.

But, by now you will have studied the speech. I visualise you using the same method that I have seen you employ on other occasions; I have watched you, undeterred by others who were looking for the "snags", looking for what lay underneath in an effort to find a "door".

For me, one sentence in the speech stands out—"I should like to have the co-operation of this element in solving the present, and future problems of India". The truth and sincerity behind these words I can testify to, for, before Lord Wavell left London Carl Heath and I had the privilege of a talk with him. It was not a long one, but we both came away with a feeling of hope. These words mirror the sincerity we found.

I know how unwise it is to take sentences out of their context. You will point me to other phrases that preface and follow this sentence in the speech, that may seem to you to necessitate a repudiation of all you have stood for; to which you could not subscribe. Here, I would make a positive comment. In the many talks I have here—I find acceptance of your fundamental attitude to war. I am not saying—understanding this you will understand in the face of all that is going on. Your belief is regarded as part of your life; to it is accorded the respect given to honestly held opinion, even while the basis for this opinion is not understood. Lord Wavell believes as intensely in the prosecution of this war as you do in the prosecution of Non-Violence. When some of your colleagues have had to part company with you on your lonely road relationships have not been impaired. You go your way—they theirs but friendship remains. I am convinced that such a relationship could be established in this case. One great stumbling block is in the way the threat to Civil Disobedience. At the Bombay Conference, this was a corporate decision any review of which would necessitate corporate consideration. I note what you wrote to Lord Lintilhgow in 1942 and the suggestion you then made regarding consultation with your colleagues. At this end, in spite of the Viceory's words in this connection we are hoping and praying that some way will be found to make that suggestion possible.

You speak of the distrust of you in high places. In nearly every letter or paper that reaches me from India—distrust of our *bona fides* is voiced. Deep—seated mistrust on both sides can only be overcome by one of the

parties concerned taking the bold step of trusting the other. Is this "bold step" part of the technique of Non-Violence—Gandhiji. And is compromise of method not of aim—not possible?

I know you will read between the lines; that you will understand that I am thinking out loud to you and not in possession of all the facts. I have always tried to convey faithfully to you the situation as I see it. It is unbearable to watch the existing situation. At no time in history were (to quote the Viceroy's words) "the ability and highmindedness" of you and your colleagues more desperately needed for India and the world.

I send you my warm regard.

(Sd.) AGATHA HARRISON.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 67, Page 13)

Copy.—Original sent to P. & S. D. in accordance with its letter

FRM-1056-B

No.,----- dated 25-9-56.  
105162,

DETENTION CAMP,  
March 16th, 1944.

Dear Khan Bahadur,

You have given me the following memorandum:

"Mr. Gandhi may reply to messages from his relatives and Government will, if he so wishes, inform other correspondents that their messages have been delivered to him. "

In reply I beg to say that unless I can write to senders of condolences irrespective of relatives I would not care to exercise the facility Government have been pleased to give me. As to the other messages, I have no wish in the matter beyond what I have said above. From the newspaper notices of the messages sent to me I observe that all the messages sent to me have not yet been handed to me. From the memorandum I infer that they will be handed to me in due course. I should perhaps mention that the messages received and given to me during my son, Devadas' presence were handed by me to him.

Yours, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Khan Bahadur Kateli,  
Superintendent, Detention Camp.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 27, Page 25)

DETENTION CAMP,  
March 20th, 1944.

Sir,

I have read with painful interest the answer given on behalf of the Government in the Central Assembly about the facilities, medical and otherwise, given to my deceased wife. I had hoped for a better response to my letter of 4th March 1944, assuming that it was in Government's

hands when the answer was given. Beyond the admission that the deceased was never offered release, the statement makes no amends for the misrepresentations pointed out in that letter. On the contrary it adds one more by stating that "trained nurses were made available....." No trained nurses were asked for or supplied. An Aya, however, was sent in the place of Smt. Prabhavati Devi and Shri Kanu Gandhi for whom my wife had asked. The Aya left in less than a week because she found herself ill-fitted for the work entrusted to her. Only then, and after some further delay, and repeated requests about Shri Kanu Gandhi were the two allowed to come. The facilities have been recited as if they had been granted promptly and willingly. The fact is that most of them, when not refused, were granted as if grudgingly and when it was almost too late.

My object in writing this letter is not to make the complaint (though quite legitimate) that the facilities came too late. My complaint is that in spite of my representation of 4th inst. the Government, instead of giving the naked truth have seen fit to give a varnished version.

I am, Yours, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Additional Secretary,  
Government of India (Home Department), New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 27, Page 37 )

No. III-7-43-M.S.  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT.  
New Delhi, 21st March 1944.

From

The Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire,

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 4th March regarding Mr. Butler's reply to a question in the House of Commons on the 2nd March 1944, I am directed to say that the Government of India regret that you should feel that they were unreasonable or obstructive about the calling in of special medical attendants. The Government of India were always ready to allow any extra medical aid or consultation which the Government doctors considered necessary, and they do not think that there was any delay in summoning outside aid when the Government doctors decided that it was needed. It was on January 28th that they were first informed that Mrs. Gandhi had asked for the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta; and it was not until January 31st that they were told that Dr. Gilder had asked for consultation with certain other doctors. On February 1st the Bombay Government were explicitly informed that any extra medical aid

or consultation might be allowed which the Government doctors considered necessary or useful. If Dr. Dinshaw Mehta was not called in earlier, it was due to the view originally expressed by both Col. Bhandari and Dr. Gilder that his services could not be of any use, but he was summoned as soon as the Government doctors revised that opinion. Your letter of January 27th, which did not reach the Government of India until February 1st, made some reference to your wife's wish to see an Ayurvedic physician, but no name was mentioned and it was not until February 9th that a definite request for the services of Vaidraj Sharma was received. The request was then granted within 24 hours and as soon as the Government were made aware of the difficulties resulting from his not being accommodated inside the Palace, the necessary permission was given for him to reside there. In the circumstances the Government of India feel that they did everything possible to ensure that your wife received all the treatment that you wished during her illness.

2. As to the question of release, the Government of India still feel that the course they adopted was the best and kindest. It was reported to them on January 24th that your son, Devdas Gandhi, had asked his mother whether she would like to be released on Parole and she had replied that she would not like to leave the Palace without her husband. Government have made no use of this report, since it was the record of a private conversation; but it confirmed them in the view expressed above. The misunderstanding about the statement in America quite wrongly attributed to Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai has been cleared up by answers to questions in the Legislative Assembly which you have doubtless seen.

3. The arrangements for the funeral were understood here to be in accordance with your wishes. The Government made enquiries on the point and were informed that you had no special preference between the first two alternatives mentioned in your letter.

4. In these circumstances, the Government of India do not think that Mr. Butler's reply to the Parliamentary question was incorrect in substance.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Most Obedient Servant,

(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM,

Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 27, Page 29)

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY,  
Poona, 22nd March 1944.

My dear lengar,

I herewith enclose a copy of letter written by Mr. Gandhi to Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department for your information. Trained nurse was offered. But the detenu preferred to

have an Ayah, who they thought would be more useful. She however went away after about a week as she did not want to stay there all the time. In the mean time Advani had written to you to arrange about the transfer of Mrs. Jai Prakash which was done.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

To

H. V. R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S., J.P.,  
Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 67, Page 17)

SECRET

D. O. No. S.D.VI-6277,  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),  
Bombay, 24th March 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

I am to enclose herewith a copy of Mr. Gandhi's letter, dated 16th March. In this connection please see your demi official letters Nos. III/ 7/43-M.S., dated 10th Jan. 1944 and 3/4/44-Poll(I), dated the 19th January 1944. Mr. Gandhi has not been informed what condolence messages are being withheld and is apparently still expecting to receive messages from public bodies about which he has probably read in the papers. No reply seems to be necessary unless Mr. Gandhi raises the matter again.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I,  
*Home Secretary*

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 67, Page 19)

SECRET

D. O. No. III-7-43-M.S.,  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi, 27th March 1944

My dear Iengar,

Your D. O. No. S.D.VI-6277, dated March 24th enclosing a copy of Gandhi's letter to Khan Bahadur Kately, dated March 16th.

We still think that the principles laid down in the two letters which you quote are correct, but we should like to have some idea of the number and character of the messages that have been withheld from Gandhi on the ground that they were not of a personal character or went beyond simple condolence. If the number were large and the contents

not definitely objectionable, we might perhaps be prepared to stretch a point and let some of them go on. What would the Bombay Government themselves recommend? We should also like to have some idea of the number of messages which we gather from the last sentence of his letter Gandhi handed over to Devadas to answer. We presume that all these messages were received through the Bombay Government and that you were aware that Gandhi had handed them put to his son; but if this was allowed, it does make it rather more difficult to prevent him from answering messages himself; and, perhaps, to withhold certain messages on the ground and that they are not of a personal character.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM

H. V. R. Iengar, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 27, Page 45)

No. III-7-43-M.S.,  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi, the 30th March 1944.

From

The Additional Secretary to the  
Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of March 20th, I am directed to say that the Government of India were informed on December 22nd that a request had been made for the services of Kanu Gandhi and the wife of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain. A telegram was sent the same day to the Government of Bihar, in whose custody the latter was, asking whether arrangements could be made for her transfer to Poona. The Bombay Government were, meanwhile, informed on December 23rd that, if extra nursing was necessary, the correct course would be to provide professional nurses for that purpose. On December 24th the Government of India heard from the Government of Bihar that they had no objection to the transfer of Mrs. Jai Prakash Narain and the Bombay Government were informed on the same day that they might take the matter up with the Government of Bihar if satisfactory arrangements could not be made to supply professional nurses as previously suggested. On January 3rd the Government of India were informed that the professional nurse employed for Mrs. Gandhi had left and that arrangements were being made for the transfer of Mrs. Jai Prakash Narain. Thereafter it was learnt that Kanu Gandhi had been paying visits to the Aga Khan's Palace and on January 27th the Government of India received a renewed request that he might

be allowed to stay in the Palace to help in nursing your wife. This permission was granted on January 29th, though it appears that even before the receipt of this letter the Bombay Government had agreed to his staying in the Palace.

In these circumstances, the Government of India consider that the reply given in the Legislative Assembly, to which you refer, was substantially correct. They have now been informed by the Bombay Government of the fact, of which they had no previous knowledge either from the Government's letter or from yours, that it was your wife who said that she preferred an Ayah to a trained nurse and that her wishes in this respect were complied with. They consider it hardly necessary to publish this fact.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 13-I, Page 25.)

D. O. No. II-16-43-M.S  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi, 30th March 1944.

My dear lengar,

Reference my D.O. No. II-16-43-M.S., dated February 10th, 1944, I enclose herewith a further letter for Mr. Gandhi from Miss Agatha Harrison. We agree that this may be delivered to him, but we think it should be made clear that the original letters were allowed as a special case and that we can hardly allow a regular correspondence to develop.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM

H. V. R. lengar, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Govt, of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

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## APPENDIX E

DETENTION CAMP,  
March 31st, 1944.

Sir,

Your letter of the 21st March to Mahatma Gandhi contains the statement—

“It was on January 28th that they were first informed that Mrs. Gandhi had asked for the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta. If Dr. Dinshaw Mehta was not called the earlier, it was due to the view

originally expressed by both Col. Bhandari and Dr. Gilder that his services would not be of any use, but he was summoned as soon as the Government doctors revised that opinion".

Surely, coupling of my name with that of Col. Bhandari is a mistake! The Government doctors in attendance were Col. Bhandari and Col. Shah. As far as I am concerned, some time in December last, at one of Col. Advani's evening visits (when he was officiating for Col. Bhandari) Smt. Kasturba Gandhi asked him to allow Dr. Dinshah Mehta to come in and Col. Advani was good enough to ask my opinion on the advisability of Dr. Dinsha's coming. As I had not talked over the matter with my colleague Dr. Sushila Nayar, nor with the patient or her husband, I told Col. Advani, I would give him a reply later. At his visit the next morning, I told him my considered opinion that Dr. Dinshah's presence would be a great help.

When the whole of January had passed and permission for Dr. Dinshah Mehta had not come Dr. Nayar and myself sent a gentle reminder in our letter of 31st January. A copy is hereto appended.

I might state that though in that letter we had asked for a consultation with Dr. B. C. Roy, no notice seems to have been taken of it or of verbal reminders.

You will permit me to draw your attention to another inaccuracy, viz. about the employment of trained nurses. No trained nurse ever came inside this camp. Before the arrival of Smt. Prabhavati Jaiprakash Narayan and Shri Kanu Gandhi when nursing was becoming difficult, we were given the services of a woman who had acted as a *badli ayah* at the mental hospital. She struck work inside of a week and asked the Superintendent for her discharge.

I have, etc.,

(Sd) M D. D GILDER

The Additional Secretary to the  
Govt, of India (H.D.),  
New Delhi,

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(Home Department, Special Branch File No. 27, Page 51.)

DETENTION CAMP,  
April 1st 1944.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge your letter of 21st March handed to me on the 27th.

As to extra medical aid I wish to state that the first request for the services of Dr. Dinshah Mehta was made by the deceased verbally to Col. Advani sometime in December last. When repeated verbal requests met with little or no response I had to make a written request addressed to the Government of India, dated 27th January 1944. On the 31st of



January I sent a reminder to the Government of Bombay (App. A), and so did Drs. Nayar and Gilder in a letter addressed to the Inspector-General of Prisons (App. B), I wrote again on the 3rd of February to the Government of Bombay (App. C), who sent a reply (App. D) which resulted in Dr. Dinshah being brought in on the 5th of February last, i.e. after an interval of over six weeks from the date of the first request And even when permission was granted, restrictions were placed upon the number of his visits and the time he was to take in administering treatment. It was not without difficulty that these restrictions were later released and then removed.

As to the reference in the letter under reply to Dr. Gilder, I showed it to him. The result was the attached letter addressed by him to the Government which he has asked me to forward (App. E). While it shows that Dr. Gilder never expressed the opinion attributed to him, it does not alter the tragic fact that Dr. Dinshah's services were held up for over six weeks.

The question of calling in a non-allopath was definitely and formally raised before the Inspector-General of Prisons by my son after his visit to this camp early in December last. On Col. Bhandari mentioning to me my son's request to him I told him that if my son thought that non-allopathic treatment should be tried, the Government should permit it. While the consideration of my son's request was on the anvil, the patient's condition began to worsen and she herself pressed for the services of an Ayurvedic physician. She spoke to both the Inspector-General of Prisons and Col. Shah several times, again with no result. In despair I wrote to the Government of India on 27th January 1944. On the 31st of January the Superintendent of this camp enquired on behalf of the Government, among other things, whether the deceased had any particular Ayurvedic physician in mind to which I replied in writing, it being my silence day (App. F). As no relief was forthcoming as a result and the patient's condition admitted of no delay, I sent an urgent letter to the Government of Bombay on the 3rd of February (App. G). It was on the 11th of February that a local Vaidya was sent and on the 12th that Vaidyaraj Sharma was brought in. Thus there was an interval of more than eight weeks between the first request for non-allopathic aid and of actual bringing in of that aid.

Before Vaidyaraj Sharma came I had been asked to give a written undertaking (which I gladly did) that I absolved the Government of all responsibility about the result of his treatment (App. H). The Vaidyaraj was thus in sole charge of the case for the time being. One would have thought that a physician in sole charge of patient would have all such facilities of visiting and watching the patient as he considered necessary. And yet there was no end to the difficulties in getting these facilities for him. These have been alluded to in the enclosure to my letter of 4th March 1944 and in (App. G).

All this time the patient was passing through great suffering and her condition was deteriorating so rapidly that every delay weighed against chances of her recovery.

Whether the delays and difficulties experienced by the patient and me were caused by one department of the Government or another, or even by the Government doctors, the responsibility surely rests with the Central Government.

I note that the Government have maintained complete silence over the written request (which was reinforced by subsequent verbal reminders) of Drs. Nayar and Gilder to call Dr. B. C. Roy in consultation and have not even condescended to give their reason for not granting the request.

Similarly the letter under reply is silent about the discrepancy, pointed out by me in my letter dated 20th March 1944, in the Hon. the Home Member's statement in the Assembly that trained nurses were in attendance. The fact is that they never were. Let me add here that nurses of the deceased's choice who were permitted were brought after considerable delay especially Shri Kanu Gandhi.

I hope, after a calm perusal of this bare recital of facts and of the relevant copies of correspondence attached hereto, it will be conceded that the claim of the Government of India that they did everything possible to ensure that the deceased received all the treatment, that I *wished* during her illness is not justified. Much less can Mr. Butler's claim be justified. For, he went further when he said, "She was receiving all possible medical care and attention, not only from her regular attendants, but from those *desired by her family*". Does not the statement of the Government of Bombay (App. D), " Government have decided that no outside doctors should be allowed unless the Government *medical officer* considers that it is absolutely necessary for medical reasons ", contradict the above claims ?

On the question of release, and the report received by the Government of India of a "private conversation" my son had with his mother in this connection, a prisoner can have no "private " conversation with anybody from outside. Therefore, so far as I am concerned the Government are free to make use of the conversation after verification (usual and obligatory in such cases) by my son. In any case the Government would have been absolved from all blame if they had made an offer of release and laid on me the burden of deciding what was " best and kindest" for her.

As to the arrangements for the funeral my letter to the Government dated 4th March 1944 embodying my actual request, which the Inspector-General of Prisons took down in writing from dictation, speaks for itself. It therefore astonishes me that on "enquiries" made by the Government they were "informed" that I had "no special preference between the first two alternatives " mentioned in my letter. The information given to the Government is wholly wrong. It is inconceivable that given the freedom of choice I could ever be reconciled to the cremation of a dear one being performed in a jail compound (which this camp is today) instead of the consecrated cremation ground.

It is not pleasant or easy for me to write about such personal matters to the Government. But I do so in this case for the sake of the memory of one who was my faithful partner for over sixty-two years. I leave it

to the Government to consider what could be the fate of other prisoners not so circumstanced as Shri Kasturba was.

I am, Yours, etc.,  
(Sd) M. K GANDHI

The Additional Secretary to the Govt, of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.  
Enclosures A to H.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 27, Page 95.)

DETENTION CAMP,  
April 2nd, 1944.

Sir,

This is in continuation of my letter of yesterday's date to the Government of India. For, after handing the letter to the Superintendent of the camp on looking at the papers, I came upon the following startling statement in the Hindustan Times of 30th March 1944: —

"New Delhi, Wednesday,—Today in the Council of State, Lala Ramsarandas asked whether and when Mahatma Gandhi had asked Government to permit the eminent Ayurvedic physician Pandit Shiv Sharma to take up the treatment of Mrs. Gandhi.

The Home Secretary, Mr. Conran Smith, replying said the first definite request for Pandit Sharma's services was made to the Government of India on February, 9 and was granted on February, 10. He understood that Pandit Sharma paid his first visit a day or two later.— A.P.I. "

The fact is that Vaidyaraj Shiv Sharma's name was first submitted to the Government on 31st January 1944 and not on 9th February. But my letter of yesterday will show further that the first request for a non-allopathic physician was made early in December 1943. May I look for a correction of the statement referred to ?

I am, Yours, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI

The Addl. Secy. to the  
Govt., of India, New Delhi.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 27, Pages 105—107.)

DETENTION CAMP,  
April 2nd, 1944.

Dear Col. Bhandari,

In the Government of India's letter to me, dated March 21st, 1944 there occur these two passages.

"It was on January 28th that they were first informed that Mrs. Gandhi had asked for the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta..... If Dr. Dinshaw Mehta was not called in earlier, it was due to the view

originally expressed by both Col. Bhandari and Dr. Gilder that his services would not be of any use, but he was summoned as soon as the Government doctors revised that opinion".

"The arrangement for the funeral were understood here to be in accordance with your wishes. The Government made enquiries on the point and were informed that you had no special preference between the first two alternatives mentioned in your letter".

Dr. Gilder has no recollection of his having given the opinion attributed to him. I have never expressed indifference as to whether the deceased was cremated in the consecrated public cremation ground or in the jail compound which this camp is. Can you please throw light on the discrepancies ?

Yours, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 27, Page 107.)

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

The way I was asked that Dr. Mehta should be called in, gave me the impression that he was to visit as a consultant. This was not possible as Dr. Mehta is not a qualified person and it would have been just as embarrassing for Dr. Gilder as for Government Medical Officers to even suggest his name as such. It was only when I asked you as to what Dr. Mehta will do and you explained that he will be useful as a masseur and to give enemas etc. and that he will work under instructions of the Medical Officer that I at once agreed to admit him to the Palace with sanction of Government.

As regards arrangements for the funeral, I took down your request in writing and repeated it to Government of Bombay.

I think Government of India's remark that Dr. Mehta's services were allowed as soon as Government Medical Officers revised their opinion refers to the fact that we were not prepared to allow him to come in as consultant but later on when you explained to me that he was required as a masseur, I agreed to the proposal and obtained necessary permission. Unfortunately some time elapsed before this point was made clear.

(Sd.) BHANDARI.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 67, Page 29.)

*SECRET*

No. S.D.-VI  
HOME DEPARTMENT SPECIAL  
Bombay, 8th April 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

Please refer to your D.O. No. III-7-43-M.S., dated the 27th March 1944.

2. We were not aware till we saw Gandhi's note of the 16th March addressed to Khan Bahadur Kately, that he had handed over to Devadas the condolence messages which had been passed on to him. Even the

Inspector-General of Prison and the Khan Bahadur himself were not aware of this. The number of messages that had been passed on to Gandhi before Devadas left the Palace was 154, consisting of 131 telegrams and 23 letters. We may assume that all of these were handed over to Devadas.

3. The point will naturally occur to you that here was a serious breach of security. I asked Colonel Bhandari about this and he said that he had personally warned Devadas some time previously that he was not authorised to take anything from the Palace. It did not occur to Colonel Bhandari and to Khan Bahadur Kately that it would be necessary to search Devadas Gandhi. I am ascertaining from them whether Kanu Gandhi was searched when he left the Palace.

4. We have roughly one thousand messages which we have withheld from Gandhi. These are from Associations, such as Students' Associations, Bar Associations, Civil Bodies, and the like, and practically all of them are simple condolence messages. We ourselves see no objection to their being passed on to Gandhi. We think, however, that the decision regarding his right to reply to condolence messages should be maintained.

Yours sincerely,  
(O/c) (Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

8/4.

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secretary to the Govt, of India,  
Home Department.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 67, Page 37.)

*SECRET.*

DO. No. III-7-43-M.S.  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
New Delhi, 11th April 1944.

My dear Iengar,

Your D.O. No. S.D.-VI-S-10 (1), dated April 8th. It was unfortunate that Gandhi handed over to Devadas so many messages and one might have hoped that Devadas would mention it to the authorities before he left the Palace. The omission to examine him before he left was, perhaps, excusable in the circumstances of the time and, in any case, there is nothing more to be done about it. As regards para. 4 of your letter, we would agree to your transmitting the messages that have been withheld, provided of course that definitely "political" messages are excluded and subject to the usual understanding that they are not to be answered. It is possible, I suppose, that Gandhi will comment adversely on the delay,

but I doubt whether this need deter you. It will be a case of "better late than never".

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM.

H. V. R. Iengar, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Govt, of Bombay, H.D. (Sp.).

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No 27, Page 117.)

DETENTION CAMP,  
April 13th, 1944.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 30th March received by me on the 6th of April. It is good proof to show how ill informed the Central Government were about the whole situation.

As to "trained nurses", I draw attention to the statement made on behalf of the Government that they "were made available for a short period". That my wife preferred an Ayah to a trained nurse is hardly relevant to the consideration whether trained nurses were in fact supplied. Therefore, that statement seems to me clearly to demand public adjustment.

I hope to have satisfactory reply regarding other matters contained in my letter of April 1st, 1944.

I am, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Additional Secretary to the  
Govt of India, New Delhi.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 67, Page 39.)

SECRET

No. S.D.VI-5-10(1),  
HOME DEPARTMENT, SPECIAL  
BRANCH (SPECIAL),  
Bombay, 14th April 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

With reference to paragraph 3 of my letter No. S.D.VI-S-10(1) of the 8th instant, I have ascertained from Bhandari that the baggage of Devdas Gandhi (and of Kanu Gandhi on previous occasions) was searched. As pointed out in your letter of the 11th instant, the omission to search Devadas personally was excusable in the circumstances of the time.

2. We are taking action on the lines stated in your letter of the 11th instant.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I.

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.  
Office should deal with para. 2 above very urgently.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51, Page 19.)

UREA CLEARANCE TEST

Lab. No. BD-444.

Specimen taken on 29-4-1944

Name—Mahatma Gandhi.

Blood Urea ...  
per 100 c.c).

... 45.0 mgms. per 100 c.c. (Normal 15-45 mgms.

Urea Nitrogen ...  
100 c. c.)

... 21.03 mgs. per 100 c. c. (Normal 8.22 mgms per

Urine Urea..

1st hour  
... 400 mgms. per 100 c.c.2nd hour  
350 mgms. per 100 c.c.

Urine Volume

... 1.6 c.c. per minute

1.9 c.c. per minute.

Blood clearance  
of

11.25 c.c.

10.72

Urea per minute

Percentage of normal  
function.

11.25 X 1.85 = 20.8

10.72 x 1.85 = 19.8

MEAN=20.3% (Normal 70-100%).

*N.B.*—The test is done as per modification of Moller E; McIntosh, J.F.; and Van Slyke, D. D; Journal of Clin. Invest. Vol. 6, page 427, 1928.

Lab. No. BD-445.

Blood Creatinine

2.34 mgms. per 100 c.c.

(Normal 1-2.5. mgms. per 100 c.c).

(Sd.) K. T. GAJJAR,  
M.D. (Lond.).

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51, Page 21.)

EXAMINATION OF BLOOD.

29th April 1944.

Lab-No. BD-443.

Specimen taken on 29-4-1944.

Name—Mahatma Gandhi

Red blood cells per c.mm.

3,706,000

Reticulocytes

0.3% of the red blood cells.

Average size of the red  
blood cells.

7.64 u. (Eve's Halometer).

Haemoglobin per cent

81 = 12.9 gms. (Calculated according to  
100% 16 gms.).

Colour Index

1.09

Volume Index

1.1

White blood cells per c.mm.

5,110.

*Differential count on 300 white blood cells:-*

Lymphocytes Per cent 42.0

Large mononuclears ,, .. 04.0

Polymorphonuclears ,, .. 45.0 ...

Myelocytes

.. 00.0

Juveniles

.. 00.0

Stabs

.. 01.3

Segments

.. 43.7

Eosinophils " .. 09.0

Basophils " .. 00.0

Abnormalities of the red blood cells. A mild degree of anisocytosis, macrocytes preponderating.

Abnormalities of the white blood cells. A mild degree of eosino philia.

Parasites—Absent.

Lab. No. BD-448

Malaria Flocculation Test—Negative.

K. T. GAJJAR,  
M. D., London.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51, Page 23.)

URINE ANALYSIS.

29th April 1944.

Lab. No. BD-447

Specimen received on 29-4-44.

Name—Mahatma Gandhi.

*General Examination*

Reaction—Alkaline

Appearance—Clear

Sp. gr.—1005

Odour—Normal

Quantity—65 c.c.

Colour—Pale

Deposit—Absent

*Chemical Examination*

Albumin—A faint trace

Sugar—Absent

Acetone bodies—Absent

Diaso reaction—Negative

Blood—Absent.

Bile—Absent.

Urobilin—Absent.

Indican—Not in excess.

*Microscopic Examination of Centrifugalised Deposit*

(1/6th Obj.)

Red blood cells—Very occasional.

Leucocytes—Very few.

Epithelial cells—Occasional; squamous ones.

Casts—Absent.

Crystals—Absent.

*Gram Stain:—*

Gram positive cocci in pairs—Very few.

Gram positive bacilli—Very few.

K. T. GAJJAR,  
M. D. (Lond.).

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51, Page 23.)

Remarks—

Report on Non-Protein Nitrogen will be reported on Monday.



(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51, Page 15.)

BIRLA HOUSE,  
Bombay.

I have this day examined Mahatma Gandhi at the Aga Khan Palace, Poona and I am sending this ad interim report to Government regarding his health.

On the 14th of April last he had an attack of malarial fever with vigour one or two days previous to the date he has had feverishness and felt out of sorts. He suffered from fever for four days and has been febrile since. But the doctors in attendance Dr. Gilder and Nair, and Col. Bhandari had noticed the following changes as a result of or associated with the febrile attack:—

(i) General weakness and lethargy which persists inspite of his taking a fair amount of nourishment.

(ii) *Progressive Anaemia.*

(iii) With the onset of fever, the Blood pressure, both systolic and diastolic began to fall, until it was 126/73 or so, five days ago.

(iv) During the attack of fever he was noticed losing memory even for a short while of recent events.

*My findings:*

(a) B.P.—160/90 in the morning—Col. Bhandari informed me that the B.P. is lower in the evening.

(b) General nourishment, fair. Tongue clean—liver not enlarged.

(c) Heart Dilated—Hyper-trophied Pulse tension moderate.

(d) No edema anywhere.

(e) Electrocardiogram tracing shows progressive myocardosis, during the last 12 months.

(f) Dr. Gajjar's report shows marked failing in the function of the kidney.

(g) There was some amount of anaemia present.

From the above I conclude that during this attack of fever, Mahatmaji, had Myocardial affection; possibly the coronary supply was interfered with either due to spasm or blockage of coronary circulation. His brain also suffered from bad nourishment, resulting in temporary defective cerebral circulation. His Kidneys show signs of deterioration; the extent to which the Kidneys are so deteriorated can only be determined after further biochemical tests. I understand they will be done tomorrow. I will defer my final report till then. Meanwhile I have no doubt whatever that Supreme efforts should be made to prevent a relapse of recurrence of malarial attacks.

(Sd.) B. C. ROY,  
M.D., M.R.C.P., F.R.C.S.,  
Calcutta, London, England.  
1-5-44.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51, Page 45.)

I have just received the 2nd report of Dr. Gajjar, on the blood chemistry examination of Mahatmaji. This 2nd report confirms the previous findings in 2 reports.

1. The anaemia is progressive and is assuming a hyperchromatic type; there is anisocytosis; there is a further fall in the Red blood Cell count within the last 4 days; the colour index has a tendency to rise; there is a distinct tendency for the R. b. c. to become macrocytic. The whole picture of blood count shows a falling off the blood condition.

(2) The uric acid content of the blood and the phosphates are higher than the average, as shown in the present report; the previous report showed increase of creatinine content. The urea clearance test has been done again and shows a very low percentage. All these findings indicate a lowered Kidney function. I am informed that the B. P. has still a tendency to fall towards the evenings, *e.g.*, yesterday in the morning, it was 160/80. in the evening, I am informed it fell to 134/85 or thereabout. This fall towards the evenings is unusual in Blood Pressure Cases and can only suggest myocardial mischief. The macrocytic condition of the blood, the progressive anaemia, and the lowering of B. P. have all a tendency to produce coronary thrombosis.

I said before and I repeat again Mahatmaji should not be allowed to have a relapse or a recurrence of the malarial infection, seeing that all these deficiencies have appeared after the first attack, even though they may not all be traced to the attack of malaria.

(Sd.) B. C. ROY.

2-5-44.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51, Page 61)

Copy original sent to the P. & S. D. in accordance with its letter No. FRM-1056-105162-B, dated 25-9-56.

DETENTION CAMP,  
May 3rd 1944.

Sir,

Shri Jamnadas Gandhi came in yesterday. When I was asked whether I would see him I had consented so as to cause as little disappointment as possible for the future. My position is that whilst I would be glad to see any relatives who might secure Government permission, I must not break the rule I have made for myself that I would deny myself the pleasure, so long as the Government restrict the permission only to relatives and exclude the members of the Ashram or those who stand in the same category. I regard them as equal with my relatives. The Government were good enough to grant such permission during my fast last

year without any untoward result so far as I know. Can they do likewise during my convalescence which bids fair to be protracted ?

I am, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Secretary to the  
Government of Bombay,  
(Home Department), Bombay.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51-III, Page 13)

No. S. D.V-51.

### ORDER

In exercise of the power conferred by section 3 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (Ordinance No. III of 1944), the Government of Bombay is pleased to cancel its Orders in the Home Department No. S.D.V-53 and No. S.D.V-106, dated the 8th August 1942, in respect of the person known as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I.  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Dated at Bombay Castle, this 5th day of May 1944.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51-III, Page 51.)

No. S.D.VI-51.

### ORDER

Whereas the Government of Bombay is satisfied with respect to the person known as Pyarelal Nayyar that with a view to preventing him from acting in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order and the successful prosecution of the war, it is necessary to make the following order;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (f) of sub-section (I) of section 3 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944), the Government of Bombay is pleased to direct that the said Pyarelal Nayyar shall not communicate directly or indirectly to the public or the press any information regarding events in the Aga Khan's Palace.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Dated at Bombay Castle, this 5th day of May 1944.

(Sd.) PYARELAL.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51-III, Page 53.)

No. S.D.VI-51.

*ORDER*

Whereas the Government of Bombay is satisfied with respect to the person known as Mrudula Sushila Nayyar that with a view to preventing her from acting in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order and the successful prosecution of the war, it is necessary to make the following order:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (f) of sub-section (I) of section 3 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944), the Government of Bombay is pleased to direct that the said Sushila Nayyar shall not communicate directly or indirectly to the public or the press any information regarding events in the Aga Khan's Palace.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Dated at Bombay Castle, this 5th day of May 1944.

(Sd.) S. NAYYAR,

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51-III, Page 57.)

No. S.D.VI-51.

*ORDER*

Whereas the Government of Bombay is satisfied with respect to the person known as Mrudula Ben *alias* Manu Gandhi that with a view to preventing her from acting in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order and the successful prosecution of the war, it is necessary to make the following order:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (f) of sub-section (I) of section 3 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944), the Government of Bombay is pleased to direct that the said Mrudula Ben *alias* Manu Gandhi shall not communicate directly or indirectly to the public or the press any information regarding events in the Aga Khan's Palace.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department

Dated at Bombay Castle, this 5th day of May 1944.

(Sd.) MANU GANDHI.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51-III, Page 53.)

No. S.D.VI/51.

**ORDER**

Whereas the Government of Bombay is satisfied with respect to the person known as M. D. D. Gilder that with a view to preventing him from acting in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order and the successful prosecution of the war, it is necessary to make the following order:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (f) of sub-section (I) of section 3 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944), the Government of Bombay is pleased to direct that the said M. D. D. Gilder shall not communicate directly or indirectly to the public or the press any information regarding events in the Aga Khan's Palace.

By order of the Governor of Bombay.

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Home Department,

Dated at Bombay Castle, this 5th day of May 1944.

(Sd.) M. D. D. GILDER.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 75, Page 3.)

Copy- Original sent to the P. & S. D. in accordance with its letter No. FRM-1056-105162-B, dated 25-9-56.

DETENTION CAMP,

6-5-1944. 7-45 (a.m.)

Sir,

I have been told by the Inspector-General of prisons that the party of detenus in this camp is to be discharged at 8-0 a.m., today. I wish to put on record the fact that by reason of the cremation of the corpses of Shri Mahadev Desai and then my wife the place of cremation which has been fenced off becomes consecrated ground. The party has daily visited the ground twice and offered floral tributes to the departed spirits and said prayers. I trust that the plot will be acquired by the Government with the right of way to it through H. H. Agakhan's grounds so as to enable those relatives and friends who wish, to visit the cremation ground whenever they like. Subject to the permission of the Government I would like to arrange for the upkeep of the sacred spot and daily prayers. I hope that the necessary steps will be taken by the Government in terms of my prayer. My address will be Sevagram. *via* Wardha (C. P.).

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

(Home Department), Bombay.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51-III, Page 55.)

No. S.D.VI-51

*ORDER*

Whereas the Government of Bombay is satisfied with respect to the person known as Miss Slade *alias* Miraben that with a view to preventing her from acting in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public-order and the successful prosecution of the war, it is necessary to make the following order;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (f) of sub-section (I) of section 3 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944), the Government of Bombay is pleased to direct that the said Miss Slade *alias* Miraben shall not communicate directly or indirectly to the public or the press any information regarding events in the Agakhan's Palace.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. I,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Dated at Bombay Castle, this 6th day of May 1944.

(Sd.) MIRABEN.

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(Home Department. Special Branch, File No. 75, Page 21)

SECRET

No. S.D.VI-75,  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPICIAL.),  
Bombay, 23rd May 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

I am desired to enclose a copy of a letter addressed to Government by Mr. Gandhi just before his release from detention. In this letter he has asked that Government should acquire the small plot of land in the compound of the Aga Khan's Palace where the bodies of Mrs. Gandhi and of Mahadev Desai were cremated together with a right of way through the compound so as to enable friends and relatives of the two families to visit the plot whenever they like. We have consulted the estate agent on the matter and I, enclose a copy of a letter addressed to him and of his reply.

2. His Excellency's view is that Government is, to some extent, responsible for the selection of the site for the cremation and, therefore, it will not be right for Government merely to pass on Mr. Gandhi's request, without comment, to His Highness the Aga Khan. His Excellency suggests that the Government of India might inform His Highness the Aga Khan that they will appreciate it if he could see his way to meeting the wishes of Mr. Gandhi. In the meanwhile, we propose with your concurrence, to inform Mr. Gandhi that it is legally impossible to acquire the site and that we have taken up with His Highness the Aga Khan the question as to whether he would agree to meet with Mr. Gandhi's wishes.

We will also inform him that, in the meanwhile, the estate agent is agreeable to relatives of Mahadev Desai and Mrs. Gandhi and any other person suggested by Mr. Gandhi go through the Palace grounds to the place of cremation.

3. I enclose a rough map showing the cremation ground in relation to the rest of the property.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.

(o/c) 23-5.

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 75, Page 25)

SECRET

D. O. No. 19-2-44-Poll-(1).  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
HOME DEPARTMENT.  
New Delhi, 30th May 1944.

My dear lengar,

Please refer to your No. S.D.VI/P-21-75, dated the 23rd May 1944. about Mr. Gandhi's request for the acquisition of the land where Mrs. Gandhi and Mahadev Desai were cremated. We do not think that we could take up the matter with the Aga Khan and we feel that the proper course would be to leave it to private negotiation between him and Mr. Gandhi or his friends. We suggest that Mr. Gandhi may be informed of the temporary arrangements agreed to by the Estate Agent, the stipulation about the permission being subject to his "leave and licence" being made clear. It should also be explained that it would be legally impossible for Government to acquire the site compulsorily under the Land Acquisition Act.

Yours sincerely.

(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM.

H. V. R. lengar, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department, Bombay.  
N; 30-5-44.

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 75, Page 35)

No. S.D.VI-75,  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Poona, 7th July 1944.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.,

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter, dated the 6th May 1944, in which you request that Government should acquire the plot on which the bodies of Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai were cremated together with

the right of way to it through His Highness the Aga Khan's grounds so as to enable relatives and friends to visit the cremation ground whenever they liked. In reply I am to inform you that it is legally impossible for Government to acquire the site compulsorily under the Land Acquisition Act. Government considers that the matter is one for private negotiation between you and H. H. the Aga Khan. I am to add, however, that your request has been communicated to H. H. the Aga Khan and is now understood to be under his consideration. Government understands that he has no objection, in the meanwhile, to the relatives of Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai and any other persons suggested by you going through the palace grounds to the place of cremation on the understanding that this is by his leave and licence.

Yours Obedient Servant.

(Sd.) X X X

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Poona (Home Department).

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(Home Department, Special Branch. File No. 75. Page 37)

*Copy.*—Original sent to the P. & S. D. in accordance with his letter No. FRM-1056-105162-B, dated 25-9-56.

"DILKUSHA ",  
Panchgani, July 9th, 1944.

Sir,

I have received your letter of 7th instant in connection with the ground in H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace where Shri Mahadev Desai's and Smt. Gandhi's bodies were cremated. My purpose is served by the present arrangement for which I thank the Government.

Yours, etc.,  
M K. GANDHI.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay (Home Department). Poona.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 51, Page 71)

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. S.D.VI,  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),  
Poona, 17th August 1944.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

Forwarded herewith is a bill in duplicate for Rs. 2,420 submitted by Dr. K. T. Gajjar for the investigations done on Mr. M. K. Gandhi. Kindly arrange payment of the bill at an early date.



The expenditure should be debited to "64-B-Civil Defence-Miscellaneous".

(Sd.) x x x  
for Secretary to the Government of  
Bombay, Home Department.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 75, Page 39.)

*Copy.* – Original sent to the P. & S. D. in accordance with its letter No. FRM 1056-105162-B, dated 25-9-56.

"MORARJI CASTLE",  
Mahabaleshwar, 27-5-1945.

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department,  
Bombay.

Dear Sir,

I refer you to my letter of 6th May 1944 written from the Detention Camp.

Uptill recently there has been no hitch about friends and relatives going to the samadhis of the two departed ones, my wife and Shri Mahadeo Desai. But a hitch occurred recently. Tactful handling made devotion fairly possible during fixed hours. Now comes the rumour that H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace is about to be occupied by the Military and in that event, devotion may not be permitted at all. I can only hope that the fear is wholly unjustified.

In my letter of 6th May 1944 to the Government, I reduced my contention to writing to the effect that "by reason of the cremation of the corpses of Shri Mahadev Desai and then my wife the place of cremation which has been fenced off becomes consecrated ground. The party has daily visited the ground twice and offered floral tributes to the departed spirits and said prayers. I trust that the plot will be acquired by the Government with the right of way to it through H. H. the Aga Khan's grounds, so as to enable those relative and friends, who wish, to visit the cremation ground whenever they like". To this the following reply was received:

"I am to inform you that it is legally impossible for Government to acquire the site compulsorily under the Land Acquisition Act. Government considers that the matter is one for private negotiations between you and His Highness the Aga Khan. I am to add, however, that your request has been communicated to H. H. the Aga Khan and is now understood to be under his consideration. Government understands that he has no objection, in the meanwhile, to the relatives of Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadev Desai and any other persons suggested by you going through the palace grounds to the place of cremation on the understanding that this is by his leave and licence."

I do hope that, no matter who occupies or owns the palace, the consecrated ground on which the two samadhis stand will be protected and reserved for devotion by the friends and relatives of the families.

I am, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 75, Page 65)

No. S.D.III-75,  
HOME DEPARTMENT(POLITICAL).  
C. H. Poona, 23rd July 1945.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire,

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter, dated the 27th May 1945, regarding the protection and reservation for devotion of the cremation ground in H. H. Aga Khan's Palace on which the samadhis of the late Mr. Mahadeo Desai and Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi stand, and to state that the military authorities have agreed to continue the arrangement which, it is understood, has been in force for many months before their occupation of the Palace, whereby the cremation ground can be visited every Sunday.

If anybody wishes to visit the cremation ground on any day other than Sunday, application should be made to General Festing, Commander, 36 Division, who resides in the Aga Khan's Palace.

Yours Obedient Servant,  
(Sd.) J. S. DREW,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 75, Page 67)

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Home Department,  
Bombay.

Sir,

Gandhiji desires me to thank you for your letter of 23rd July in reply to his of 27th May. He is glad to note that the Military authorities have agreed to the arrangement whereby the cremation ground can be visited every Sunday by those desirous of doing so and that on any other day anybody wishing to visit the cremation ground, will be able to do so by applying for the same to the Military Commander stationed at the Aga Khan Palace.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) PYARELAL,

(Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 76, Page 5)

Col. Bhandari telephoned to me this morning to say that Mrs. Gandhi had a second heart attack on the 1st, the day after the attack on the 30th Nov. officially reported by him already. Oxygen had again to be administered. She has rallied from these two attacks, but is considerably weak and is afraid she is going to die. She has made a request that she should be allowed to see her sons and grandchildren, but if Government is unable to agree to the sons seeing her, she would like to see at least her grandchildren. She has given a long list to Col. Bhandari, which is coming to us by post. The names include the eldest son. Harilal, whose address is unknown, Ramdas Gandhi, his wife and children, and Devdas Gandhi and his wife and children and numerous others.

2. After discussion with A(H) and with the approval of H. E., I telephoned to Tottenham saying that His Excellency recommends the grant of interview to the sons and grandchildren, and that he approves of the idea of our issuing a press note on the subject. After discussion with his H. M. Tottenham telephoned back to me and said that the Government of India have no objection to Ramdas and Devadas Gandhi and their wives and Children seeing Mrs. Gandhi subject to the following conditions: —

(1) There is no objection to Mr. Gandhi being present, but the sons should not be allowed to see him all by himself without invigilation.

(2) There is no objection to more than one interview, provided the condition of her health justifies this.

(3) If more than one interview is granted, as far as possible, the interviews should be at fixed hours and should be limited in duration. Those coming for interview should not be allowed to stay in the Palace.

(4) Those going for interview should not publish any account of what they see or hear in the Palace without the approval of the Bombay Government.

3. The Government of India are informing Devdas Gandhi accordingly, and it was agreed that I should inform Ramdas Gandhi.

4. Tottenham also said that the Government of India had no objection to the issue of a press note.

5. The accompanying press note should be issued. I have telephoned it to the Director of Information and to Government's Secretary.

6. The accompanying telegram should be issued to Ramdas Gandhi.

7. I have informed Col. Bhandari on the telephone about these orders, and the following letter should issue in confirmation.

(Sd.) H. V. R. I.

4-12.

To A(H) for information.

H. V. R. I.

6-12.

## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT, 1942

## FAST

Newspaper cuttings regarding Mr. M. K. Gandhi's fast  
for 21 days from 10th February to 3rd March 1943.

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*The Bombay Chronicle.*

11th February 1943.

Must Be Press-Advised.

BOMBAY GOVT. ORDER ABOUT PUBLICATION OF GANDHI  
FAST- NEWS AND COMMENTS

The Bombay Government have issued the following orders:—

HOME DEPARTMENT.

BOMBAY CASTLE, 18TH FEBRUARY 1943—NO. S.D.-111-228.—Whereas the Government of Bombay is satisfied that for the purpose of securing the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public-order and the efficient prosecution of the war, it is necessary to make the following order:

Now therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-rule (1) of Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Government of Bombay is pleased to order that—

(a) All statements emanating from Mr. M. K. Gandhi or reports of or references to such statements whether direct or indirect and all reports of interviews or conversations with Mr. M. K. Gandhi or persons detained with him or having access to him shall, before being printed or published by any printer, publisher or editor be submitted for scrutiny to the Provincial Press Adviser;

(b) No printer, publisher or editor shall print or publish any matter specified above, unless it has been approved by the Provincial Press Adviser as suitable for publication;

(c) No printer or publisher shall print or publish in any document other than a newspaper any report or pictorial representation regarding Mr. Gandhi's fast which commenced on or about February 10th, 1943 or any reference to it whether direct or indirect without the previous approval of the Government of Bombay:

Provided that nothing in the above order shall be deemed to apply in respect of any interview conversation or statement which occurred or was issued prior to August 9th 1942 or to any matter contained in a statement issued by the Central Government or by the Government of Bombay.

The above order is addressed to printers, publishers and editors generally.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,

D. SYMINGTON,  
Secy, to the Govt, of Bombay,  
HOME DEPARTMENT.

*Pre-Scrutiny Order.*

HOME DEPARTMENT.

BOMBAY CASILE, 10TH FEBRUARY 1943—No. S.D.-III-227.--Whereas the Government of Bombay is satisfied that for the purpose of securing the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of war, it is necessary to make the following order:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules the Government of Bombay is pleased to order that—(1) all reports or pictorial representations regarding the fast which was commenced by Mr. M. K. Gandhi on or about February 10th, 1943 and all reference to it whether direct or indirect shall before being printed or published by any printer, publisher or editor be submitted for scrutiny in the City of Bombay to the Special Press Adviser and elsewhere to the District Press Adviser; and (2) no printer, publisher or editor shall print or publish any matter specified above, unless it has been approved by the authority specified in clause (1) as suitable for publication.

2. The above order is addressed to printers, publishers and editors generally except those specified in the schedule to this order. Provided that, nothing in this order applies to any matter which has been passed for publication by the Chief Press Adviser in India.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,

D. SYMINGTON.  
Secy, to the Govt. of Bombay.  
HOME DEPARTMENT.

*Times of India.*  
12th February 1943.

## MR. GANDHI'S MOVE "TO THE DETENTION".

LONDON, FEBRUARY, 11.—Newspapers today deduce from the correspondence between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi that the purpose of Mr. Gandhi's fast is to compel the Government of India to end his detention.

The Times says: "No one will suggest that Mr. Gandhi devised or desired the outrages that followed his campaign of civil disobedience, or the carefully planned attack on the communications of the forces defending Eastern India against the Japanese, but they resulted from his policy as inevitably as night follows day, and Government were driven back on the negative but inescapable policy of arrest and resistance".

"No one". The Times adds, "can be satisfied with the condition of Indian affairs, but those who are the least satisfied will most deplore Mr. Gandhi's decision. As an assertion of personal authority it is to say the least of it, superfluous. Mr. Gandhi has rendered unique service to

his country as promoter of national consciousness. He has failed wholly, however, to win the confidence of millions who do not accept his political leadership and to make his contribution to a fundamental agreement, without which no free constitution can exist and which no power can impose on India from without.

"His present move promises less than nothing towards that end. Its only fruit can be deeper dissension and possibly fresh disorder. Nor can the error of British policy in the past be a stumbling block now. Even while the shadow of war lies across India the way of discussion is wide open. The British pledge of all aid to the attainment of unconditional freedom stands and will be honoured. It has the guarantee of national ratification".

*Times of India.*

12th February 1943.

#### VISITORS TO MR. GANDHI

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY, 11.—Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla, who are in Delhi, had talks on Wednesday, with some Indian Members of the Governor-General's Executive Council on the situation arising from Mr. Gandhi's fast. It is likely that Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry will address a letter to the Government of India on behalf of the Federation urging unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi.

In connection with the visits of friends to Mr. Gandhi during the fast. it is stated here that only those whom he expresses a desire to see will be permitted to do so.

An appeal in the Viceroy to release Mr. Gandhi so that beginning at least may be made in the way of removing the deadlock which has been a heavy deadweight on the country during the last six months is made in a telegram to the Viceroy by the Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber, Bombay.

*Times of India.*

12th February 1943.

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#### COMMONS QUESTION ON MR. GANDHI

LONDON, FEBRUARY, 11.— Mr. Gandhi was in his normal state of health when he decided yesterday to undertake a limited fast, the Secretary of State for India. Mr. Amery, told the House of Commons today. Mr. Amery was answering a question concerning the health of Pandit Nehru, his daughter and Mr. Gandhi. He added he had no recent reports about the health of Pandit Nehru and his daughter, but would have been informed if it had deteriorated.

Asked by Mr. Sorensen (Labour) if he could make a statement regarding Mr. Gandhi's fast and the correspondence which had passed between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy. Mr. Amery said: "A very full statement on the subject and the whole of the correspondence have been published

by the Government of India. These have been reproduced in the press and copies are available in the library of the House of Commons." —Reuter.

*Doctors Examine Mr. Gandhi.*

POONA.—Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari, I.M.S., Inspector-General of Prisons and Lt.-Col. B. Z. Shah, I.M.S., are understood to have visited Mr. Gandhi, this morning and examined him on the second day of his fast.

Mr. Gandhi was well and cheerful till he retired to bed last night.

In response to a request from Dr. Nayar, conveyed to the Government of Bombay by Mr. Gandhi, for additional medical assistance during the period of Mr. Gandhi's fast, Dr. Gilder was transferred on Thursday morning to Mr. Gandhi's place of detention, states a press note from the Director of Information, Bombay.

PROF. BHANSALI FASTS AGAIN

WARDHA.- On hearing about Mr. Gandhi's fast, Prof. Bhansali commenced another fast at noon on Thursday. Mr. Bhansali had been progressing satisfactorily since he terminated his 63 days' fast on January 12.

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*Times of India.*

13th February 1943.

*Indian Leaders to Confer.*

MR. GANDHI'S FAST

NEW DELHI. FEBRUARY, 12.—About 150 Indian leaders are expected to attend a conference which has been called to meet here on February 18, to consider the situation arising from Mr. Gandhi's fast. The decision to hold the conference was reached at an informal meeting of some members of the Central Legislature and others held this afternoon at the residence of Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, whereafter the following statement was issued by Mr. Munshi:—

" In response to a general desire to consider the situation which has arisen on account of Mr. Gandhi's fast, it was decided to call a conference of leading persons to meet here on February 18. Signatories to the invitation for the conference include Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. K. Srinivasan, Mr. N. M. Joshi. Mr. G. L. Mehta, Dr. Bannerji, Pandit Kunzru, Messrs. Kazmi, Abdur Rashid Chawdhury and Sir A. H. Ghuznavi".

About 150 leading persons from all shades of public opinion are being invited,, including Mr. Jinnah, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, the Right Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Malaviya, the Metropolitan of India, Mr. Arthur Moore, Mr. Fazlul Haq, Mr. G. D. Birla, Sir Shriram, Dr. Khare, the Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Savarkar, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir A. Dalal, Mr. J. R. D. Tata and Master

Tara Singh. It is learned that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has agreed to attend the conference and will arrive in Delhi on February 18. Mr. Rajagopalachari is also expected to be here on the same day.

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*Times of India.*

13th February 1943.

### BRITISH PRESS COMMENT

*From our Special Correspondent.*

LONDON, FEBRUARY.—Mr. Gandhi's initiation of his new fast and the correspondence between him and H.E. the Viceroy receive little attention in to-day's British press. The Times is the only paper which finds more than the smallest space for the correspondence. The Times and the Daily Telegraph and Morning Post appear to be the only papers which trouble to comment editorially at any length. All other papers dealing with the matter at all blame Mr. Gandhi and support the Government of India. The Times alone tempers its criticism of Mr. Gandhi with a few words of regretful sentiment.

The Labour paper, the Daily Herald, says: "It all comes to this— Mr. Gandhi would insist on fasting unless he were unconditionally released, and if released he would resume his campaign of mass civil disobedience and sabotage". Government's offer of release during his fast he has declined: "Mr. Gandhi prefers to fast in detention in the Aga Khan's Palace".

The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post remarks that if the Congress had its way "The armies now gallantly fighting their way back into Burma would have been stabbed in the back".

Mr. Gandhi, it says, "unconsciously unmasked the whole of the ambitions of the Congress in that paragraph of his letter of August 14, in which he explains why the Cripps offer was rejected. The offer, he says, prescribed regard for all, and not only a single party". But, (he continues) there is not now and will not be after the war, agreement between the parties. All parties, except the Congress, are essentially "mushrooms", and, if taken seriously, will frustrate progress. Therefore, only British abdication before agreement can lead to a truly representative Government.

"There could be no better vindication of the misgivings of the Muslim League and other non-Congress people than the frank claim that only the Congress counts and no more obvious explanation of why all efforts to secure agreement among the parties in India have come to nothing".

### INDIAN COMMENTS

The Statesman, commenting on the fast, says "neither on grounds of ethics, nor politics, nor plain commonsense can we see the slightest excuse for it. We have searched the correspondence earnestly but in vain for a genuine religious cause for such an ordeal. That the standard of conduct of one so eminent should to outward semblance at least suffer visible deterioration in his declining years is pitiful".



The Hindu says Government, however, much they might be inclined to blame the Congress for the recent disturbances, cannot seriously contend that the release of Mr. Gandhi and the members of the Working Committee now would endanger the public peace or tranquility. On the other hand, it might directly help to end the deadlock which is doing no good to anybody. "Gandhiji must be set at liberty forthwith that is what India, nay, humanity expects of Government and people of Great Britain", concludes the paper.

BOMBAY.—The Governing Body of the Bombay Stock Exchange has wired to the Viceroy urging His Excellency to release Mr. Gandhi. The meeting of the board then adjourned without transacting any business as a mark of its deep concern at fast undertaken by Mr. Gandhi.

SURAT.—An appeal to release Mr. Gandhi unconditionally has been made by the Sural Chamber of Commerce in a telegram sent to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

KARACHI.—The hope that no time will be lost in releasing Mr. Gandhi unconditionally is expressed in a resolution passed by a joint standing committee of mercantile bodies in Karachi. A telegram in terms of the resolution has been sent to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Government of India in the Home Department.

POONA.—The city observed a hartal, on Thursday. The majority of the shops remained closed, while students of local educational institutions abstained from attending their classes. There were some instances of stone-throwing at passing vehicular traffic. Adequate Police precautions were taken throughout the city.

AHMEDABAD.—The Ahmedabad District Committee of the Communist Party of India appeals to the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah to interview Mr. Gandhi with a view to forming a National Government for repelling, Japanese aggression.

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*Bombay Chronicle.*

13th February 1943.

### **"GOVT. LOSES NOTHING IN RELEASING GANDHIJI"**

CALCUTTA.—Dr. Shyamprasad Mookerjee, Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement says:—

"The news of Mahatmaji's fast in the present state of his health will be a matter of deepest concern to millions of men and women throughout the world, irrespective of politics or religion. There can be no solution of the Indian problem without Mahatma Gandhi. His release will enable him to take full stock of the present situation and the ordeal through which India has passed since August last. It may well pave the way towards national unity and cessation of internal strife in India. Government loses nothing by releasing him at this critical hour".

*Times of India.*

13th February 1943.

*"C. R's " Plea For Release of Mr. Gandhi: Reasons for Fast.*

#### MORE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN VICEROY AND CONGRESS LEADER

MADRAS. FEBRUARY 11.—Declaring that behind Mr. Gandhi's fast is the hope that there will be a change of heart on the part of the Viceroy, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement, puts forward arguments for the release of Mr. Gandhi. He says:

"Whatever might have been the apprehensions of the Government and grounds for them, which they say compelled them to arrest him, there is no doubt whatever that he expected he would be free for sometime, and that he would have conversations with the Viceroy as well as his own fellow-workers before he would be called upon to execute the resolution passed in Bombay. It is clear that Gandhiji was taken by surprise at the precipitate action of Government. The question is not whether he was entitled to expect delay on the part of the Government. It is certain that in fact he expected to be given time and scope for a frank and full discussion. The telegrams exchanged between him and me on August 6 and 7 will show that he was confident that he would have further opportunities for negotiations with the Muslim League and the British Government. It is for Lord Linlithgow to consider the position calmly.

#### IF MR. GANDHI IS SET FREE

"If I may indulge in some prognosis, if Gandhiji is set free he will be able to see for himself how events have developed. From inside prison his creed does not permit him to judge things or advise the nation. But it is obvious that he thinks that the lime has arrived for him to review the position.

"Whatever may be Government's suspicions, I am certain that he will do all he can when he is free to stop all underground activities of sabotage and violence. He may, no doubt, do his best at the same time to push forward the claim for a real National Government, responsible to a popular elected Assembly the machinery being adjusted to meet wartime difficulties and the Muslim League's claims. But do the British Government think that this should be discouraged? Would the setting up of a National Government be bad in the opinion of the British Government, or would the goodwill of India be too dear a purchase at this price?

"I have differed from Gandhiji, and, perhaps even more than that, I have differed from the Congress. It is, therefore, difficult to find proper expression for my feelings on the fast that Gandhiji has undertaken. The British Government in India believe that their case is so just and their exposition thereof so clear that there will be not a stir in world opinion, and even if there be any uneasiness in some quarters, it can be

choked through press control. National goodwill is, however, a far more precious asset than a temporary administrative success. Such success at the cost of goodwill is fraught with evil for the future.

"If we lived only for the present, why this war and all the carnage and suffering involved? The future cannot be won for the world through the administrative technique followed in Delhi. To maintain the claim of trusteeship and its corollary the right to impose even temporary rule over another people, is not enough. The trustee should understand and appreciate the feelings of the people governed. The national grief and anxiety over the fast must be recognised.

"For what specific purpose has Gandhiji undertaken this fast for 21 days? He has not undertaken it as a mere demonstration of his disapproval of what the Viceroy has done. Behind the fast is a hope that there will be a change of heart on the part of the Viceroy and that something that was denied to him will now be granted. The fast is an end in itself to Gandhiji. Release for the purpose of and for the duration of the fast obviously does not meet the situation.

"When I asked the Viceroy in November last to let me see Gandhiji. it was to further a Congress-League settlement. It is obvious that during the fast it would not be permissible to put on him the strain of discussing such questions. The present issue awaits solution at Delhi."

#### "C. R." GANDHI CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Rajagopalachari has also released the correspondence passed between him and Gandhiji in August last:

From Mr. Rajagopalachari to Mr. Gandhi at Bombay, dated August 6. " Your letter. Forgive persistence. Nothing new in Mr. Jinnah's allegations. Feel you should ignore them and definitely offer him such quota of provisional Government as he wants and ask him nominate his men. This along with your names on behalf of Congress will rationalise your demand of Britain and force acceptance of proposal. "

From Mr. Gandhi at Bombay to Mr. Rajagopalachari, dated August 7: "Every effort has been and will be made in direction indicated by you, though not identical," United Press.

#### MR. GANDHI REFUTES CHARGES

##### *Letter to Viceroy.*

NEW DELHI. FEBRUARY 12.—The following annexures containing Mr Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy on August 14 last, the Viceroy's reply thereto and Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Government of India were released along with the Gandhi-Viceroy correspondence: —

#### (ANNEXURE I)

(Mr. Gandhi's letter of August 14),

August 12. 1942.

"Dear Lord Linlithgow,

The Government of India were wrong in precipitating the crisis. The Government Resolution justifying this step is full of distortions and misrepresentations. That you have the approval of your Indian colleagues

can have no significance, except this, that in India you can always command such services. That co-operation is an additional justification for the demand of withdrawal irrespective of what people and parties may say,

"The Government of India should have waited at least till the time I inaugurated mass action. I have publicly stated that I fully contemplated sending you a letter before taking concrete action. It was to be an appeal to you for an impartial examination of the Congress case. As you know, the Congress has readily filled in every omission that has been discovered in the conception of its demand. So could I have dealt with every difficulty if you had given me the opportunity. The precipitate action of the Government leads one to think that they were afraid that the extreme caution and gradualness with which the Congress was moving towards direct action might make world opinion veer round to the Congress, as it had already begun doing, and expose the hollowness of the grounds for the Government's rejection of the Congress demand. They should surely have waited for an authentic report of my speeches on Friday and on Saturday night after the passing of the resolution by the All-India Congress Committee. You would have found in them that I would not hastily begin action. You should have taken advantage of the interval foreshadowed in them, and explored every possibility of satisfying the Congress demand.

*"The Resolution says. — 'The Government of India have waited patiently in the hope that wiser counsels might prevail. they have been disappointed in that hope'. I suppose wiser counsels here means abandonment of its demand by the Congress. Why should the abandonment of the demand, legitimate at all times be hoped for by a Government pledged to guarantee independence to India? Is it a challenge that could only be met by immediate repression instead of patient reasoning with the demanding party? I venture to suggest that it is a long draft upon the credulity of mankind to say that the acceptance of the demand would plunge India into confusion'. Anyway, the summary rejection of the demand has plunged the nation and the Government into confusion. The Congress was making every effort to identify India with the Allied cause.*

*"The Government Resolution says.—"The Governor General-in-Council has been aware too for some days past of dangerous preparations by the Congress party for unlawful, and in some cases, violent activities directed, among other things, to interruption of communications and public utility services, the organisation of strikes, tampering with the loyalty of Government servants, and interference with defence measures of Government". This is a gross distortion of the reality. Violence was never contemplated at any stage. A definition of what could be included in non-violent action has been interpreted in a sinister and subtle manner, as if the Congress was preparing for violent action. Everything was openly discussed among Congress circles, for nothing was to be done secretly. And why is it tampering with your loyalty if I ask you to give up a job which is harming the British people? "*

### “UNSUPPORTED ALLEGATIONS”

“Instead of publishing behind the backs of principal Congressmen the misleading paragraphs, the Government immediately they came to know of the 'preparations', should have brought to book the parties concerned with the preparations that would have been the appropriate course. By their unsupported allegations in the Resolution, they have laid themselves open to the charge of unfair dealing.

"The Congress movement was intended to evoke in the people the measures of sacrifice sufficient to compel attention. It was intended to demonstrate what measure of popular support it had. Was it wise at this time of the day to seek to suppress a popular movement avowedly non-violent?

*"The Government Resolution further says.—'* The Congress is not India's mouthpiece. Yet, in the interests of securing their own dominance and in pursuit of their totalitarian policy, its leaders have constantly impeded the efforts to bring India to full nationhood." It is a gross libel thus to accuse the oldest national organisation of India. This language lies ill in the mouth of a Government which has, as can be proved from published records, consistently thwarted every national effort for attaining freedom, and sought to suppress the Congress by hook or by crook.

"The Government of India have not condescended to consider the Congress offer that, if simultaneously with the declaration of the independence of India, they could not trust the Congress to form a stable provisional Government, they should ask the Muslim League to do so, and that any national Government formed by the League would be loyally accepted by the Congress. Such an offer is hardly consistent with the charge of totalitarianism against the Congress."

### GOVERNMENT'S OFFER

“Let me examine the Government offer.'It is that as soon as hostilities cease, India shall devise for herself with full freedom of decision and on a basis embracing all and not only a single party, the form of Government, which she regards as most suited to her conditions'. Has this offer any reality about it? All parties have not agreed now. Will it be any more possible after the war? And if the parties have to act before independence is in their hands? Parties grow up like mushrooms, for, without proving their representative character, the Government will welcome them as they have done in the past, and if they (the parties) oppose the Congress and its activities, though they may do lip homage to independence, frustration is inherent in the Government offer. Hence the logical cry of withdrawal first. Only after the end of British power and a fundamental change in the political status of India from bondage to freedom, will the formation of a truly representative Government, whether provisional or permanent, be possible. The living burial of the author of the demand has not resolved the deadlock, it has aggravated it.

*"Then the resolution proceeds.—*The suggestion put forward for the Congress party that the millions of India, uncertain as to the future are ready, despite the sad lessons of so many martyr countries, to throw themselves into the arms of the invaders, is one that the Government of India cannot accept as a true representation of the feeling of the people of this great country.' I do not know about the millions, but I can give my own evidence in support of the Congress statement. It is open to the Government not to believe the Congress evidence. No imperial power likes to be told that it is in peril. It is because the Congress is anxious for Great Britain to avoid the fate that has overtaken other imperial powers that it asks her to shed imperialism voluntarily by declaring India independent. The Congress has not approached the movement with any but the friendliest motives Congress seeks to kill imperialism as much for the sake of the British people and humnity as for India. Notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, I maintain that the Congress has no interests of its own, apart from that of the whole of India and the world.

*"The following passage from the peroration in the Resolution is interesting.—*But on them lies the task of defending India, of maintaining India's capacity to wage war, of safeguarding India's interests, of holding the balance between the different sections of her people without fear or favour'. All I can say is that it is a mockery of truth aftex the experience of Malaya, Singapore and Burma. It is sad to find the Government of India claiming to hold the 'balance' between the parties for which it is itself demonstrably responsible."

#### DECLARED CAUSE

"One thing more. The declared cause is common between the Government of India and us. To put it in the most concrete terms, it is the protection of the freedom of China and Russia, the Government of India think that the freedom of India is not necessary for winning the cause. I think exactly the opposite. I have taken Jawaharlal Nehru as my measuring rod. His personal contacts make him feel much more the misery of the impending ruin of China and Russia than I can and may I say than even you can. In that misery he tried to forget his old quarrel with imperialism. He dreads much more than I do the success of Fascism and Nazism. I have argued with him for days together. He fought against my position with a passion which I have no words to describe. But the logic of facts overwhelmed him. He yielded when he saw clearly that without the freedom of India that of the other two was in great jeopardy. Surely you are wrong in having imprisoned such a powerful friend and ally. If, notwithstanding the common cause, the Government's answer to the Congress demand is hasty repression, they will not wonder if I draw the inference that it was not so much the Allied cause that weighed with the British Government as the unexpressed determination to cling to the possession of India as an indispensable part of the imperial policy. This determination led to the rejection of the Congress demand and precipitated repression. The present mutual

slaughter on a scale never before known to history is suffocating enough. But the slaughter of truth accompanying the butchery and enforced by the falsity of which the resolution is reeking adds strength to the Congress position.

"It cause me deep pain to have to send you this long letter. But, however much I dislike your action. I remain the same friend you have known me I would still plead for reconsideration of the Government of India's whole policy. Do not disregard the pleading of one who claims to be a sincere friend of the British people. Heaven guide you! "

"I am, yours sincerely, M K. GANDHI."

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(ANNEXURE II)

THE VICEROY'S REPLY

August 22, 1942.

"Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you very much for your letter dated August 14, which reached me only a day or two ago.

"I have read, I need not say, what you have been good enough to say in your letter with very close attention, and I have given full weight to your views. But I fear in the result that it would not be possible for me either to accept the criticisms which you advance of the resolution of the Governor-General-in-Council, or your request that the whole policy of the Government of India should be reconsidered.

Yours sincerely,  
LINLITHGOW".

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(ANNEXURE III)

Mr. Gandhi's letter to Secretary to the Government of India.

September 23, 1942.

"Sir.

In spite of the chorus of approval sung by the Indian Councillors and others of the present Government policy in dealing with the Congress, I venture to assert that, had the Government, but awaited my contemplated letter to His Excellency the Viceroy and the result thereafter, no calamity would have overtaken the country. The reported deplorable destruction would have most certainly been avoided.

"In spite of all that has been said to the contrary. I claim that the Congress policy still remain unequivocally non-violent. The wholesale arrest of the Congress leaders seems to have made the people wild with rage to the point of losing self-control. I feel that the Government, not the Congress, were responsible for the destruction that has taken place. The Only right course for the Government seems to me to be to release the

Congress leaders, withdraw all repressive measures and explore ways and means of conciliation. Surely the Government have ample resources to deal with any overt act of violence. Repression can only breed discontent and bitterness.

"Since I am permitted to receive newspapers, I feel that I owe it to the Government to give my reaction to the sad happenings in the country. If the Government think that as a prisoner I have no right to address such communications, they have but to say so and I will not repeat the mistake.

I am, yours, etc,

M K. GANDHI."

*Note.*—A formal acknowledgment was sent to this letter.- Associated Press.

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*Bombay Chronicle.*

15th February 1943.

#### BHANSALI BREAKS FAST

WARDHA, FEBRUARY 13.—In response to the request of Mr. Kamalanayan Bajaj and members of the Sevagram Ashram, that his continuance of the fast would cause anxiety to Mahatma Gandhi and hence he should abandon it. Prof. Bhansali broke his fast, this evening after 58 hours of his commencing it.

The Merchants' Chamber, Nagpur, has sent a telegram to the Viceroy urging the release of Mahatma Gandhi.—United Press.

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*Bombay Chronicle.*

15th February 1943.

#### "ONLY WAY OUT OF DEADLOCK"

BOMBAY, SUNDAY.—Urging immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi, a resolution of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress opines that the only way out of the present political deadlock in the country is for the Government to release all Congressmen and withdraw the measures with a view to renewing the negotiations that were interrupted by the arrests of Congress leaders and the policy pursued by the Government since August last.

#### "GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY"

The B. P. T. U. C. holds the view that the responsibility for not ending the present impasse rests with the Government, particularly in view of Mahatma Gandhi's willingness to survey the situation 'de novo' and to make a fresh proposal on behalf of the Congress if he is placed amongst the members of the Congress Working Committee.—Associated Press.



*Bombay Chronicle*

15th February 1943.

### RELEASE GANDHIJI FORTHWITH

It is distressing to learn from the latest bulletin issued by the Government of Bombay that Gandhiji "continues to be troubled with nausea and broken sleep and his condition is not so satisfactory as yesterday". Opinions may vary sharply on Gandhiji's decision to fast or on his dispute with Government. But it is felt by a vast number of persons that it will be both wise and humane on the part of Government to release him at once and unconditionally. Many responsible bodies have already demanded his release and many others are organising meetings and conferences for the same purpose. The Bengal Legislative Assembly, including the 'Provincial Muslim League Party, the Calcutta Corporation, the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress, the Benares Hindu University, Punjab Students' Federation, East India Cotton Association, Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, Marwadi Chamber of Commerce, Surat Chamber of Commerce, Bombay Parsis "Freedom Group", Maskati Cloth Market Association, Ahmedabad and Karachi Cotton Association, and the Bombay Stock Exchange are only a few of such institutions. A conference representing all parties is soon to be held at Delhi both to support this demand and utilise Gandhiji's release as a fresh opportunity for negotiations for an all-round settlement. If Government want such a settlement, they have nothing to lose but much to gain by releasing Gandhiji forthwith, especially as Gandhiji in his letter to Sir Richard Tottenham has made it quite clear that if he is released "there will be no fast in terms of my correspondence abovementioned" and that "I shall have to survey the situation de novo and decide what I should do."

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*Bombay Chronicle.*

15th February 1943.

### GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT LOSE CHANCE OF ENDING DEADLOCK

Indian Chambers' Federation Chief Urges Mahatma's Release.

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 13.—"If Gandhiji's decision to fast could not be altered, the Government should at least have unconditionally released him" says Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a telegram to H. E. the Viceroy.

He adds: "The very fact that Gandhiji has unequivocally condemned violence, as was of course expected and offered, by implication, to do so again if he is a free man, and to go into the developments of the last six months, if he is in a position to influence and control events, shows what an admirable opportunity was provided to make this a starting point for resolving the present impasse, which, it is evident from the correspondence Gandhiji himself ardently desires to end."

He has explained the object and implications of the August resolution of the Congress and has made it clear that it is definitely against Fascism in any shape or form" and "tenders co-operation in war effort under circumstances which alone can make effective and nation-wide cooperation possible ".

He has stressed the fact that the Congress was making every effort to identify India with the Allied cause and that the operative part of the resolution, whatever views may be held about it, was to come into force only in case the negotiations broke down and the Congress demand was finally rejected. Gandhiji has categorically stated that "the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting Mr. Jinnah to form a National Government, subject to certain adjustments as may be necessary for the duration the war, such Government being responsible to a duly elected Assembly". It is evident that the adjustments referred to were in the interests of the war strategy of the United States.

As regards any positive or concrete proposal to be made on behalf of the Congress. Gandhiji suggested that he should be permitted to consult his colleagues on the Working Committee.

It is a tragedy of the Indian situation, to-day, that when there is so much common ground both as regards the need of effective national resistance against aggression and about the recognition of India's independent status, it has not been possible to evolve a settlement that would satisfy India's aspiration for immediate National Government, and, at the same time broadbase national defence on popular will for the effective prosecution of the war.

I should like to add that the belief entertained by people, that Gandhiji stood for non-violence and did not and could not approve of acts of sabotage and violence has been amply confirmed by the correspondence now released, and this would, no doubt, help to clear the atmosphere and cannot but have a healthy public reaction. Advantage could surely have been taken of this opportunity to see that there was a reversal of the Government's policy in order to prevent the situation from drifting further and to bridge the widening gulf between Britain and India.

#### RELEASE MAHATMA

On the other hand, the consequences which might follow any unfortunate result of this fast are too sad to contemplate. The feelings of bitterness and resentment, which prevail to-day, would be accentuated beyond measure, leading to such estrangement as would seriously impair Indo-British amity. In the interest of amicable Indo-British relationship and for the sake of the united and vigorous war effort of India, I would earnestly appeal to His Excellency to release unconditionally, a person who is held in sincere and deep reverence by the vast masses of the people in this country and still has the will and the power to cement the bond of Indo-British friendship.—Associated Press.

*Bombay Chronicle.*

15th February 1943.

### HINDU SABHA ON MAHATMA'S FAST

NEW DELHI, Anxiety about Mahatma Gandhi's health in view of his fast is expressed in a resolution passed today by the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. Savarkar presiding. The resolution proceeds "prayer fully to wish that his spiritual strength will enable him to survive the ordeal" "In case, however the strain of the fast threatens to endanger his, health to any serious extent". says the Committee. "Government must set aside all political considerations and release him to save his precious life."

### FUTILE AND SUICIDAL

"Nevertheless, this meeting notes emphatically that fasting as a political weapon used with a view to bringing about constitutional changes and political revolutions irrespective of their inherent merits or demerits especially under the political circumstances and foreign domination prevailing in India today, is bound to be futile, detrimental and suicidal.

"Consequently any move on the part of Congressmen or others to exploit this fast for political ends, as for example, to negotiate with Muslim League or to arrive at an agreement to end the present deadlock, without consulting the Hindu Mahasabha and securing its agreement would not in any case be binding on the Hindus. The Mahasabha desires all political organisations and the Government to understand that the Mahasabha will resist any encroachment on Hindu rights or any scheme undermining Indian integrity".—Associated Press.

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*Times of India.*

15th February 1943.

Civil Surgeon Sees Mr. Gandhi.

### LEADER'S CONDITION DETERIORATES

*(From our Staff Correspondent)*

POONA, FEBRUARY 14.—With the exception of doctors coming in and out there is hardly any activity at the Aga Khan's Palace, where Mr. Gandhi entered on the fifth day of his fast this morning. Among the early visitors were Major-General R. H. Candy, Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay and Lt.-Col. B. Z. Shah, who has been attending on Mr. Gandhi since he began his fast. Mr. Shantikumar Narottam Morarji who has asked Government's permission to see Mr. Gandhi has arrived in Poona.

The Government of Bombay have issued the following bulletin this evening on Mr. Gandhi's condition:-

"Mr. Gandhi continues to be troubled with nausea and broken sleep. and his condition is not so satisfactory as yesterday"

Mr. Gandhi was seen seated on the verandah of the Aga Khan's Palace yesterday evening. He spends most of his time on the verandah.

Mr. Gandhi takes his usual interest in newspapers.

According to a report current here Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Mr. Gandhi's son, are arriving here shortly to see Mr. Gandhi, states the United Press.

#### FAST AND U. S. PAPERS.

WASHINGTON. Mr. Gandhi's latest fast has passed almost unnoticed here. Apart from the fact that Mr. Gandhi is not much more than a name to the majority of Americans, the mood of this country is now more and more concentrated on war news, on the offensive implications of Mr. Churchill's speech and on President Roosevelt's reports on the Casablanca conference. In short, though sympathetic to India's aspirations as a whole, the United States are devoting all their gigantic energies to matters of greater import and urgency.

#### BRITISH PAPER'S APPEAL

LONDON, FEBRUARY 13.—The Manchester Guardian, commenting on Mr. Gandhi's disclaimer of responsibility for the recent disorders, says: "Government believes—and most people will agree with it—that violence was certain to follow the Congress call to civil disobedience. But all this gets us nowhere now. From the time of the arrests Government have been entirely rigid in refusing to take or allow any action which might possibly have led to the relaxation of the tension".

The paper recalls the refusal to allow Mr. Rajagopalachari to see Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders and says: " Nothing was or is done and now that Mr. Gandhi is embarking on a fast, which, however, much the Indian Government may disclaim responsibility, may move India to its depths ".

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*Times of India.*

15th February 1943.

#### SUICIDAL POLICY OF FASTING FOR POLITICAL ENDS

##### Hindu Mahasabha's Criticism.

NEW DELHI.— Anxiety about Mr. Gandhi's health in view of his fast is expressed in a resolution passed on Saturday by the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha. Mr. Savarkar presiding. The resolution proceeds "prayerfully to wish that his spiritual strength will enable him to survive the ordeal". "In case, however, the strain of the fast threatens to endanger his health to any serious extent, says the Committee, "Government must set aside all political considerations and release him to save his precious life.

"Nevertheless, this meeting notes emphatically that fasting as a political weapon used with a view to bringing about constitutional changes and political revolutions, irrespective of their inherent merits or

demerits, especially under the political circumstances and foreign domination prevailing in India today, is bound to be futile, detrimental and suicidal.

"Consequently, any move on the part of Congressmen or others to exploit this fast for political ends, as for example, to negotiate with the Muslim League or to arrive at an agreement to end the present deadlock, without consulting the Hindu Mahasabha and securing its agreement, would not in any case be binding on the Hindus. The Mahasabha desires all political organisations and Government to understand that the Mahasabha will resist any encroachment on Hindu rights or any scheme undermining Indian integrity ".

#### DANGER OF "EPIDEMIC"

Explaining the resolution, Mr. Savarkar, President, said, firstly, there was the danger of the contagion spreading and developing into mass fasts undertaken to obtain results, desirable or otherwise. And, secondly, there was the greater danger of Congressmen trying to avert danger to Mr. Gandhi's life and securing a settlement by making panic concessions to Mr. Jinnah, detrimental to Hindu interests.

Mr. Savarkar, however, reiterated the declaration made in Saturday's resolution that Mr. Gandhi's must be saved.

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta presiding, passed a resolution at New Delhi earnestly suggesting Mr. Gandhi's unconditional release to give Mahatma Gandhi an opportunity to survey the situation de novo, as he himself has stated in his correspondence with the Viceroy.

The Committee affirms its support to the Hindu Mahasabha in all legitimate steps to resist the disruption of the country and expresses gratitude to the Viceroy for his recognition of the fundamental unity of India.

#### DELHI CONFERENCE

The United Press learns that it is probable that the conference of prominent leaders to consider the situation arising out of Mr. Gandhi's fast may meet on February 20 instead of on 18. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, it appears, is unable to reach Delhi before February 20. It is, however, possible that the Conference may meet and continue to be in session till Sir Tej Bahadur arrives.

CALCUTTA. - It is learnt that Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, will attend the Leaders' Conference called to meet at Delhi on February 18. He leaves on February 16 for Delhi.

Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Premier, though he is busy with the session of the Bengal Legislature, may also attend the Conference.

KARACHI.—It is understood that Mr. Allah Baksh, President of the All-India Azad Muslim Conference, is proceeding shortly to New Delhi to attend the Leaders' Conference.

#### COMMUNIST PARTY'S APPEAL

A resolution demanding the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi was passed at a mass rally held under the auspices of the Communist Party of India at Kamgar Maidan, Bombay, on Sunday evening. Mr. P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Party presided. The resolution stated that Mr. Gandhi's statements "have swept off every obstacle, every prejudice that stands in the way of our great patriotic parties uniting among themselves and with the peoples of the United Nations".

Making an appeal to all political parties, including the Congress, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, to unite in demanding Mr. Gandhi's release, the resolution says, "In the name of Gandhiji stop sabotage and smash the fifth column. We appeal to all our brother Congress patriots to uphold the call which Gandhiji has given from behind prison bars. Stop sabotage and anarchy, win the League over to join you in demanding Gandhiji's release".

Appealing to the Muslim League, the resolution says Mr. Gandhi "has stretched out the Congress hand of friendship towards you from across the prison bars. Nothing but these bars stand between you and your great brother party, between you and national government which you so ardently desire and urgently want, between you and the satisfaction of your just demand for self-determination".

In view of Mr. Gandhi's willingness to survey the situation "de novo" and to make a fresh proposal on behalf of the Congress if he is placed amongst the members of the Congress Working Committee, the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress appeals to Government to release Mr. Gandhi.

#### PROF. BHANSALI ENDS FAST

WARDHA.- In response to the request of Mr. Kamalnayan Bajaj and members of the Sevagram Ashram, that his continuance of the fast would cause anxiety to Mr. Gandhi and hence he should abandon it, Prof. Bhansali broke his fast this evening after 58 hours of his starting it. states the United Press,

MADRAS.- Dr. P. Subbaroyan says: Humanitarian as well as political considerations require that His Excellency the Viceroy and the Government of India should review the position afresh and release Mr. Gandhi unconditionally "which, I feel, will lead to the solution of the impasse".

Mr. A. M. Allapichai, Secretary, Madras Presidency Muslim League, says: "If Gandhiji is unconditionally released it will do good, Gandhiji feels he has a duty by his country now and when once he is convinced that things said about organised violence are substantially correct, he will do all that lies in his power to stop this".

"If Gandhiji's decision to fast could not be altered, Government should at least have unconditionally released him" says Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy.

An appeal to the Viceroy to release Mr. Gandhi unconditionally with a view to enabling him to review the conditions that developed since his arrest in August last is made by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas in a telegram he has sent to H.E. the Viceroy on behalf of the East India Cotton Association.

A resolution urging the Government of India to make a serious attempt to bring to an end the political deadlock before any crisis is reached endangering the life of Mr. Gandhi was unanimously adopted by the Executive Council of the Indian Journalists' Association at an emergency meeting, Mr. Mrinalkanti Bose presiding, states the United Press.

BENARES.—The Maharajkumar of Vizianagram has sent a telegram to the Viceroy requesting him unconditionally to release Mr. Gandhi. He has also sent a telegram to the members of the Viceroy's Council.

The Board of Directors of the Karachi Cotton Association, the Committee of the Bengal National Chambers of Commerce, the Merchant's Chamber, Nagpur, the Maskati Cloth Market Association, Ahmedabad, the Committee of the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, the Surat Chamber of Commerce, the Board of the Marwadi Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, the Shree Mahajan Association, Bombay, and the Committee of the Bombay Shareholders' Association, have sent telegrams appealing to the Viceroy to release Mr. Gandhi forthwith.

NEW DELHI.—Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A. (Central) in a statement says: If at least Mr. C. Rajagopalachari had been permitted to interview Gandhiji a way could have been found for easing the political tension. The release of Mr. Gandhi will be helpful for pacification of the situation and may even lead to a settlement.—United Press,

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*Bombay Chronicle*

15th February 1943.

#### COMMUNISTS ASK FOR MAHATMA'S RELEASE

A resolution urging the Government to release Mahatma Gandhi unconditionally in the interest of the country and appealing to the Muslim League and other political parties unitedly to demand the release of Gandhiji and end the political deadlock, was passed at a huge rally held under the auspices of the Communist Party of India at the Kamgar Maidan on Sunday evening. Mr. P. C. Joshi presided, among those who addressed the gathering were Messrs. Sardesai, Ayodhya Prasad, Somnath Lahir and L. K. Oak.

Mr. Joshi pointed out that the present crisis arising out of Gandhiji's fast could be brought to an end if all the political parties in the country realised the danger fraught in the situation, and with one voice demanded

the unconditional release of the Mahatma. The other speakers also spoke in a similar vein.

The following is the summary of the resolution.

To win Gandhiji's release is the immediate need of the hour. All patriotic organisations and associations are coming into the campaign for Gandhiji's release. The demand of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a demand of all parties including the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha for Gandhiji's release is an inspiring lead.

At this critical hour in the destiny of our beloved Mother-land the Communist Party appeals to every patriotic brother party of ours, to every patriotic son and daughter of India:

Let all unite and win Gandhiji's release to end the crisis!

In the name of Gandhiji stop sabotage and smash the Fifth Column!

We appeal to all our brother Congress patriots to uphold the call which Gandhiji has given from behind prison bars. Stop sabotage and anarchy, win the League to join you in demanding Gandhiji's release.

#### APPEAL TO LEAGUE

We appeal to all our brother League patriots. On your shoulders rests the biggest responsibility to-day. There are now few barriers of prejudice or mis-understanding left between you and the Congress. Gandhiji has disowned the campaign of anarchy and sabotage, he has stretched out the Congress hand of friendship towards you from across the prison bars. Nothing but these bars stand between you and your great brother Party, between you and National Government which you so ardently desire and urgently want, between you and the satisfaction of your just demand for self-determination.

We appeal to the Hindu Mahasabha patriots, to the Liberal Patriots, to non-Party patriots, to all Kisan, working class and student organisations to unite with each other and with all to win Gandhiji's release and end the crisis.

Let all together demand Gandhiji's release! Forward to National Unity to win National Government for national defence and freedom.

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*Times of India.*

16th February 1943.

#### BOMBAY LEADERS FOR DELHI

#### **Conference on Fast of Mr. Gandhi.**

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai left Bombay for Delhi on Sunday to attend the Leaders' Conference there on Thursday to consider the situation arising from Mr. Gandhi's fast. Mr. K. M. Munshi is expected to leave for Delhi on Tuesday. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, who has been invited to attend the Conference, is already in Delhi.



Among the others in Bombay who have received invitations to attend the conference are: The Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas. Mr. Fazal I. Rahimtoola, Mr. Krishnaraj, M. D. Thackersey, Mr. Haridas Madhavdas and Mr. Pranlal Devkaran Nanjee.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari will leave Madras for Delhi on Tuesday morning by the Grand Trunk Express.

It is understood that Mr. J. R. D. Tata and Sir Ardeshir Dalai are arriving at Delhi on February 18 to attend the Leaders' Conference, reports the " United Press ".

Dr. U. N. Law, adds the " United Press ", while regretting inability to attend the conference has expressed deep concern. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, who also regretted his inability to attend wished for a satisfactory settlement on all sides.

MADRAS.— The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri have intimated to Mr. Rajagopalachari their inability to attend the conference, the former owing to infirmity and the latter because he feels unequal to the long journey just now.

PESHAWAR.— Dr. Khan Sahib, former Premier, has received telegrams from the organisers of the Leaders' Conference requesting him to attend, says the "United Press ". It is understood that Dr. Khan Sahib has not come to any decision.

The General-Secretary of the All-India Students' Federation, Bombay, has sent a telegram to Mr. Gandhi appealing to him to give up the fast.

The Committee of the Bombay Grain Dealers' Association, the Seeds Traders' Association, the Board of the Bombay Shroff Association, Piecegoods Native Merchants' Association, Silk and Art Silk Mills Association, Bombay Yarn and Silk Merchants' Association, Mr. Walchand Hirachand, President of the Indian National Steamship Owners' Association, the Anjun-e-Khaw, Mahsil-e-Zhorah, Anjun-e-Ahdesurrayya. Anjun-e-Fatima, the Nationalist Indian Christian Party of Bombay and the President of the Sarafi Joint Conference have sent telegrams to the Viceroy appealing to His Excellency to release Mr. Gandhi unconditionally.

Several Ahmedabad bodies, including the Textile Labour Association, have sent a similar appeal. The Lucknow District Communist Party has sent a telegram to Mr. Jinnah urging him to demand the release of the Congress leaders and to take the initiative in forging Indian Unity.

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*Times of India.*

16th February 1943.

## MR. GANDHI'S RELEASE URGED IN ASSEMBLY

### **Plea to Government.**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 15.—The Home Member not objecting to the admission of Pandit L. K. Maitra's adjournment motion to discuss the situation created by Mr. Gandhi's fast, the President fixed four o'clock

this afternoon for its discussion. The Chair did not accept the suggestion of Sir Yamin Khan (Muslim League) that the motion be discussed tomorrow, so that the House might give the full day today to the debate on food, standard cloth and other subjects.

When the motion was taken up Pandit Maitra appealed to the members of the House to set aside all political considerations and unite in demanding the release of a great Indian who is revered by all classes of people.

Sir Henry Richardson declared that the fast might be self-immolation, but it was nonetheless coercion and no Government would submit to it and retain any authority. His group fully approved of the attitude taken up by Government.

Nawabzada Liaqatali Khan explaining the Muslim League party's position said that the League had not the power or authority and could support neither the release nor the detention of Mr. Gandhi in jail. It was the duty of Government to maintain law and order and peace in the country and it was Government's responsibility to decide for themselves whether this could be done by his release or by his detention.

#### DEMAND FOR RELEASE

Sir Reginald Maxwell said that Mr. Gandhi's fast would seem to amount to little more than a demand for release. Mr. Gandhi was the acknowledged leader of an open rebellion in which he denied the authority of the existing Government and sought to overthrow it. Before that he was entitled to be heard by Government like any other subject and was heard. But by declaring civil war, that is repudiating the method of discussion, he forfeited that right so long as he remained an open rebel. He could not claim to function except through the success of his method. He could not take part in public life under the protection of the law he denied. He could be a citizen yet not a subject. This was the position resulting from the Congress resolution of August 8. In some of the published correspondence Mr. Gandhi had made much of his intention of seeking an interview with the Viceroy. But the Congress resolution still stood together with Mr. Gandhi's own words: "Do or die". It was not the method of peaceful persuasion to come to the person whom you wished to convince armed with a resolution declaring mass rebellion.

The Home Member went on to repeat that Government did and must hold Mr. Gandhi responsible for the recent happenings that had so disturbed the peace of India, caused so much loss of life and property to innocent persons and brought the country to the brink of a terrible danger. Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues might seek to repudiate their method now that it had proved unsuccessful, but the responsibility was theirs nonetheless. Those deeds could not be undone. If Mr. Gandhi wished to dissociate himself from them, he could have spoken for himself without consulting the Working Committee. Could he then without cancelling the Congress movement, without even assurances for the

future claim, at any moment to step back as though nothing had happened in the public life of the country and be received by Government and society as a good citizen?

When, therefore, Government found that the fact could only be prevented by unconditional release, they had no choice but to adhere to the policy already declared. That policy was either right or wrong in itself. Its Tightness or wrongness could not depend on the quantity of food consumed by Mr. Gandhi six months later. If Government conscientiously believed that it was right a fast could make no difference to it. The Government of India could not surrender their judgment under threat of a fast.

The Home Member referred to the privileges given to Mr. Gandhi during the fast.

Mr. N. M. Joshi declared that if Mr. Gandhi was released unconditionally he would reconsider the situation. He himself had said so in his letters. It was wrong and unworthy of the British people and of the Government of India to impute motives to Mr. Gandhi and say that the fast was blackmail.

Sardar Sant Singh urged Mr. Gandhi's release in order to enable him to review the situation in the country.

#### OBJECT OF MOTION

Dr. P. N. Bannerjee said the object of the motion was not to censure Government but to save a precious life about which people all over the world were greatly perturbed.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari joined in protesting against the use of the word "blackmail" and said it would go down in history as having been flung against the greatest Indian for the last 500 years.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said that the speech of Sir Reginald Maxwell was itself a reason for Mr. Gandhi's release. He assured the Indian members of the Executive Council that this was a most favourable opportunity to lead to conciliation.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir said that nobody wanted Mr. Gandhi imprisoned. "We would prefer to see him a free man", he said. The correspondence, however, had taken his breath away. If Mr. Gandhi was a faithful follower of Non-violence, he ought to be prepared to condemn violence unequivocally from wherever that violence came.

As he was speaking it was 6 o'clock and the motion was talked out.

Mr. Sarkar referred to standard cloth and said it would reach the market by April.

The debate was adjourned till February 17.

*Times of India.*

16th February 1943.

**"NO SURRENDER TO COERCION"**

**Assembly Debate on Mr. Gandhi's Fast.**

*(From our Special Correspondent)*

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 15.—The adjournment motions on Mr. Gandhi's fast overshadowed other business in both the Assembly and the Council of State today. Government raised no objection to the debate and the opportunity it gave for explaining Government's case was used vigorously by the Home Member.

It was clear from the start that the supporters of the motion wished to avoid a division, as that would give Government a clear majority. Their plan succeeded and in both the Houses the motions were talked out.

The debate, though restricted to two hours, proved most interesting and revealed clearly the reaction of each group in the Assembly to the situation created by the fast. The pro-Congress view was best expressed by the mover of the adjournment motion, Mr. L. K. Maitra. He was skilfully reinforced by Mr. N. M. Joshi, Sardar Sant Singh, Mr. Banerjee and Mr. Krishnamachari. These advocates did not wish to rub anti-Congress elements up the wrong way and, therefore, avoided controversial topics. How delicate this task was appeared obvious from a couple of outbursts from the Muslim League benches against certain remarks made in excessive zeal by supporters of the motion.

Nationalist speakers, too, avoided a frontal attack on Government and suggested by implication that they were strengthening the hands of those Indian members of the Executive Council who were thought to be in favour of unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi. But they did echo a common threat. "If Mr. Gandhi dies in jail the Indian people shall never forget it and forgive the British people".

After the advocates of unconditional release had had their innings, the opposite view was put forth with firm conviction. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, disregarding the nationalist "conspiracy" of silence over controversial matters, drew up the usual charge-sheet against the Congress. His opinion that the Congress decision of August "was responsible for unprecedented violence", amounted to unqualified endorsement of the Government charge against the Congress. He found no evidence in the Linlithgow-Gandhi correspondence to show that the Hindu-Muslim problem was in Mr. Gandhi's mind. He could not, therefore, support the motion. It was clear that he was opposed to the motion, though he did not say so because his grouse was that even though Government had named the Congress as the enemy of the country it refused to settle with the other parties.

## EUROPEAN GROUP'S VIEW

Sir Henry Richardson was more explicit than the spokesman of the Muslim League. He said: "The pistol is once again placed at the head of the Government. In August it was, 'Comply with our wishes or we will declare civil disobedience'. Now it is, 'Comply with our wishes or our leader and dictator will endanger his own life.'"

The leader of the European Group was emphatic that there should be no surrender to lawlessness and coercion.

Sir Reginald Maxwell was most outspoken. The Congress, he said, had passed the resolution hoping to win Jap favour at a time when invasion seemed imminent. Now that the Congress movement has been decisively defeated and the Jap threat had receded the Congress leader was trying to rehabilitate the party's credit. Mr. Gandhi's demand that he should be convinced of his guilt was like the United Nations asking Hitler to judge the responsibility for the present war.

The Home Member described Mr. Gandhi as a rebel and declared that so long as his rebellious resolution was not cancelled Mr. Gandhi could not claim the rights of a citizen. As for the moral virtue of the fast, Sir Reginald declared that it was repugnant to the western idea of decency to exploit an opponent's feeling of humanity, chivalry or mercy.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta attempted to argue that Mr. Gandhi's promise of a de novo examination of the situation really amounted to recantation and should be accepted as such and that another opportunity for resolving the deadlock may not arise

Sir Cowasji Jehangir confessed to having been horror struck that Mr. Gandhi had not condemned violence and had even found as excuse for the terrorist activities of the wife of a member of the Congress Working Committee. He demanded from Mr. Gandhi unequivocal condemnation of violence in all circumstances as a condition precedent to Mr. Gandhi's release.

Sir George Spence's move for closure of the debate was not entertained by the Chair and the motion was talked out.

The leaders' conference which was called for February 18 will probably begin a day later and continue on February 20, when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru arrives. A certain European educationist in India is also expected to join the conference.

The attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha leader was explained today at a press conference when Mr. Savarkar expressed disagreement with the fast and thought it would not work. As the Mahasabha has once again postponed implementing the "active movement" resolution. Mr. Savarkar was asked to explain what was meant by the proposed movement. He stated frankly that it did not envisage civil disobedience in any form. All it meant was to prepare the Hindus for fight on two fronts. If the British, after winning the war, did not give rights to Hindus there would be a fight. Secondly, Hindus must have strength to resist Pakistan.

*Times of India,*  
16th February 1943.

### **Mr. Gandhi's Condition Deteriorates.**

*(From Our Staff Correspondent)*

POONA, FEBRUARY 15.—Mr. Kanu Gandhi (Mr. Gandhi's nephew), Mrs. Mahadev Desai and Master Narain Desai (widow and son, respectively, of Mr. Gandhi's late Secretary) have received permission from the Government of Bombay to stay with Mr. Gandhi. They have accordingly gone to the Aga Khan's Palace. It is presumed that they will stay there for the duration of the fast.

The Government of Bombay has issued the following communique on Mr. Gandhi's health:—

"Mr. Gandhi has found some difficulty in taking water and had a rather restless day yesterday (Sunday). His condition has shown some deterioration."

Dr. G. M. S. Mandlik, a ear, nose and throat specialist, was called in this afternoon to examine Mr. Gandhi. Besides, Lt. Col. Bhandari and Lt. Col. Shah visited Mr. Gandhi thrice during the course of the day.

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy arrived here tonight by the Poona Mail from Bombay and immediately motored, to the Aga Khan's Palace to see Mr. Gandhi. He was with Mr. Gandhi for sometime.

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*Bombay Chronicle*  
16th February 1943.

### **DR. ROY EXAMINES MAHATMA**

POONA, FEBRUARY 15.—Immediately after his arrival Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy drove to the Aga Khan's Palace and held an examination of Gandhiji's health. Dr. Roy's stay in Poona is likely to be prolonged. United Press.

Dr. B. C. Roy was with Mahatma Gandhi for about an hour and a half and returned to his hotel. Dr. Roy declined to make any statement on Mahatma Gandhi's health till he had another opportunity to examine him with the other doctors. Dr. Roy will see Mahatma Gandhi again tomorrow morning Associated Press.

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*Times of India,*  
17th February 1943.

### **Delhi Conference**

*(From Our Special Correspondent)*

NBW DELHI, FEBRUARY 16.—It is gathered that the Leaders' Conference to consider the situation created by Mr. Gandhi's fast meets on the afternoon of February 19 and should conclude its deliberation on February 20. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is expected to preside over the first

day's session and Sir T. B. Sapru over the second sitting. The conference will be held under a shamiana in the grounds of the New Delhi office of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.

Among the leaders who have agreed to attend the conference, reports the Associated Press, are the Rev. John Mackenzie, Dr. Hodge, Dr. Subbaroyan. Dr. Sachidanand Sinha, Dr. Chella Ram (representing the Joint Standing Committee of various Indian Commercial Bodies in Karachi). Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Sheikh Hisamuddin, Mrs. Kulsum Sayani, Mr. Haridas Madhavdas (President, Indian Merchants' Chamber. Bombay), Mr. Zahiruddin and Master Tara Singh.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, who arrived here for the Leaders' Conference, met Members of the Central Assembly and members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, including Messrs. M. S. Aney and N. R. Sarker.

Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Education, Health and Lands to the Government of India, has intimated his intention to attend the conference.

BOMBAY.—Mr. K. M. Munshi, one of the organisers of the Leaders' Conference at Delhi, left Bombay for Delhi by the Frontier Mail on Tuesday.

Mr. Shamdas P. Gidwani, President of the Sind Provincial Hindu Sabha, who arrived in Bombay from Karachi, also left for Delhi by the same train.

Mr. S. A. Brelvi has sent a telegram to Mr. Rajagopalachari regretting his inability to attend the conference. The Metropolitan of India, the Most Rev. Foss Westcott, is also unable to attend owing to previous engagements.

MADRAS. Mr. Rijagopalachari and Dr. P. Subbaroyan left Madras for Delhi on Tuesday morning.

CALCUTTA.—Sir B. P. Singh Roy, President of the National Liberal Federation of India, who, owing to some unavoidable circumstances, will not be able to attend the conference, in a telegram to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari says: "The Mahatama's life is a national asset and must be saved. I support unconditional release, which I hope will lead to a better atmosphere in India and future peace and political settlement."

A resolution requesting all concerned to find a speedy solution of the problem arising out of Mr. Gandhi's fast was passed at the annual General meeting of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council held at the Convocation Hall in Bombay on Tuesday, Mrs. R. B. Billimoria presided.

Messages urging the immediate release of Mr. Gandhi have been sent to the Viceroy by the General Secretary of the All-India Azad Muslim Board, New Delhi, the President of the Mahagujarat Harijan Samaj, Ahmedabad, the Indian Exporters' Association of Bombay and the Bombay Bullion Exchange.

*Times of India,*  
17th February 1943.

### **More Doctors see Mr. Gandhi**

#### **CONDITION WORSENS**

*(From Our Staff Correspondent)*

POONA, FEBRUARY 16.—Mr. Gandhi was examined again this morning when six doctors were present. Dr. Bidan Chandra Roy, who arrived here last night from Bombay and immediately motored to the Aga Khan Palace to see Mr. Gandhi was again with him for nearly three hours this morning.

More doctors called this evening. The services of a Bombay pathologist, Dr. K. T. Gajjar, have been requisitioned and he and his assistant arrived here this evening and drove straight to the Aga Khan's Palace to examine Mr. Gandhi. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and the Surgeon-General to the Government of Bombay were also present there.

The first visitor other than the doctors and officials to be admitted to the Aga Khan's Palace for a brief interview with Mr. Gandhi today was Mr. Shantikumar Morarji, head of Scindias. He was at the Palace for more than half an hour.

#### **MR. GANDHI CHEERFUL**

*An Associated Press message states.*—It is understood that the doctors will again see him this afternoon. It is learnt that Mr. Gandhi was quite cheerful in the morning and talked with the doctors for sometime though his voice has become weak and low. He has lost some weight during the weeks fast and most of the time he is reposing in bed.

Dr. Thakkar (brother of Mr. A. V. Thakkar), who attended on Mr. Gandhi during the latter's Rajkot fast, says that nausea generally sets in after the third day of the fast, persists for about four days, and then disappears.

The United Press says that after two and a half hours' examination of Mr. Gandhi. Dr. B. C. Roy came out of the Aga Khan's Palace at 12-30 p.m.

"I cannot tell you anything now", said Dr. Roy in an interview to the United Press. Dr. Roy added: "I can, however, say this that Gandhiji is 74 this time. His fast therefore, presents a more difficult and complicated problem at this age than it ever did before."

The Government of Bombay have issued the following communique on Mr. Gandhi's health:—

"During the past 24 hours Mr. Gandhi's condition has further deteriorated."

Mrs. Leelavati Munshi, wife of Mr. K. M. Munshi, has been permitted by Government to see Mr. Gandhi at Poona. She is leaving Bombay for Poona on Wednesday.



*Times of India,*  
18th February 1943.

### **Three of Viceroy's Councillors Resign**

SIR H. P. MODY, MR. ANEY AND MR. SARKER

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 17.—The Hon. Sir H. P. Mody, K.B.E., the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker and the Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney having tendered their resignation of the office of member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, His Excellency the Governor-General has accepted their resignations.

The resignation of the three Members has caused little surprise in unofficial circles.

Whispers of this development were heard in the Assembly lobbies today. Towards the close of the day's sitting, it was noticed that the Treasury front benches were practically empty. Mr. Yusuf Haroon, the Muslim League member from Karachi, who was making his maiden speech in the course of the debate on the food situation, began his remarks with a reference to the absence of the Government Members, including the Food Member himself, Mr. Sarker, the Leader of the House, Mr. Aney, and the Supply Member, Sir Homi Mody, besides the Finance Member, the War Transport Member and the Home Member, who was ill. Mr. Haroon suggested that their absence was a clear proof of what little importance Government attached to the proceedings of the House.

Sir Edward Benthall, War Transport Member, intervening, drew attention to the fact that he was present in the House. Mr. Haroon asked, "What about the others"? The Chair suggested that presumably important work had kept them away.

#### STATEMENT EXPECTED

*A brief explanatory statement.*—On their resignation it is expected to be issued shortly by the three members, but it is well-known with what great concern they have received the news of Mr. Gandhi's fast and have followed its development from day-to-day, particularly the deterioration in his condition reported yesterday. Their resignation is believed to have been handed in this morning, and until then, it is thought they held on to the hope, that it would be possible to secure a change in the Government's decision not to release Mr. Gandhi unconditionally.

The fact that the Viceroy has accepted the resignation is taken to indicate an emphatic reaffirmation of the policy hitherto followed in dealing with the situation created by the fast.

Lobby circles expect that Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, will become Leader of the House in the Assembly, in place of Mr. Aney. This will be inconformity with the tradition followed till two years ago that the Law Member shall generally lead the House. The places of Mr.

Sarker and Sir Homi Mody will probably be taken by Secretaries of their respective Departments.

The three members have been congratulated on their action by many friends among whom the news quickly spread. Pandit Kunzru and Mr. P. N. Saprú, in a statement, said: "In resigning at this stage, they have shown that they place the interests of their country above all other considerations, and they have stood up for the self-respect of India. We congratulate them on their patriotism".

The three members have been invited to attend the Leaders' Conference beginning here on Friday at 3-30 p.m. and it is expected that they will find it possible to attend.

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*Bombay Chronicle.*

18th February 1943.

#### IS IT COMPLETE TEXT OF CORRESPONDENCE?

LONDON: Mr. Sorensen, M.P. has asked Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India:

Whether he can state the total number of killed and wounded arising out of the disturbances and how many punishments by whipping have been imposed:

Whether the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy represents and includes the whole correspondence or only selections;

Whether in view of the recent plea of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and other bodies for a renewed satisfactory settlement and the meeting of the Delhi Conference he would consider advising the Viceroy to allow contact between Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders; and whether he would consider sympathetically any proposal emanating from the Delhi Conference.

#### RELEASE GANDHIJI TO RESTORE PEACE

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M.L.A. (Central), President of the Central National Mahomedan Association of India, in a statement urges the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi on "purely humanitarian grounds".

Sir Abdul Halim says.—"As far as I am concerned it is my conviction that if he is released unconditionally, whatever may be said for or against his non-violence creed, he would help in bringing the end of the disquieting situation that is permeating the atmosphere in the country now and that when he is acquainted with the facts of the violence and disorderly conduct of the reactionary forces that have been at work in the name of the Congress civil disobedience movement since his arrest on August 9, he would exert himself to call off the regrettable movement.

It is beyond my ken as to what the Government fears in the release of Mahatma Gandhi for if after his release he again takes action which is prejudicial to orderly Government, he could again be sent to jail, and this time with very much more justification at bar of world opinion than before.

I am afraid there is not in the Government of India due appreciation of the dangers of allowing Mahatma Gandhi to die in prison, which God forbid, as a sequel to the fast.

Very few people in India can claim the extent of moral and material support to the war effort of this country as lies to my credit. It is my firm belief that there is no better contribution to war efforts at this stage than the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi whose influence in bringing the disorderly condition in the country to an end is vital and necessary.

War effort is a supreme thing to me because the primary thing is defeating the enemies of civilisation manifested in the Axis forces.

Mahatma Gandhi is a declared anti-Fascist and however much I and others may differ from his practical politics Mahatma Gandhi by sheer dint of sufferings and sacrifices in the cause of the country to-day is enshrined in the hearts of many Indians and occupies a position of influence among the masses of India which no other could claim.

I am a signatory to the ensuing Leaders' Conference here for these reasons as well as because I want the release of Mahatma Gandhi on humanitarian grounds ".—United Press.

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*Times of India.*

19th February 1943.

#### INFORMAL TALKS AT DELHI

#### **Leaders' Conference Programme Fixed.**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 18.—Today's grave news about Mr. Gandhi's condition was anxiously considered at informal meetings at Birla House of leaders assembling here for tomorrow's conference.

The programme for the first day of the Leaders' Conference was provisionally agreed upon. It is proposed that first day of the conference should be largely preliminary in character. A committee will be set up to draft the resolution for the conference and decide upon the procedure to be followed to convey the resolution to Government.

The resolution will be placed before the conference for debate and adoption on the second day, when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is expected to preside.

It is assumed that the conference will limit itself to one resolution urging Mr. Gandhi's unconditional release and will not allow the raising of controversial points. The proceedings will be open to the press.

More than 150 invitees, most of whom are already in Delhi are expected to be present.

#### MR. ANEY TO ATTEND

Sir H. P. Mody is not attending the leaders' conference, it is learned here. According to his present plans, he will leave for Bombay as soon as he is able to do so. It is likely that Mr. Aney and Mr. Sarker will attend the conference. All the three received streams of callers on Thursday and shoals of congratulatory messages.

Among leaders who have arrived for the conference are Mr. C. Raja-gopalachari, Mr. Allah Baksh and Mr. Abdul Qayum, from the Frontier.

On the refusal of the President to allow Mr. Desraj Choudhary senior Vice-President, to move a resolution urging the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi, a walk-out was staged on Wednesday evening at the meeting of the Delhi Municipal Committee held in the Town Hall, the Deputy Commissioner presiding.

POONA -The "United Press" states that Mr. N. C. Kelkar, the Maharashtra leader, has informed Mr. Rajagopalachari of his inability to proceed to Delhi for the Leaders' Conference.

BENARES.- Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who has been invited to join the Leaders' Conference at Delhi, has informed the conveners of his inability to attend and added: "May God bless your efforts and save Mahatmaji's life for the good of the mother-land and mankind".

BOMBAY.- What I strongly feel on Bapu's fast is this that as Bapu's man, I would not like to appeal to the Government for his release" says Mr. Kamalnayan Bajaj, in a letter to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari explaining why he was not attending the forthcoming meeting of leaders at Delhi.

Explaining that Mr. Gandhi has expressed his willingness to be convinced that he has erred and that there could be no doubt that once convinced he would do everything to amend it, Mr. Bajaj says that Mr. Gandhi's fast becomes a personal matter.—United Press.

The Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar left Bombay for Delhi on Thursday to attend the Leaders' Conference which will consider the situation arising out of Mr. Gandhi's fast. Rev. J. McKenzie, Principal of the Wilson College, left for Delhi on Wednesday. Seth Ramdeo A. Podar is unable to attend the conference and has informed the conveners.

NAGPUR.— Dr. N. B. Khare, ex-Premier of the C. P. and Berar is not attending the Delhi conference. In reply to the invitation he says that fasting has no place in politics, but wishes success to the conference in obtaining Mr. Gandhi's release.—United Press.

Messages to the Viceroy urging release of Mr. Gandhi have been sent by the Nationalist Harijan Party, Bombay, the Social Service League, Bombay, the Bombay Sindhi Association, the Bombay Rice Merchants'

Association, the Secretary of the Poona Students' Union, representatives of 36 commercial bodies of Calcutta, the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation, the Ahmedabad Newspapers' Association, the Surat Cotton Merchants' Association and the Mysore Chamber of Commerce.

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*Times of India.*

19th February 1943.

### **Commons Questions on Mr. Gandhi.**

LONDON, FEBRUARY 18.—The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Leopold Amery, was asked in the Commons today if, as a possible contribution towards the end of the present deadlock in India, he would now allow influential non-party men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Raja-gopalachari to confer with Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Amery replied: "I am content to leave the question of interviews with Mr. Gandhi to the discretion of the Government of India".

Mr. Sorensen (Labour) asked: "Does not Mr. Amery realise that a new situation has been created by the resignation of the three members of the Viceroy's Council; and in view of that fact, could he not make some suggestion to the Viceroy that these contacts, as suggested, should be allowed?"

Mr. Amery: "No Sir".

The correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy, he informed another member, had been given in its entirety to the Press, both in India and this country, and that it was not proposed to lay a White Paper.

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*Times of India.*

19th February 1943.

### **Anxiety Over Health of Mr. Gandhi**

LITTLE INCLINATION TO TALK

*(From our Staff Correspondent)*

POONA, FEBRUARY 18.—Today's "communique" on Mr. Gandhi's health is issued under the signature of six doctors. Dr. M. D. Gilder, Major-General R. H. Candy, Surgeon-General to the Government of Bombay, Dr. B. C. Roy, Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari, Dr. Sushila Nayar and Lt.-Col. B. Z. Shah. Their report states:

"Although Mr. Gandhi had a total of nine hours' sleep, he is not refreshed nor mentally alert. There is other evidence of uremia, which is progressive. The heart action is feebler. Anxiety as to his condition deepens".

Today is Mr. Gandhi's ninth foodless day, Mr. Gandhi is assuring his friends that he knows the extent of his endurance and is reiterating that he does not want to die.

It is reported that this afternoon doctors examined Mr. Gandhi and emerged from the Aga Khan's Palace with anxious faces. They are understood to have made a detailed report for the information of Government.

Unlike the past four days, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy was not in the Aga Khan's Palace this morning, though he was found having prolonged telephonic conversations with Col. Bhandari, Inspector-General of Prisons.

It is understood that a full report of Dr. Gajjar, the pathologist from Bombay, who examined Mr. Gandhi yesterday and the day before has reached Dr. Roy and he is busy with other doctors examining the same. This presumably explains the absence of a medical examination this morning.

Among the new doctors attending on Mr. Gandhi is Dr. Dinshaw Mehta, a specialist in massage treatment.

#### VISITORS TO MR. GANDHI

Among the visitors who were allowed to see Mr. Gandhi this evening were Mrs. Hutheesingh, sister of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Leela-vathi Munshi and Mrs. Goshiben Captain. They appeared to be deeply moved when they emerged from the palace.

Owing to his feeble condition Mr. Gandhi is reported to be showing little inclination to talk nor is he showing the same interest in those visiting him.

Mr. C. H. Bristow, Adviser to the Government of Bombay, arrived in Poona from Bombay at midday today, presumably to ascertain the condition of Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi's youngest son, Devadas, Editor of "Hindustan Times" Delhi, was told by Government that he would be allowed to meet his father if he desired to do so. It is understood that Mr. Devadas Gandhi is coming to Poona.

Almost every friend of Mr. Gandhi in Poona who has a telephone is receiving calls from all over India inquiring about Mr. Gandhi's health.

A New Delhi message states that Mr. Devadas Gandhi is leaving for Poona this morning (Friday).

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*Times of India,*  
20th February 1943.

#### LEADERS' TALKS IN DELHI

##### **Mr. Gandhi's Release Urged.**

NEW DELHI. FEBRUARY 19.—A resolution urging the release of Mr. Gandhi, drafted by a committee set up by the Leaders' Conference which met here today, has been forwarded immediately to the Private

Secretary to the Viceroy in view of the urgency of the situation. The resolution will be placed at tomorrow's meeting of the conference for final adoption.

About 200 leaders, Hindu, Muslim, Parsi and British, from all parts of the country, met at the conference to give expression, as Mr. C. Raja-gopalachari in his address of welcome said, "to the feeling in this country that Mahatma Gandhi should be enabled to end his fast". Besides the leaders, Mr. Rajagopalachari's address, which was amplified by loudspeakers, was heard by 300 people who stood outside the tent in which the meeting was held.

"This gathering", Mr. Rajagopalachari said, "is a source of great consolation, if not strength, on the present grave occasion".

The meeting set up a committee which drafted the resolution which will be placed before the conference tomorrow when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is expected to preside. The members of the committee included Mr. Rajagopalachari, Pandit Kunzru, Mufti Kifaitullah, Khwaja Hassan Nizami, Sheikh Mohamed Zahiruddin, Dr. Moonje, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Sir Maharaj Singh, Sir A. H. Ghaznavi and Mr. Allah Baksh.

Dr. Jayakar, Sir Maharaj Singh, Sir A. H. Ghaznavi, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Master Tara Singh and Mr. N. M. Joshi will speak on the resolution tomorrow. The committee has appealed to the people of all creeds and communities to offer special prayers on Sunday, February 21, for Mr. Gandhi's life.

Over 17,000 signatures have been obtained in Delhi, to a manifesto urging the release of Mr. Gandhi, said a statement distributed at the Leaders' Conference.

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*Times of India.*

20th February 1943.

### **Increasing Weakness of Mr. Gandhi.**

#### VISIT FROM SON

*(From our Staff Correspondent.)*

POONA. FEBRUARY 19.—Mr. Gandhi's doctors visited him as usual this morning and were with him for more than an hour; but the detailed examination took place in the afternoon.

Dr. Mehta, a nature cure specialist, also visited him and gave him massage treatment.

The following doctors' report on Mr. Gandhi's condition up to this afternoon was issued by the Bombay Government:—

"Mr. Gandhi's sleep was broken as he was troubled by excessive salivation. Nevertheless, he is a little more interested in his surroundings today. There is little change in the general condition except increasing weakness".

The communique also states that Dr. B. C. Roy, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder and Dr. (Miss) S. Nayar have requested Government to publish the following: –

“Mahatmaji’s condition continues weak and causes anxiety. We would request those interested in his welfare not to tax his strength further by seeking interviews at present, which must naturally be restricted as much as possible ”.

The Government doctors in attendance concur in this advice.

#### VISITORS TO MR. GANDHI

Cutting short his business trip, Mr. Gandhi's third son. Ramdas. has rushed from Nagpur to Poona to be by the bed side of his father during his fast. His wife Nirmala and two daughters and one son were with him when he met Mr. Gandhi for a brief spell of ten minutes at the Aga Khan's Palace this morning.

Mr. Gandhi, it appears, made detailed inquiries about his son and grandchildren.

Mr. Ramdas Gandhi arrived in Poona in the early hours of this morning and obtained permission from the Government over the phone.

Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Mr. Gandhi's youngest son, left Delhi on Friday morning for Poona where he is expected to be at the beside of his father some time on Saturday afternoon.

Mr. Vaikunth L. Mehta and M. Vithaldas Jairajani, of the All-India Spinners' Association had each a three-minute interview with Mr. Gandhi this evening.

#### MANY VISITORS RETURN

An Associated Press message says: Doctors attending on Mr. Gandhi have advised all visitors and friends not to seek interviews with Mr. Gandhi and thus save the strain on Mr. Gandhi. In pursuance of this advice, many persons who had secured Government's permission to see Mr. Gandhi and had arrived in Poona have abandoned the idea of seeing him and are returning. It is understood that no more persons will be permitted to stay in the Aga Khan's Palace with Mr. Gandhi.

Due to general weakness Mr. Gandhi is not able to speak much, though he still insists on drinking water, without assistance, holding the glass in his shaky hands.

It is understood that Mr. Gandhi was told today of the resignations of the three members from the Executive Council and also about the conference of leaders taking place in Delhi today. His only reaction was a feeble smile.

Inside the Aga Khan's Palace time hangs heavily, with the deepening anxiety of the inmates about Mr. Gandhi's condition.



Two of the inmates of the palace are reported to be slightly ill. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is " keeping house " and does all the cooking herself, besides attending on Mr. Gandhi.

Some members of the palace, to provide some sort of relief from boredom to Mr. Gandhi, played devotional songs on stringed instruments.

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*Times of India.*

20th February 1943.

### **Bengal Council on Mr. Gandhi's Fast.**

#### **APPEAL FOR RELEASE OF LEADER**

CALCUTTA, FEBRUARY 19.—A special motion moved on behalf of the Progressive Coalition Party requesting the Government of Bengal to move the Government of India for the " immediate and unconditional " release of Mr. Gandhi in view of his age and the present state of his health, was adopted by the Bengal Legislative Council this afternoon. The members of the Muslim League Party remained neutral, while the European Group opposed the motion.

Thirty-six trade organisations, including leading Indian chambers, met under the presidency of Dr. N. N. Law and adopted resolutions expressing grave concern at Mr. Gandhi's health and urging his release. It was decided to send telegrams to the Viceroy, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Secretary of State for India.—United Press.

#### **"Matter of Expediency".**

MADRAS.—Mr. Gandhi's fast is condemned as coercion "intolerable to law and order", in a statement by Dr. George Arundale, Mr. Sri Ram, Mr. Rohit Mehta and Mr. J. L. Davidge, Editors of Conscience published at Adyar, Madras. They say, however, that he should be released as a matter of expediency.

BOMBAY.—The Committee of the Mill-owners' Association, Bombay, has sent a telegram to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy "respectfully urging the Government of India to release Mr. Gandhi without delay ".

The Marwadi Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, has wired to the Secretary of State for India suggesting that Mr. Gandhi's health warrants his release.

NEW DELHI.—" Hartal " continues in Delhi for the third day. The principal markets are closed and only a few shops and restaurants are open. Several colleges and schools were closed and only a few shops and restaurants are open. Several colleges and schools were closed and meetings for the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi were held in others which were open. Elaborate police arrangement have been made in the city.

The Rt. Hon, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, in a message, says: "The Government of India will do good to themselves and the country if they release immediately Gandhiji and other leaders, and make possible fresh efforts to resolve the deadlock ".

POONA.—Mr. R. R. Bhole, M.L.A. (Bombay), has addressed a telegram to the Governor-General-in-Council to the effect that Mr. Gandhi's fast " throws Depressed Classes overboard" and asks Government not to be coerced by " Hindu pressure ". A similar telegram has been addressed to the Labour Member. Government of India.

Telegram urging the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi have been sent to the Viceroy by the Bombay Motor Merchants' Association, the Poona Students' Union, students of the Law College and Ferguson College, Poona, the Secretary of the All-India Mali Mahasabha (Poona) students of several colleges in Delhi, the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Hapur Chamber of Commerce, the Jalgaon Communist Party, the Butter Manufacturers' Association of Bombay, the Committee of the Hoshami Old Iron Merchants' Association. Telegrams have been sent to Mr. Churchill by the President of the Sangli Chamber of Commerce and by Mr. K. Venkatappaya, Secretary of the Congress Legislative Assembly Party, Madras.

Meetings urging Mr. Gandhi's release were held at Madura. Calcutta, Jalpaiguri, Madras , Maroli Bazar and Ahmedabad.

Owing to the Political situation arising out of Mr. Gandhi's fast, the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which was to have been held on March 6 and 7 will now be held on March 27 and 28, under the Presidentship of Mr. G. L. Mehta. The annual session of the All-India Organisation of Industrial Employees will be held in Delhi on March 28.—Associated Press.

#### INDIA LEAGUE'S GREETINGS

LONDON.—The following cable signed by David Kirkwood James Maxtoa, Fred Messer, John McGovern, Campbell Stephen. Fenner Brockway and A. Bose (Secretary of the Committee of Indian Congressmen) has been sent to Mr. Gandhi: "Friendly greetings, Demanding your unconditional release and independence for India."

NEW YORK.—Messages urging the release of Mr. Gandhi have been sent by the President of the India League in the United States, Mr. J. J. Singh, to the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, the Viceroy. Leal Linlithgow, and the British Ambassador in Washington, Lord Halifax. The message state that the League is profoundly disturbed by the possibility Of Mr. Gandhi's death.

#### **New approach urged**

LONDON, FEBRUARY 18.—Lord Strabolgi, addressing a meeting in London called by the India League said tonight that he dreaded the results on our future relations with Hindus if Mr. Gandhi's fast had fatal results.

The Government here and in India should make a new approach without delay to seek a settlement.

The meeting carried a resolution expressing profound concern at the grave crisis in India. The resolution deplored Government's policy and called upon the Government to release Mr. Gandhi immediately and unconditionally before it was too late and to open negotiations with Indian leaders with the object of ending the deadlock as desired by an overwhelming majority of the Indian people.

### **"C. R." Meets Mr. W. Phillips**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 19.—Mr. C. Rajagopalachari met Mr William Phillips. President Roosevelt's personal representative, this morning.

Five girl students were received by Mr. Phillips and are believed to have urged upon him to use his good offices to save Mr. Gandhi's life by securing his unconditional release.—Associated Press.

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*Bombay Chronicle,*  
20th February 1943

### **Leaders' Conference first move.**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 19.—About 200 leaders Hindu, Muslim, Parsi and British, from all parts of the country met to-day to give expression, as Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in his address of welcome said, 'to the feeling in this country that Mahatma Gandhi should be enabled to end his fast ".

Mr. Rajagopalachari's opening address was amplified by loudspeakers and was listened to by 300 people including boy and girl students, who stood outside the tent in which the meeting was held.

After the speech, the meeting set up a committee to draft a resolution to be placed before the conference to-morrow over which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is expected to preside. The members of the committee included Mr. Rajagopalachari, Pandit Kunzru, Mufti Kifaitullah, Khwaji Hassan Nizami, Sheikh Mohamed Zahiruddin, Dr. Moonje, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Sir Maharaj Singh, Sir A. H. Ghaznavi, and Mr. Allabux.

"This gathering", said Mr. Rajagopalachari, "is a source of great consolation, if not strength, on the present grave occasion".

In view of the reports received about Mahatma Gandhi's health, the Committee resolved to send the draft resolution to the Viceroy for immediate action. The resolution will be placed before the conference tomorrow morning and speakers on it will include Dr. Jayakar, Sir Maharaj Singh, Sir A. H. Ghaznavi, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Master Tara Singh and Mr. N. M. Joshi.

The committee has appealed to the people of all creeds and communities to offer special prayers on Sunday, February 21, for Mahatma's life—Associated Press.

Mr. Rajagopalachari added: "Every heart would be gladdened if by any means Mahatmaji could be released and his fast could terminate. I don't think there can be any difference of opinion on that point though there may be difference of opinion as to the policies and programmes from time to time pursued by Mahatmaji or other people".

Putting himself the question what have we met for, Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "We have met as far as I understand in the spirit of the scripture to which Mahatmaji is attached that we should do whatever we can do, not minding the results or caring for the fruition of our labours." He added they had gathered there to give expression to the feeling in this country that Mahatma should be enabled to end his fast.

Referring to the correspondence Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "Mahatmaji had undertaken what he called a fast to capacity. He had judged his capacity. He went in some matters by the minimum and in other matters by the maximum. He had judged his capacity and taken the pledge to undergo a fast for 71 days. A 21 days' fast was a terribly over estimated limit he had placed over himself, but having placed it he was not in position to revise it. Government apprehend that releasing him would creat difficulties, but Mr. Rajagopalachari declared on behalf of the conveners that the moment he was released the work of Government would be leased and would not be made difficult.

After dealing at length with the legal and other aspect of the documents published, Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "We ask that he should have the opportunity to review his position and give his advice".

Mr. Rajagopalachari in conclusion announced that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would arrive tomorrow morning to preside over the conference which would begin at 11-30 a.m.

Among those present at the conference were Seth Ramkishan Dalmia, M. Abdul Kayum. M.L.A. (Central), Master Tara Singh. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. Jamshed Mehta Mr. Shaukat Ullah Ansari, Mr. K. M. Ashraf, Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, Khwaja Hasan Nizami, Maulana Abdul Halees Saddiqui, Sir J. P. Shrivastava and Mr. K. Punniot.—Associated Press.

*Bombay Chronicle,*

20th February 1943.

MRS. NAIDU "KEEPING HOUSE"

*(Through A. P. and U. P.)*

POONA, FEBRUARY 19.—Due to general weakness, Mahatma Gandhi is not able to speak much. But he insisted on drinking water from the glass himself and declined assistance though his hands were shaking.

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi was told to-day of the resignations of the three members from the Executive Council and also about the Conference of Leaders taking place in Delhi to-day. His only reaction was a feeble smile.

Meanwhile, it is stated that inside the Aga Khan's Palace, time hangs heavily, with deepening anxiety of the inmates about Mahatma Gandhi's condition.

Further to the proposed restrictions on interviews, it is understood that no more persons will be permitted to stay in the Aga Khan's Palace with him.

Two of the inmates of the Palace are reported to be slightly ill, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is "keeping house" and does all the cooking herself, besides attending on Mahatma Gandhi.

Some members of the Palace, played devotional songs on stringed instruments.

The doctors continue to keep constant vigil by the side of the Mahatma.

At 2 p.m. the doctors drove to the Palace and held an exhaustive examination. It is understood they have advised visitors not to disturb Gandhiji by calling on him.

In view of the doctors' advice. Mr. Kamalnayan Bajaj, who arrived here this morning to see Gandhiji after receiving permission from the Government, is not seeing him.

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*Bombay Chronicle,*

22nd February 1943

#### FAMILY MEMBERS AT BED SIDE

POONA, FEBRUARY 21.—Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, who has been at the bed side all through, is standing the strain very well. Samaldas Gandhi, nephew of Mahatma Gandhi and other members of the Gandhi family, including some of his grand-children are in Poona to see him—Associated Press.

#### GOVERNMENT RUNS NO RISK, SAYS MOORE

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20.—The view that Government ran no risk if they released Mr. Gandhi now that his life was in danger, and that there was no loss of prestige, was expressed by Mr. Arthur Moore in a statement. He said: "For a long period. I have observed Mr. Gandhi's fast, and have seen that the only person who undergoes any change of heart or otherwise benefits by them is Mahatmaji himself. Nineteen years ago I attended the Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference during Mr. Gandhi's 21 day fast, and where is unity today? The fasts fail because they are coercive, but during the fasts Mr. Gandhi generally comes to see that, and afterwards he blames himself and always drops the pistol for a time sometimes a long time".

The Government run no risk if they release him after 10 days' fast now that his life is in danger, and of course there is no loss of prestige. The precedents are for it. Lord Willingdon's Government released him unconditionally, immediately when he tasted.—Associated Press.

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*Times of India,*  
22nd February 1943.

### **Viceroy's Council Resignations**

#### **LITTLE INTEREST IN BRITAIN**

*(From our Special correspondent)*

LONDON, FEBRUARY 20.—The attention of the British people focussed on North Africa and on the continued victorious advance of the Russians leaves little for news of the resignations from the Viceroy's Executive Council. They were very briefly recorded in newspapers, but so far apparently no comment is offered.

Among those who know India there is regret that the three members should at this critical juncture find themselves unable to stand firm in the face of Mr. Gandhi's threat. But the force of pressure which his sitting dharna exerted upon the two Hindus is understood and their resignations, therefore, have not caused great surprise. That Sir H. P. Mody followed in their wake I have heard ascribed to the pressure which the Congress party members in the Indian Legislative Assembly can exert on one in various ways.

Among the general public the resignations may probably increase the tendency which has been noticeable throughout the recent troubles which the Congress party, namely, to restrain criticism of the Viceroy and others courageously shouldering responsibilities during these difficult times and to consolidate support for them in whatever action they may find necessary to assure tranquillity of India and to enable her people to make the maximum effort for the military defence of their motherland against the barbarous invader.

#### **Anglo—U. S. discussion in Indian situation**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 21.—The first official indication given out here that the situation in India is under discussion between the Governments of America and Great Britain is contained in a brief three-line statement issued this afternoon from the American Ambassador's House in reply to inquiries from American correspondent.

Mr. Phillips in that statement said: "Phases of the situation in India requiring discussion are being handled by the high officials of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain".

The statement was handed out to Press correspondents without further comment, but it is assumed that the "situation" mentioned in it has definite reference to that created by Mr. Gandhi's fast.

### **"C. R." and Mr. Munshi See U. S. Envoy**

*(From our Special correspondent)*

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 19.—Mr. W. Phillips. U. S. envoy, had a talk today with Mr. Rajagopalachari. The interview took place at Bahawaipur House and lasted an hour. This was followed by an interview with Mr. K. M. Munshi. Both the leaders apprised Mr. Phillips of their views on the political situation in the country with particular reference to Mr. Gandhi's fast.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 20.—The Secretary of State. Mr. Cordell Hull, expressed American concern regarding the situation in India during a conference today with the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax.

Mr. Cordell Hull and Lord Halifax reviewed the situation in India which is considered critical in Washington owing to Mr. Gandhi's fast. Details of the conference were not disclosed, but it is understood that it took place because of the United States' concern over the turn of events in India, although Washington has no intention of intervening.

According to authoritative sources in Washington, the American attitude has not changed since the State Department announced on December 8 last that the sole purpose of the United States' forces in India was the prosecution of the war against the Axis.

NEW YORK.—The authoress Miss Pearl Buck, Mr. Robert Bendiner, Managing Editor of the Nation and 15 others today have telegraphed President Roosevelt saying that Mr. Gandhi's death "appeared inevitable unless immediate action was taken". Writing as American citizens "devoted to international understanding", they urged the President to ask for Mr. Gandhi's release.

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*Times of India*

22nd February 1943

### **Leaders' Conference cable to Premier and party leaders.**

#### **APPEAL FOR MR. GANDHI'S RELEASE**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 21.—The Standing Committee of the Leaders' Conference held a four hours discussion today, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presiding, on the Viceroy's reply, and, it is learned, unanimously approved a cable to be sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill.

Copies of the cable are being sent to Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Leader of the Opposition, and Sir Percy Harris, leader of the Liberal Party, in the House of Commons. Copies are also being sent to the Viceroy and Mr. Phillips.

It is understood that the cable follows the lines of the resolution passed by the conference yesterday and also contains a gift of some of the speeches made on it.

It also explains that the conference is left with no alternative but to appeal to the highest tribunal of the Empire, namely Parliament, and Britain's National Leaders.

The meeting authorised the President to carry on further correspondence with the Viceroy and convene a meeting of the committee if and when necessary—Associated Press.

#### MR. GANDHI'S HEALTH

#### **"May be too late to save life if fast is not ended "**

"Mr. Gandhi had a bad day yesterday and only four and a half hours' sleep at night. During the day he is apathetic and at times drowsy. Heart sounds are weak and the volume of the pulse small. He is extremely weak so that even the swallowing of water exhausts him. He drank 40 ounces of water mixed with two ounces of sour lime juice as usual. He is too weak to be weighed but had lost 14 pounds up to February 19", states a communique issued by the Government of Bombay reporting on Mr. Gandhi's condition up to Sunday afternoon.

" The uraemic condition deepens, and, if the fast is not ended without delay, it may be too late to save his life—signed by Dr. M. D. D. Gilder; Major-General R. H. Candy, Surgeon-General to the Government of Bombay; Dr. B. C. Roy; Lt.—Col. M. G. Bhandari; Dr Sushila Nayar and Lt.-Col B. Z. Shah". The communique adds.

#### **Mr. Gandhi shifted to airy chamber**

*(From our Staff correspondent.)*

POONA, FEBRUARY 21.—From the room in the Aga Khan's Palace, where he has fasted for the last 12 days Mr. Gandhi was today shifted to another airy chamber where he is less likely to be disturbed by the noise and shuffle of footsteps of those moving about on the marble floor corridors running through the suite of rooms in the Palace. The new room lies at the farthest end of the long corridor. Mr. Kanu Gandhi, Mr. Gandhi's grand nephew and Mr. Narayan Desai are his constant companions.

Owing to his very weak condition, Mr. Gandhi was served water today through a glass tube. A strict injunction from Dr. Gilder to interviewers today appeared to have been "Please do all the talking to yourselves but do not allow the Mahatma to speak. Every atom of his energy must be conserved".

Among the interviewers were Mr. Samaldas Gandhi, Mr. Gandhi's nephew, Mr. R. D. Birla, Anayasuyaben Sarabhai, Mr. B. F. Bharucha, Madam Sophia Wadia and Mr. Shankerlal Banker, Mr. Devadas Gandhi and Mr. Ramdas Gandhi called at the Aga Khan Palace several times during the day to be at the bedside of Mr. Gandhi.



It is understood, states the Associated Press that in spite of the precautions taken, Mr. Gandhi did speak to some of the interviewers and Dr. Gilder intervened saying "Bapu, you are breaking the 'contract'". The contract being that Mr. Gandhi would not speak.

It is understood that for long spells, Mr. Gandhi was observed to be in meditation. The one name he now and then whispers it is learnt is that of Mr. Mahadev Desai, his late secretary. Mrs. Mahadev Desai and her son are by his side most of the time and he is much comforted.

During all the 12 Jays since he started his fast, Mr. Gandhi's first inquiry in the morning had invariably been whether fresh flowers had been placed at the spot where Mr. Mahadev Desai was cremated, a task which he had been regularly performing.

Mr. Gandhi's fellow-detenus are spending most of the time in prayers.

A large number of telegrams to Mr. Gandhi, the contents of which are not known, are pouring into the Aga Khan Palace at all hours.

About 20 persons, including some women, were arrested on Saturday for attempting to take out a procession towards the Aga Khan's palace.

In his big high-walled room, Mr. Gandhi lies in his bed with ten days' growth of beard, says our correspondent. He is believed to have been confined to his room for the greater part of Saturday. He was not brought on to the verandah as usual probably owing to fear of exposure to chill.

Mrs. Gandhi is said to be bearing her husband's ordeal calmly and bravely. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu appears to be cheerful and is said to have remarked to a visitor, "Do I look slimmer since I was brought here"?

LONDON.—The New Chronicle says: " Here is a truly tragic situation; tragic because it epitomises the as yet unsolved problem of India's future; tragic because should Gandhi's physique prove unequal to his self-imposed ordeal, the consequences might well wreck all hope of a settlement ".

*Bombay Chronicle.*

22nd February 1943.

#### "SAVE GANDHIJI TO SAVE THE EMPIRE "

Mr. K. F. Nariman, M.L.A. in the course of a statement to the Press says:—

Viewed strictly from the bureaucratic and even Government point of view, Maxvehian steelframed maxims, " No surrender to political black-mail ", " No yielding at the point of bayonet " may appear, to superficial observer, as plausible and justifiable. They may argue that such a surrender may be construed as weakness and may also serve as dangerous precedents to others; but present tragic occasion demands more of redeeming wisdom.

Exhibition of strength, determination and courage is not enough to run a huge Government machinery; solution of complex problems in large administrations, also demands tact, political wisdom and statesmanship;

viewed from the other aspect, humanity and expediency both demand immediate and unconditional release of Gandhiji.

How often have the Government released, even criminals and violent politicals, purely on humanitarian grounds, on the strength of medical opinions; in his present state of health, at least for some time, Gandhiji would not be in a position, even if he was inclined, to indulge in any political activities; his release would only mean, transfer of his custody and control from Home Department to Medical Board and medical attendants, in the interest of his health, will undoubtedly continue the same restrictions that are imposed on him to-day; if after he is restored to normal state, from Government point of view, his activities are objectionable, the suspended detention can immediately be re-imposed, with better justification and without any blame or responsibility.

The present rulers do not seem to realise and appraise the full political value, even from an imperial stand point, of the life of Mahatma; today he is described as a rebel, not deserving even of the normal rights and protection of ordinary citizens. Time was, not many years ago, when the same Government have extolled him as the most powerful and beneficial pacific influence in the country a factor more responsible and effective than all the police and military force and all the penal laws and jails; whilst the repressive measures only drove the terrorists to more dangerous underground channels, the psychological penetration of Gandhian creed, transformed them into different types of citizens; thousands of rash and impatient youths have been magically transformed by his devotional persistent and almost fanatic propaganda and campaign for his pet creed and faith of "Non-violence".

These violent revolutionaries consider him as a great obstacle in their way, and none would be more glad than they to see this obstacle removed.

But does Government desire, particularly at this most critical juncture in the history of the Empire that this great moral pacific policing factor, this silent penetrating influence for, and Apostle of Non-violence, should be removed, just at a time, when, not only this country, but the world at large, is in greatest need of this New Prophet of Love and Non-Violence.

A few days more and it may be too late. Let Gandhiji live not only for the benefit of this land and its teeming millions but equally for the stability of the Empire. Save India: Save Empire

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*Bombay Chronicle.*

22nd February 1943.

**As Christians we hold Goodwill will thrive if Gandhiji is alive.**

MECKENZIE URGES RELEASE OF MAHATMA

Following are some of the speeches at Leaders' Conference in Delhi on Saturday: —

Sir Maharaj Singh (Indian Christian) whole-heartedly associated himself and his community with the resolution. He said: "I am not a believer in the ethics of fasting, but I urge that so far as it is humanly possible the valuable life of Mr. Gandhi should be saved".

Sir Maharaj Singh referred to the Linlithgow-Gandhi Correspondence and particularly to Mr. Gandhi's declaration that he has unequivocally and publicly condemned violence on the part of Congressmen in the past, but that was when he was a free man. Sir Maharaj Singh was confident that given his freedom Mr. Gandhi would have adopted a similar attitude towards the August disturbances. Sir Maharaj Singh was equally confident that the death of Mr. Gandhi under detention would leave a trail of racial bitterness which, it would be difficult to remove.

Sir Haji Suleman Kassem Mitha, a member of the Council of State from Bombay, supported the resolution and referred to the fact that the Mahatma was revered by millions in India.

Master Tarasingh (Sikh Leader) associated himself and his community with the resolution.

#### X'IAN'S VIEW

Dr. Meckenzie, Principal Wilson College, (Bombay) said: "We members of British Missionary Societies are in very close touch with the people of India. We take no part in politics, we are outside the sphere of political controversies. I, therefore, make no charge against anyone. Our interest in the conference is to preserve Mr. Gandhi's life and the restoration of goodwill in the country.

"As Christians, we hold that goodwill will be restored if Mr. Gandhi were alive.

We are also concerned that this conference should not end here by merely passing a resolution, demanding the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi. We cherish the hope that the conference will be the beginning of a new spirit in India, the beginning of a new movement to bring all parties and interests together in order to help India to reach that high position which we all so much desire ".

#### MECKENZIE'S SUGGESTIONS

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru here, read a letter from Dr. Meckenzie in which he urged that everything should be done to save Mr. Gandhi's life Simultaneously an appeal should be made to Mr. Gandhi to abandon his fast. The letter also urged the conference to condemn acts of violence done in the name of Congress and in violation of Mr. Gandhi's principles. Lastly Dr. Meckenzie suggested the convening of another conference to which people should come with open minds not committed to any principles and policies but with the sole intention of reaching an agreement on India's problems.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said that he fully shared the view expressed by Dr. Meckenzie. He claimed that the conference should take the logical step of making an approach for a settlement.

Sir Tej Bahadur also expressed himself opposed to waiting in a deputation on the Viceroy.

They could only appeal to the Government by forwarding their resolution.

Srimati Sarla Devi Chawdharani supported the resolution.

Mr. Allah Bux (ex-Premier of Sind) supported the resolution on the ground of justice and fairplay.

Mr. N. M. Joshi supported the resolution in the name of the Trade Union Congress.

Mr. Joshi protested against the use of the word " political black-mail" Maulana Anmed Said, Secretary Jamait-ul-Ulema Hind and Mr. Zahiruddin, President, Momin Conference further supported the resolution.

Mr. Abdul Qayum from the Frontier supporting the resolution asserted that he was voicing the feeling of Pathans of the Frontier Province, particularly Khudai Khidmatgars.

Mr. Humayun Kabir (Calcutta) supported the resolution and said that the Bengal Assembly had backed the demand by passing a resolution almost unanimously.

Mr. G. L. Mehta, (President), Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce supported the resolution. Referring to Mr. Churchill's remarks that the commercial community was behind the Congress, Mr. Mehta said that they were proud to be a part of the national movement. Their interest, he said, was on the side of Law and Order. They were convinced that Gandhiji was a force working for social justice and social harmony. This was why there were some of the biggest commercial magnates present at the Conference to-day.

Mr. Randive (Communist), supporting the resolution said that the release of Gandhiji would release forces for unity for national demand.

#### BIGGEST NATIONAL ASSET

Pt. H. N. Kunzru said surely the people who had gathered at the Conference made the demand because they believed that Gandhiji was the biggest national asset the like of whom was seen once in centuries. To save his life was to serve the interest of international goodwill.—Associated Press.

#### **Leaders' Conference Committee telegraphs to Churchill**

New Delhi, February 21.

The Standing Committee of the Leaders' Conference held a four hour discussion today, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presiding, on the Viceroy's reply and it is learned that a unanimously approved cable is to be sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill copies of which are being sent to Mr. Arthur Greenwood. Leader of the opposition, and Sir Percy Harris, Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons. Copies are also being sent to the Viceroy and Mr. Phillips.

It is understood has the cable follows the lines of the resolution passed by the Conference yesterday and also contains a gist of some of the speeches made on it.

The meeting authorised the President to carry on further correspondence with the Viceroy and convene a meeting of the Committee if and when necessary—Associated Press.

#### COMMUNISTS DEMAND RELEASE OF GANDHIJI

Bombay, Sunday.

A resolution demanding the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi was passed at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Committee of the Communist Party of India, at the Napoo Gardens, Matunga on Sunday morning.

The meeting was presided over by Mr. A. S. R. Chari and was addressed by Sardar Sohan Singh Josh, M.L.A. (Punjab), Mr. Bhogilal Gandhi, Mr. Somanath Lahiri (Bengal) and Mr. Surendra Mohan Kumaramangalam (Madras).

#### WHY GANDHIJI FASTED

The speakers emphasized that the Gandhiji-Viceroy correspondence had finally proved that the Congress is resolved to fight not only Japan but every form of Fascism. Secondly it had shown that the Congress did not want power for itself but for all-Indians of the communities. Thirdly, it had shown that the Congress did not in any way countenance nor was it responsible for violence and sabotage.

#### WANTED UNITED DEMAND

The speakers appealed to the people to make a united demand so that Gandhiji may be released, unity achieved, a national Government established and all India might line up with the progressive peoples of the world to destroy Fascism.

The following is the text of the resolution which was unanimously adopted at the meeting:—

This meeting of the citizens of Matunga, Bombay, deeply concerned at the state of Mahatma Gandhi's health demand his immediate and unconditional release.

"This meeting is convinced that this alone can pave the way to a proper settlement, to the reopening of negotiations with the Congress and the League, so that a National Government of Defence and National Freedom may be formed capable of solving the urgent and vital problems of food and defence that face the Indian people today".

*Times of India.*

22nd February 1943.

**"DECISION TO END FAST RESTS WITH MR. GANDHI"**

**VICEROY'S REPLY TO LEADERS' CONFERENCE**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20.—" RESPONSIBILITY in connection with the fast rests solely with Mr. Gandhi, with whom, and not with Government, the decision to bring it to an end must rest", states the Viceroy's reply to the resolution passed by the Leaders' Conference at New Delhi, urging Mr. Gandhi's immediate release.

The reply, which has been sent to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru by the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, states:

"His Excellency asks me to say that he has received and considered the resolution adopted by the conference under your chairmanship, of which you were good enough to send him a copy today. The attitude of the Government of India in the matter of Mr. Gandhi's fast is set out clearly and in detail in the communique which they issued on February 10, a copy of which I enclose for convenience of reference. No new factor has emerged since that date and as the Government of India's communique brings out clearly, responsibility in connection with his fast rests solely with Mr. Gandhi, with whom and not with Government, the decision to bring it to an end must rest".

The Viceroy's reply has caused disappointment and gloom among the leaders gathered here. A meeting of the committee of the Conference has been called for 2-30 tomorrow afternoon at 28 Ferozshah Road to consider the reply.—Associated Press.

**LEADERS URGE RELEASE AS STEP TO RECONCILIATION**

**From our Special Correspondent**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20.—The Leaders' Conference which concluded today was quite a representative gathering and the 20 speakers who expressed their point of view did so in a dignified and forceful manner. The main speeches were three—those by the chief convener, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, by the chairman, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and by Dr. M. R. Jayakar, the mover of the only resolution adopted by the conference demanding the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi. There was a suggestion to take out a deputation to the Viceroy, but Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru advised the conference that it was enough if the resolution was sent to the Viceroy.

The speaker at today's meeting were chosen from various communities and groups and while some like Dr. Jayakar and Mr. Allah Baksh recommended Mr. Gandhi's release on grounds of fairness and justice, others supported it on humanitarian grounds, but all agreed that his release would be the first step towards reconciliation.

In this connection, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru made a significant remark stating: "This meeting may be the beginning of a new conference. I am assuming that Mahatma Gandhi is saved and feel that this conference will be incomplete if it does not go to its logical consequence and bring about a reconciliation between all sections of the people ". What is even more significant is the statement made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that some of the leaders would be seeing Mr. Gandhi within the next three days and would plead with him to break his fast. Thus the conference leaders realise that pressure must be exercised both on Government and on Mr. Gandhi and that some way should be found for saving his life and for using the opportunity for bringing about a wider settlement.

An "Associated Press" message states: The Leaders' Conference today passed with acclamation the resolution moved by Dr. M. R. Jayakar, giving expression to the desire that in the interest of the future of India and of international goodwill, Mr. Gandhi should be released immediately and unconditionally.

The resolution was supported, among others, by Master Tara Singh. Sir Maharaj Singh, the Rev. J. Meckenzie, Sarala Devi Chuudhurani, Mr. Allah Baksh. Mr. Mohamed Saleed (Secretary, Jamait-ul-Ulema) Mr. Abdul Qayum (from the Frontier), Mr. Zahiruddin (President Momin Conference) Pandit Kunzru and Mr. Ranadive, the Communist worker.

The proceedings terminated after the resolution had been passed, but it was announced that the conference was not dissolved but would be kept in being. This was presumably in expectation of a reply from the Viceroy to the resolution.

A letter was read at the conference in which the Private Secretary to the Viceroy acknowledged the receipt of the draft resolution sent to the Viceroy on Friday and expressed appreciation of the courtesy shown in sending the resolution in advance. The letter also expressed the hope that the conference would communicate with him when the resolution was passed.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who arrived here this morning, had an interview with Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's personal representative in India, before coming to the Leaders' Conference.

The second day's proceedings of the conference began with two minutes' silent prayer, in which all present joined.

#### STEP TO RECONCILIATION

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, addressing the gathering amid frequent cheers. said: " I am overwhelmed by the gravity of the occasion, and I feel sure that all of you are equally overwhelmed by it. I think I can say I have joined you all on this occasion in demanding the unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi with a clear conscience (Cheers). No one knows better than Mahatmaji himself that by conviction I have always opposed civil disobedience. I have no hesitation in saying that I very

much regretted the resolution passed at Bombay and no one has followed the course of events since then with greater regret than I. I have not hesitated to express my candid, frank and unambiguous opinion that it was to me a matter of the deepest regret that acts of sabotage should have taken place in this country ".

Sir Tej Bahadur had no doubt that while those gathered in the conference dissociated themselves from acts of rebels and while they made appeals to Mr Gandhi and his friends to do everything they could to restore an atmosphere of calm and peace, they also expected that if Mr. Gandhi was released unconditionally that would be the first preliminary step towards reconciliation, which was the immediate need of the country. (Cheers)

"Mr. Gandhi has been called a rebel, but," said Sir Tej Bahadur, "there was a rebel called Smuts who is rendering the greatest possible service to the Empire. There was another rebel called de Valera, whom the British Government wanted to remain in the Empire. "I believe", Sir Tej Bahadur declared, "that one lesson which is reinforced by British history is that the British Government has always settled with rebels rather than with loyalists. (More cheers and laughter). I am not down hearted when Mahatma Gandhi is put down by the Home Member as a rebel. I still live in the hope there will be a settlement with these rebels and when it takes place men like you and me will be ignored." (Laughter).

Taking the audience back to the time of the Irish Treaty, Sir Tej Bahadur referred to the opinion recorded by Mr. Churchill suggesting that Mr. Lloyd George had erred in applying "tremendous onslaughts" without making 'the fairest offer'. The time had come when the British Government, remembering their history and traditions and remembering also the change in the situation and the irrepressible urge for freedom in this country, should win over the rebels, " Those assembled here are actuated by only one motive and purpose, and that is that we must see to it that Mahatma Gandhi's life is saved ".

#### GRAVE CONSEQUENCES

"Here is a man whose appeal to the imagination of the country is beyond doubt, who is going to end his life. It is open to you to criticise it, but you cannot alter the fact. And if it should materialise and if, unfortunately, he should die within the next 24 or 48 hours, the task of reconciliation between the British nation and Hindus, I should like to say, Indian nation, would become extremely difficult (Cheers). The task of reconciliation not only between Hindus and Muslims but between the different sections of the country will become next to impossible. " The speaker said that the only interpretation he could place on the correspondence between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi was that so far as Mr. Gandhi was concerned, his adherence to the doctrine of non-violence was, as great as it ever was." (Renewed cheers).



It was plain after the failure of the Cripps mission and the Allahabad meeting of the A. I. C. C. that the situation was deteriorating. If the Congress and Mr. Gandhi were to be held responsible for the situation, no less were Government responsible. Sir Tej Bahadur continued: "I do not wish to deviate from the main issue and that is that we shall do the best we can. In the circumstances, to save his life in the hope and belief in my case it is more than a belief—that if he is released the task of reconciliation will be taken in hand by him.

" We make on this occasion an appeal to the civilised conscience of Great Britain and the United Nations and we do say that if it is intended that this country shall settle down to constructive work, then it is absolutely necessary that Mr. Gandhi should be released.

"Personally, I am not in a very hopeful frame of mind, because if Sir Maharaj Singh, the Rev. J. Meckenzie, Sarala Devi Chaudhurani, Mr. resignation of the three members. But whatever may be the situation, we have our duty. We have to show that we are anxious for reconciliation for settling down for constructive work and we are insistent that Mahatma Gandhi should be released at once. "(Prolonged cheers).

Dr. M. R. Jayakar, moving the resolution, said his plea was that Mr. Gandhi's release was essentially necessary in the interests of fairness and justice. That fact Dr. Jayakar declared, was in Mr. Gandhi's conception the last resource of expressing protest against frustration. Six months had passed since Mr. Gandhi and Congressmen had been arrested. Dr. Jayakar asked what Government had done during that period to explain and justify their accusations against the Congress except repeating those charges.

Dr. S. P. Mookerji, wholeheartedly associating himself with the resolution, felt that the demand for the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi should be made from a non-controversial plank so that his life might be spared. "Let Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. Jayakar come out with us to lead public opinion in the country."

Sir Maharaj Singh (Indian Christian) wholeheartedly associated himself and his community with the resolution. He said he was not a believer in the ethics of fasting, but he urged that so far as it was humanly possible. Mr. Gandhi's life should be saved. Sir Maharaj Singh referred to the correspondence between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, and particularly to Mr. Gandhi's declaration that he had unequivocally and publicly condemned violence on the part of Congressmen in the past, but that was when he was a free man, Sir Maharaj Singh was confident that, given his freedom Mr. Gandhi would have adopted a similar attitude towards the August disturbances. Sir Maharaj Singh was equally confident that the death of Mr. Gandhi under detention would leave a trail of racial bitterness which it would be difficult to remove.

Sir Suleiman Cassum Mitta a member of the Council of State from Bombay, supporting the resolution, referred to the fact that Mr. Gandhi was revered by millions in India.

Master Tara Singh (Sikh leader) associated himself and his community with the resolution. He assured the conference that he was with them on any step they intended to take to implement their demand.

#### MISSIONARIES' ATTITUDE

Dr. J. Meckenzie (Principal of Wilson College, Bombay) said, "We, members of British missionary societies, are in very close touch with the people of India. We take no part in politics. We are outside the sphere of political controversies. I, therefore, make no charge against anyone. Our interest in the conference is to preserve Mr. Gandhi's life and the restoration of goodwill in the country. As Christians, we hold that goodwill will be restored if Mr. Gandhi were alive. "

"We are also concerned" Dr. Meckenzie added "That this conference should not end here by merely passing a resolution demanding the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi. We cherish the hope that the conference will be the beginning of a new spirit in India, the beginning of a new movement to bring all parties and interests together in order to help India to reach that high position which we all so much desire."

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, supporting the resolution, stated that there were people who disagreed with Mr. Gandhi in practical politics, but not one soul in India wanted him to die. If after the release, the Government found that Mr. Gandhi pursued his activities they could again take him into detention.

Srimati Sarla Devi Chaudhurani supported the resolution.

Mr. Allah Baksh, former Premier of Sind, supported the resolution on the ground of justice and fairplay.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, supporting the resolution in the name of the Trade Union Congress, asserted that no single man had done so much for the poorer classes of this country as Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Joshi protested against the use of the word political blackmail.

Maulana Ahmed Saied, Secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind, and Mr. Zahiruddin, President of the Momin Conference, also supported the resolution.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, from the Frontier, asserted that he was voicing the feeling of Pathans of the Frontier Province, particularly Khudai Khitmatgars, in supporting the resolution. He wanted the conference to devise methods to achieve their object.

Mr. Humayun Kabir (Calcutta) declared that the Bengal Assembly had backed the demand by passing a resolution almost unanimously.

Mr. G. L. Mehta (President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce) supported the resolution. Referring to Mr. Churchill's remarks that the commercial community was behind the Congress, Mr. Mehta said that they were proud to be a part of the national movement. Their interest was on the side of law and order. They were convinced that

Mr. Gandhi was a force working for social justice and social harmony. That was why there were some of the biggest commercial magnates present at the conference today.

Mr. Randive (Communist), supporting the resolution, said that Mr. Gandhi's release would release forces for unity for the national demand.

Pandit H. N. Kunzru said surely the people who were gathered at the conference and were demanding the release of Mr. Gandhi were not supporters of violence. They made the demand because they believed that Mr. Gandhi was the biggest national asset, the like of whom was seen once in centuries. To save his life was to serve the interest of international goodwill. His death under detention would leave a trail of bitterness for years to come. He claimed that in the interests of elementary justice Mr. Gandhi must be released at once.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru put the resolution to the vote of the conference, which unanimously adopted it. It was agreed that the resolution, together with the names of the supporters, would be sent to the Viceroy at once. Mr. K. M. Munshi proposed and Sardar Sant Singh seconded a vote of thanks to the Chair, which was carried. The conference adjourned.

Among those present at the conference today were. -Mr. M. S. Aney, Sir Ardeshir Dalal. Mr. J. R. D. Tata, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Sir Jagdish Prasad, Mr. Arthur Moore, Mr. G. D. Birla, Sir Shri Ram. Mr. Walchand Hirachand, Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Raja Maheshwar Dyel, Mr. Srinivasan, the Maharajkumar of Vizianagram, Mr. K. S. Roy, Dr. P. N. Bannerjee, Sardar Sant Singh, Khwaja Hassan Nizami, Dr. Shaukat Ansari, Seth R. K. Dalmia, Mr. K. C. Neogy. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. Shamdas P. Gidwanl, and Gyani Kartar Singh.

The following is the full text of the resolution passed at the Leaders' Conference.—" This conference representing different creeds, communities and interests in India gives expression to the universal desire of the people of this country that, in the interest of the future of India and of international goodwill. Mahatma Gandhi should be released immediately and unconditionally. This conference views with the gravest concern the serious situation that will arise if the Government fails to take timely action and prevent a catastrophe. This conference. therefore, urges the Government to release Mahatma Gandhi forthwith". The resolution has been cabled to Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery and a copy handed to Mr. Phillips in Delhi.

It is understood that Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce has also sent a cable to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State supporting the resolution.

#### "C. R. "ON FAST

Presiding over the conference yesterday Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "Every heart would be gladdened if by any means Mahatmaji could be released and his fast could terminate. I don't think there can be any

difference of opinion on the point though there may be difference of opinion as to the policies and programmes from time to time pursued by Mahatmaji or other people.

"We have met as far as I understand in the spirit of the scripture to which Mahatmaji is attached that we should do whatever we can do not minding the results or earing for the fruition of our labours ". Mr. Rajagopalachari added they had gathered there to give expression to the feeling in the country that Mr. Gandhi should be enabled to end his fast.

Referring to the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy, Mr. Rajagopalachari said Mr. Gandhi had undertaken what he called a fast to capacity. He had judged his capacity. He went in some matters by the minimum and in other matters by the maximum. He had judged his capacity and taken the pledge to undergo a fast for 21 days. A 21 days' fast was a terribly overestimated limit he had placed over himself, but having placed it he was not in a position to revise it. Government apprehend that releasing him would create difficulties, but Mr. Rajagopalachari declared on behalf of the conveners that the moment he was released the work of Government would be eased and would not be made difficult.

After dealing at length with the legal and other aspect of the documents published, Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "We ask that he should have the opportunity to review his position and give his advice to the country ".

Over 17,000 signatures have been obtained in Delhi, to a manifesto urging the release of Mr. Gandhi, said a statement distributed at the Leaders' Conference.

#### SENSE OF DUTY

"It was much easier for me to resign than to accept the Viceroy's offer of a seat on his Executive Council", said Mr. M. S. Aney replying to a farewell address presented by the Maharashtrians of Delhi. Resignation, he added, was any because it was appreciated by so many. He, however, did not resign because people liked it, any more than he declined the Viceroy's invitation though people would have liked him to decline it. On both occasions, he was moved by a sense of duty and by his own judgment. As a follower of the late Ranade the likes or dislikes of others were not the test by which he guided his conduct. The only test was whether a particular course of conduct was in the service of the people at large. Judged by this test he was convinced that his acceptance of the Viceroy's invitation and his subsequent resignation were alike right steps. Mr. Aney made a feeling reference to Mr. Gandhi's health and urged that everything must be done to save his life.—Associated Press.

CALCUTTA.—A special motion moved on behalf of the Progressive Coalition Party requesting the Government of Bengal to move the Government of India for the "immediate and unconditional" release of Mr. Gandhi in view of his age and the present state of his health, was

adopted by the Bengal Legislative Council on Friday. The members of the Muslim League Party remained neutral, while the European Group opposed the motion.

Messrs. Ramananda Chatterjee, Atul Gupta, Amiya Chakravarty, Roy, Syed Ayyub. Ghulam Kuddus, Subhas Mukherji, Hiran Kumar Sanyal, Shyamal Ghosh, Ajit Charkravarty and Bima Mukherji have issued the following statement: " Writers, editors and artists of Bengal, representing different sections of the cultural public, gathered together have passed a resolution expressing their profound concern at the present condition of Mahatma Gandhi, and urged his immediate unconditional release ". Prayers for the long life of Mr. Gandhi were offered on Sunday morning in temples and many other places of worship in the city. A large number of people also observed sympathetic fast for the day. Most Hindu shops in different parts of the city remained closed.

The Secretary, Society for the Renaissance of Asiatic Culture, Calcutta, has sent a telegram to H.E. the Viceroy urging the release of Mr. Gandhi. The Executive Committee of the Indian Association, Calcutta, has forwarded a similar resolution.

The members of the Jessore Badar Association and of the 24 Parganas District Bar Association have also adopted similar resolution.

#### NEW APPROACH URGED

LONDON, FEBRUARY 20.—A, statement by the India Conciliation Group, referring to Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy in which he said, " If you want me to make any proposals you should put me among the Congress Working Committee members" declares, " We would plead earnestly that the Governments in India and London should respond to this declaration by making such a meeting possible and at the same time should give every facility to representative persons who are endeavouring to promote an agreed policy ".

After explaining sympathetically the ideas behind Mr. Gandhi's fast and the Indian nationalist viewpoint in the present impasse, the New Statesman urges reopening of the discussion. The paper interprets one passage in Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy as giving statesmanship an opportunity for reconciliation with that vast body of Hindus to whom the spiritual and practical significance of his fast is quite intelligible and on whom its effects, whatever its immediate outcome, will be immense and incalculable.

WASHINGTON.—The President of the India League of America, Mr. J. J. Singh, has sent messages to President Roosevelt and General Chiang Kaishek on Friday stating that he was "profoundly disturbed by the possibility of Mr. Gandhi's death ". He urged them to intervene and prevent " this catastrophe and in the name of humanity make Mr. Gandhi's release possible".

*Times of India.*

22nd February 1943.

## APPEAL TO MR. GANDHI TO GIVE UP FAST

Mahasabha Leader's Suggestion.

A national appeal to Mr. Gandhi himself to break his fast is suggested by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, as "the only way now, which is likely to prove more effective than any other to save his life".

"We must face boldly the stark situation as it stares us in the face", says Mr. Savarkar. "We must now turn our faces from the alien, unsympathetic doors of viceregal Lodge to the bedside of Mahatma Gandhi himself and request him to break his fast in the very national interests, to serve which he must have undertaken it".

"We have tried our best up to this time to persuade the Government to release Mahatma Gandhi and spare his life. It is no use now hoping against hope that the last or its moral or human appeal would bring about any change of heart on the part of Government. Millions of us have disagreed with the Government and even resented this attitude on their part. But now the sands of time are running so fast that we cannot waste even a moment in resenting and protesting. No appeals, resignations or resolutions addressed to Government can secure Mahatma Gandhi's release".

## NO MORAL QUESTION

"There is no moral question that may stand in the way of breaking his fast before it proves fatal. Mahatma Gandhi when he declared the fast, stated that he was not going to risk his life but wished to survive the ordeal, and it was a capacity fast. He mentioned no doubt a set number of days, but that was only a haphazard calculation. Secondly, there is a higher objective which must override all other verbal hair-splitting, Mahatma Gandhi's life is not so much his own as it is a national asset. There are more chances of his yielding to this national will, than of Government yielding to our irritation or cajoling. We know that Mahatma Gandhi has more than once allowed a higher national objective to override any mere quibbling involved in vows taken by himself, as in the case of Rajkot and other penance he underwent when he found that his decisions were likely to lead to national disaster".

Concluding, Mr. Savarkar says: "I therefore implore all the gentlemen who have taken part in the Delhi Conference to issue an appeal, without the loss of a single minute, to Mahatma Gandhi himself to give up his fast. It should be signed by each one of them and representatives of hundreds of institutions all over the country which have already expressed their gravest anxiety to save disaster".

Dr. G. S. Arundale sent the following telegram, to Mr. Gandhi on Sunday: "Dr. Arundale and New India League earnestly appeal to you to abandon fast in the interests of the motherland".

Prof. Abdur Rahim, former member of the All-India Congress Committee and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, who, in 1932 fasted with Mr. Gandhi before the Poona Pact, has sent a message to Mr. Gandhi that "India calls upon you to break the unjustifiable, coercive fast, which is tantamount to sanction of sabotage. It is imperative to break the fast because it proves beyond capacity. Also the Mahasabha has repudiated it and Muslims disapprove of it".

MADRAS.—Mr. Gandhi's fast is condemned as coercion "intolerable to law and order", in a statement by Dr. George Arundale, Mr. N. Sri Ram, Mr. Rohit Mehta and Mr. J. L. Davidge, editors of Conscience published at Adyar, Madras. They say, however, that he should be released as a matter of expediency.

Diwan Bahadur R. Srinivasan, M.L.C., President of the Madras Provincial Scheduled Castes' Federation, in a statement says: " Government should do everything in their power to prevent Mr. Gandhi from the consequences to his health of this suicidal act and Hindu leaders should unite to persuade Mr. Gandhi to give up the fast and not allow him to succeed in his act of political strategy, which is so different from the vow of fasting practised by our people for religious self-purification".

The Bombay Provincial Muslim Students' Federation has addressed a telegram to Mr. Rajagopalachari, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. K. M. Munshi and Pandit Kunzru stating that since Mr. Gandhi's fast "is regarded by Muslims as another method of coercion for acceptance of Congress demand which militates against the Muslim goal of Pakistan", they should prevail upon Mr. Gandhi in the interests of independence to give up his fast. " It lies in the hands of Hindu leaders now to rise to the occasion and induce Mr. Gandhi", concludes the telegram.

#### APPEALS TO VICEROY

Telegrams urging the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi have been sent to the Viceroy by the Bombay Motor Merchants' Association, the Association of Indian Importers of Dye-stuffs, Bombay, the Sugar Candy Association of Bombay, the Bombay Secondary Teachers' Association, the Poona Students' Union, students of the Law College and Ferguson College, Poona, the Secretary of the All-India Mali Mahasabha (Poona), students of several colleges in Delhi, the ' South Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Hapur Chamber of Commerce, the Jalgaon Communist Party, the Butter Manufacturers' Association of Bombay, the Committee of the Hoshami Old Iron Merchants' Association, the Committee of the Millowners' Association, Bombay, several representative associations of Kolhapur, the president of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, Guntur, Mahila Samaji and Communist Party, president of the Indian Christian Association, U.P., Prof. Tan Yung-shan, Director of Viswa Bharati Cheena Bhavana, the Bombay Teachers' Association, Mr. V. I. Munuswami Pillai. ex-Minister of Madras, President of the Kayastha Institute, Lucknow, the National Council of Women in India, the Punjab Civil Liberties Union, the

Amritsar Cold and Silver Association, the Allahabad Harijan Sevak Sangh, the Kutchi Lohana Betada Mahajan, Bombay, the Bar Association of Jaipur and the Journalists Association of Allahabad, the Assam Muslim Sanghati and by the General Secretary, Labour Party of India, Calcutta.

Resolutions urging the release of Mr. Gandhi have been passed by the Executive Committee of the Karachi Journalists' Association, the U.P. Council of Women, the Parso Rajkiya Mandal of Karachi, the Delhi Jewellers' Association, the Delhi textile and other allied unions, a meeting of the staff and students of King George's Medical College, Lucknow, Bar Associations at Barisal, Burdwan and Hooghly, the Commissioners of the Bogra Municipality, and Calcutta tramway workers.

The Electric Supply Workers Union of Lucknow and Muslim labour leaders of Karachi have appealed to Mr. Jinnah to support the demand for the release of Mr. Gandhi.

#### TELEGRAMS TO PREMIER

Telegrams have been sent in to Mr. Churchill by the President of the Sangli Chamber of Commerce, Mr. K. Venkatappayya, Secretary of the Madras Congress Legislative Assembly Party, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

The view that Government run no risk if they release Mr. Gandhi now that his life is in danger and that there is no loss of prestige, is expressed by the Arthur Moore in a statement at New Delhi.

BENARES.—A meeting of the staff and the students of the Benares Hindu University was held in the Arts College hall on Sunday, at 10-30 a.m., to pray for Mr. Gandhi's health and long life. Mr. I. N. Gurtu, Pro-Vice-Chancellor presided and addressed the meeting. A resolution earnestly praying that Mr. Gandhi be granted the necessary health and strength to survive the fast undertaken by him and strongly urging his immediate and unconditional release was passed at the meeting.

MADRAS.—At an urgent meeting of the women of Madras held on Sunday, Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi presiding, it was unanimously resolved to send the following cable to the British Prime Minister: "Greatly perturbed Mahatma Gandhi's grave condition. His immediate release imperative for Indian and world situation. Apprehend serious consequences if delayed".

The president and Mrs. Radhabai Subbaroyan were authorised by the meeting to send the cable urgently.

AHMEDABAD.—Most of the mills, markets and shops remained closed on Sunday.

SURAT.—Most of the shops in the city remained closed on Sunday. Prayers were offered in several places for the long life of Mr. Gandhi.



Prayer meetings were held at various places in Bombay in the weekend for the health and long life of Mr. Gandhi.

For the long life of Mr. Gandhi, a *Rudrabhishek* ceremony was performed in Ramwadi, Shri Ram Mandir, Bombay, on Sunday morning.

A partial hartal was observed in Dacca as a protest against Mr. Gandhi's detention during his fast. Students of many educational institutions there and in Jessore observed a hartal.

Prayers for the long life of Mr. Gandhi have been offered by members of the Lucknow University Staff, a meeting of Karachi citizens held under the presidentship of the Mayor, the Ahmedabad Medical Society, several women's organisations of Ahmedabad, Rathindranath Tagore, the poet's only son. Master Tara Singh has urged Sikhs to offer prayers in the morning till the termination of Mr. Gandhi's fast.

NEW DELHI. Hartal continues in Delhi, there is a complete strike in several colleges and schools.

PATNA.—College students went on strike on Friday as a protest against the continued detention of Mr. Gandhi.

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*Times of India.*

23rd February 1943.

Mr. Gandhi Rallies From Crisis.

#### HEART WEAKER

"After a restless day on Sunday Mr. Gandhi entered a crisis at 4 p.m. He was seized with severe nausea and almost fainted and the pulse became nearly imperceptible. Later, he was able to take water with sweet lime juice. He rallied from the crisis and slept for about five and a half hours during the night".

"Today is his day of silence. He appears to be comfortable and is more cheerful. 'The heart is weaker', states the report on Mr. Gandhi's condition up to Monday afternoon, signed by Dr. B. C. Roy, Major-General R. H. Candy, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Dr. S. Nayar, Lt.-Col.-M. G. Bhandari and Lt.-Col.-B. Z. Shah and issued by the Government of Bombay in the form of a communique".

An Associated Press message from Poona states that Mr. Mathooradas Tricamjee, a nephew of Mr. Gandhi and other members of his family saw Mr. Gandhi on Monday evening.

It is understood that Mr. Gandhi on the whole passed a quiet day on Monday and slept for some hours.

#### NO BUSINESS TALKS

The United Press states that among the interviewers on Monday were the Bajaj family, Mr. Devadas Gandhi and Mr. Ramdas Gandhi. It is understood that every possible precaution is being taken by Dr. Gilder,

who is constantly by Mr. Gandhi's bedside, that no business talks are indulged in by visitors which might disturb Mr. Gandhi's mental condition but that the visitors should satisfy themselves with paying respects to Mr. Gandhi and leave him exactly after the period of three minutes is over.

It is understood, states the United Press that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, accompanied by Mr. G. D. Birla, is reaching Poona either on Wednesday or Thursday, as soon as their work in the New Delhi in connection with the Leaders' Conference, is over. Mr. K. M. Munshi is also expected to reach Poona by that time.

It is understood that Mr. Horaca Alexander of the Friends' Ambulance Unit, has obtained permission to visit Mr. Gandhi.

Our staff correspondent writes that 20 arrests were made in Poona on Monday when a procession was taken out.

#### Bombay Citizens' Appeal For Release.

A resolution earnestly appealing to Government to release Mr. Gandhi immediately and unconditionally was passed at a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay convened by the Sheriff, at the Sunderabai Hall at Queen's Road, on Monday evening. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas presided. There was a large attendance, representing the various communities in the city. The meeting authorised the president to forward the resolution to the Government of India through the Governor of Bombay.

Persons of all shades of opinion, Sir Purshotamdas said, had expressed themselves unmistakably that no further risks in regard to Mr. Gandhi's health would be justified and that he should be released immediately.

Mr. Haridas Madhavdas moved the resolution urging the release of Mr. Gandhi. The resolution stated: "This meeting of the citizens of Bombay expresses its great concern at the fast of Mahatma Gandhi and his physical condition and conveys an earnest appeal to the Government of India to release Mahatma Gandhi immediately and unconditionally".

Expressing that this was not a fit occasion to go into the reasons that culminated in Mr. Gandhi's fast, the speaker said that everyone was anxious to prevent a tragedy.

Sir Sultan Chinoy, seconding the resolution, stated that Mr. Gandhi should be released on humanitarian grounds and on grounds of internal peace and goodwill. Mrs. Hansa Mehta, supported the resolution.

#### SERVICE TO HARIJANS

Mr. A. V. Thakkar referred to the fast undertaken by Mr. Gandhi at the time of the Poona Pact. At that time Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was helpful, Mr. Gandhi thereafter had done at least some service to Harijans. Mr. Thakkar asked whether Dr. Ambedkar would not help Mr. Gandhi to serve the country for a few years longer. The speaker expressed the hope that Government might change their attitude and Mr. Gandhi might be spared to the country.

Contrary to what they were told, Mr. B. G. Horniman said, people in Britain and America were taking great interest in connection with Mr. Gandhi's fast. Mr. Horniman thought that it was the moral duty of Government to release Mr. Gandhi.

To the people of India Mr. Gandhi was the greatest living force, a force with which were bound up their political aspirations and hopes for the future, said Mr. S. H. Prater, further supporting the resolution. He added that that force should not be extinguished. World opinion was that Mr. Gandhi was a great leader, an influence for good.

Mr. Evelyn Wood said that Mr. Gandhi should be released and peace restored.

The resolution was passed, all standing, expressing a silent wish that Mr. Gandhi should survive the ordeal.

Mr. J. C. Setalvad moved the resolution authorising the president to forward to the Government of India the first resolution urging the release of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. M. R. A. Baig seconded.

Dr. J. A. Collaco proposed and Mr. J. K. Mehta seconded, the vote of thanks to the Sheriff for convening the meeting. Prof. P. A. Wadia proposed a vote of thanks to the president.

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*Times of India.*

23rd February 1943.

#### APPEAL TO KING TO RELEASE MR. GANDHI

##### Prayers For Leader's Survival.

Telegrams urging the release of Mr. Gandhi have been sent to the Viceroy by the All-India Swetarnber Sthanakwad Jain Conference and the Nadava Sangha. The Share and Stock Brokers' Association has sent a telegram to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, endorsing the suggestion that the Leaders' Conference should appeal to His Majesty the King to exercise the Royal Prerogative and release Mr. Gandhi.

Prayers for the long life of Mr. Gandhi were offered at temples in Bombay on Sunday. A prayer meeting will be held at "Aryasangha", the residence of Madame Sophia Wadia, Narayan Dabholkar Road on Tuesday, 9 a.m. A "Maha Mrithyamjaya Homam" will be performed by Asthika Samaj at Matunga on Tuesday at 6 a.m.

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, has sent a telegram to H. E. the Viceroy expressing the hope that even at this eleventh hour Government will not continue to ignore the unanimous demand of the Indian people and release Mr. Gandhi immediately.

THANA.—A resolution urging the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi was adopted at a meeting of Thana citizens held on Monday night. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Communist Party, Mr. Phanashikar presiding.

POONA.- The Mahratta Chamber of Commerce has sent a telegram to the Viceroy requesting him to release Mr. Gandhi, unconditionally in the name of humanity.

#### MUSLIM LEAGUER'S PLEA

CALCUTTA. A reference to Mr. Gandhi's fast was made by Mr. Nur Ahmed (Muslim League opposition) while discussing the supplementary demands for 1940-41 in the Bengal Legislative Council on Monday.

Mr. Ahmed said that they were meeting in an atmosphere of great concern for a life- the life of one of the greatest men India had ever produced. The speaker meant Mr. Gandhi. He wished that God Almighty might spare his life

The Calcutta Corporation adjourned its meeting on Monday without transacting any business "in view of the present state of Mahatma Gandhi's health". The House decided to adjourn the meeting without any opposition.

Mrs. Basanti Devi, wife of the late Mr. C. R. Das, and other prominent women have wired to the Viceroy urging the immediate release of Mr. Gandhi.

The Communist Party of Munshiganj has adopted a resolution urging Mr. Gandhi's immediate release.

#### GOVT. EMPLOYEES' PLEA

NEW DELHI. At a meeting of the members of the subordinate staff of the Government of India and attached and subordinate offices held on Monday evening in front of the Viceregal Lodge a resolution was passed requesting His Excellency the Viceroy to release Mr. Gandhi immediately and unconditionally. A three minutes' silence was observed, all standing, praying for the safety and long life of Mr. Gandhi.

A meeting of Gujaratis of Delhi was held in the Gujarati Samaj when prayers for the long life of Mr. Gandhi were offered and a resolution was passed urging his immediate and unconditional release.

Partial hartal is being observed in the city for the sixth day in succession. Most of the principal markets are closed. A large number of boy and girl students are keeping away from schools and colleges. Police posts and patrols in Delhi have been strengthened.

. SIMLA.—At a public meeting held on Sunday under the joint auspices of 14 associations prayers were offered for the health and safety of Mr. Gandhi.

KARACHI.— The Karachi Municipal Corporation has resolved: "This Corporation views with grave concern the news of the condition of. health of Mahatma Gandhi on account of the fast he has undertaken which is causing anxiety and appeals to the Government of India to order his immediate and unconditional release".

Rais Ali Mohamed Mari Baloch, President of the Hyderabad Khilafat Committee and Secretary of the All-India Baloch Conference in a telegram requests Mr. Jinnah, to intercede to help in saving Mr. Gandhi's life,

The Parsis of Karachi met under the presidentship of Mr. Jamshed Nuserwanji Mehta on Sunday and passed a resolution requesting the Viceroy to release Mr. Gandhi unconditionally to save his life for the cause of universal goodwill and peace on earth. The meeting prayed to God to give the necessary strength and support to Mr. Gandhi to emerge triumphantly out of his ordeal.

LAHORE. — The Principal and Staff of the Forman Christian College, which is run by the American Presbyterian Mission, have sent a cablegram to His Majesty the King-Emperor urging the use of the Royal Prerogative in releasing Mr. Gandhi. The Indian staff of the College have also appealed to His Excellency the Viceroy to release Mr. Gandhi immediately while the American staff have sent a telegram to Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's representative in India.

The Lahore High Court Bar Association in a telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy expresses concern over Mr. Gandhi's condition and has requested His Excellency to order his immediate release.

#### "SOURCE OF ANXIETY"

PESHAWAR.—Dr. Khan Sahib in a statement to the press says: "I strongly support the object of the leaders conference but have intentionally avoided to attend it as it is against my creed as a true Congressman to request Government for any favour ". He adds: "In resigning their offices the three Executive Councillors have done what every patriot would do for his country ".

"Mahatma Gandhi's last has perturbed the whole of India and is a constant source of anxiety: he should not be allowed to die at this stage and this can only be done by standing united", said Dr. Khan Sahib, addressing a public meeting under the auspices of the Peshawar Congress.

The managing committee of the Bombay District Muslim Students' Federation has passed a resolution stating that Mr. Gandhi's fast " is directed in the first place to give an impetus " to the mass civil disobedience movement which has fizzled out and secondly " to continue his political blackmail".

The committee states that Muslim students "view with great concern the conciliatory attitude" of the Viceroy, as expressed in his letters to Mr. Gandhi and it is determined" to stand against any decision or settlement which will prejudge, prejudice, or militate against the Muslim goal of Pakistan which is with them a matter of life and death ". The president of the committee is Mr. H. A. Baigmohamed.

WARDHA.—Mass prayers were offered for Mr. Gandhi on Sunday. Three women from the Sewagram Ashram have left for Poona to see Mr. Gandhi.

LUCKNOW.—Prayers for Mr. Gandhi were offered on Sunday at a meeting of the Hindu Students Federation.

At the annual prayer day of the members of the Students Christian Movement held on Sunday special prayers were offered for Mr. Gandhi. The gathering later passed a resolution appealing to the Viceroy for the Mahatma's immediate and unconditional release.

The secretary of the Lucknow Muslim Students Union has issued an appeal to all communities in India to offer special prayers on February 22 for Mr. Gandhi.

For the fourth day in succession, "hartal" was observed in the city on Sunday.

### **Protest Walk-Out From Council of State**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 22.—In the Council of State this morning, before the proceedings began Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Deputy Leader. Progressive Party, made a statement that they were not taking part in today's proceedings of the House as a protest against Government's attitude on Mr. Gandhi's fast and release. Members of the Progressive Party, about six in number, then left the Chamber.—Associated Press.

### **Assembly Move Fails**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 22.—In the Assembly, the President ruled out Dr. Bannerjee's, motion for adjournment of the House to discuss the situation revealed by the latest news about Mr. Gandhi's grave condition. The Chair observed that the fast was fully discussed earlier in the session and it was from the first anticipated that the fast would endanger his health,—Associated Press.

The Manchester Guardian in a leader on Mr. Gandhi, says: "What the Indian Government and our Government have to consider is not merely the now barren question as to who is responsible for the disorders of last autumn, but the question as to what sort of India, with what new and harder problems to solve, will face us if Mr. Gandhi dies. Instead of making debating points, we should consider whether anything will be lost, whether, indeed, much will not now be gained if Mr. Gandhi is released. If Mr. Gandhi dies, the consequences may be irreparable. Should he be released and live, the difficulties will be no greater and they can be fought with faith to overcome.

### **"DEFEAT TO THE MAHATMA "**

NEW YORK.—The 'New York Herald Tribune' maintains that the United States cannot and should not attempt to intervene in the Gandhi issue. "We are witnessing what may prove to be the last of the tragedy" says the paper. 'But it would be folly to suppose that there is any magical way of intervening to prevent its inevitable development. It is difficult not to believe with the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, that the fast was undertaken at the bottom as a form of 'political blackmail' to

restore failing leadership and that to release Mr. Gandhi would be a disastrous surrender and particularly dangerous under the peril of war. It is also difficult not to believe that the same political considerations move Indians who are now demanding Mr. Gandhi's release on humanitarian grounds, for virtually none of them suggests that Mr. Gandhi could save his own life simply by ending the fast. That would mean too complete a political defeat of the Mahatma".

#### AMERICANS' SYMPATHY

KARACHI.—"The grave situation created in India by Mr. Gandhi's fast has revived the American interest in the Indian question. American newspapers and news agencies are now heavily represented in this country, and many hundreds of words are being cabled daily to the United States on Mr. Gandhi's fast", said Mr. A. T. Steels, representative of the Chicago Daily News (who is now in Karachi) in an interview. Asked what the Americans thought about the demands for Mr. Gandhi's release, Mr. Steels said Americans were sympathetic to any move in India which would bring the people of India more solidly into the war effort and which would improve internal stability.

DURBAN.—The South African Hindu Mahasabha Council at a meeting resolved to ask the Union Indians to observe February 25 as a day of prayer and fasting for Mr. Gandhi. The Council also cabled Mr. Churchill and the Viceroy demanding Mr. Gandhi's release. An appeal is also made to Field Marshal Smuts.

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*Bombay Chronicle.*

23rd February 1943

#### **Mahatma Rallies After Crisis**

Sleeps For About 5½ Hours During Night.

Appears More Cheerful, Though Heart Is Weaker.

The following is the report on Gandhiji's conditions up to Monday afternoon: —

"After a restless day on the 21st, Mr. Gandhi entered a crisis at 4 p.m. He was seized with severe nausea and almost fainted and the pulse became nearly imperceptible. Later he was able to take water with sweet lime juice. He rallied from the crisis and slept for about 5½ hours during the night.

To-day is his day of silence. He appears comfortable and is more cheerful. The heart is weaker".

(Sd,) Dr. B. C. Roy, Major-General R. H. Candy, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder. Dr. S. Nayar, Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari and Lt.-Col.-B. Z. Shah.

#### STREAM OF VISITORS

Poona, February 22.

Among those who saw Gandhiji today were the Bajaj family. Mr. Devidas Gandhi and Mr. Ramdas Gandhi.

It is understood that every possible precaution is being taken by Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, who is constantly by Gandhiji's bed side, that no business talks are indulged in by visitors which might disturb Gandhiji's mental condition but that the visitors should satisfy themselves with paying respects to 'Bapuji' and leave him exactly after the period of three minutes is over.

#### MATHURADAS BROUGHT AT AMBULANCE

Mr. Mathuradas Tricumjee, nephew of Gandhiji and former Mayor of Bombay, who has been ailing and under medical treatment at Miraj, was brought here this morning in an ambulance car. It appears that Mr. Mathuradas received an urgent communication from the Government to proceed to Poona as Gandhiji had expressed a desire to see him. He is meeting Gandhiji this evening.

Immediately after Mr. Mathuradas's arrival Mr. Devidas Gandhi was seen driving to the office of the Inspector-General of Prisons, Lt.-Col. Bhandari, presumably to make arrangements for permission for Mr. Tricumjee.

#### Mathuradas Sees Mahatma

Mr. Mathuradas Tricumjee, a nephew of Mahatma Gandhi and other members of his family saw Mahatma Gandhi, this evening.

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi on the whole passed a quiet day to-day and slept for some hours.—Associated Press.

#### 'C. R. ' FOR POONA

The 'United Press' understands that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari accompanied by Mr. G. D. Birla is arriving at Poona either on Wednesday or Thursday, as soon as their work in New Delhi in connection with the Leaders' Conference, is over. Mr. K. M. Munshi, is also expected to arrive here by that time, Mr. R. D. Birla, who saw Gandhiji yesterday, left for Bombay this afternoon.—United Press.

#### NUMBER OF VISITORS CURTAILED

Poona. February 22.

Doctors who examined Mahatma Gandhi this afternoon for another two hours looked less worried than yesterday.

To-day being his weekly silence day, the number of visitors to Gandhiji was considerably curtailed and those who called on him were given very short period though Gandhiji is understood to have been showing a little more interest in them to-day.

Mr. Mathuradas Tricumjee with his wife and son, Shrimati Kusum Desai, an old inmate of the Sabarmati Asram, Miss Amtul Salam and, Swami Anand paid visit to Gandhiji. Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai sent flowers to-day.—United Press.



### **Ailahbax & Shama Prasad Meet Phillips.**

New Delhi, February 22.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, met Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's personal representative in India and had 90-minute talks with him regarding the Indian situation.

#### **TEXT OF CABLE TO BE RELEASED**

The text of the cable drafted by the Standing Committee of the Sapru Conference to be sent to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Mr. Percy Harris and copies to the United Nations may be released to-day.

Mr. Allahbux, former Premier of Sind, interviewed Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's envoy, this morning.

It is understood that Mr. Horace Alexander of the Friends' Ambulance Unit, has obtained permission to visit Gandhiji.—United Press.

#### **"HARTAL" IN AHMEDABAD**

Ahmedabad, February 22.

To-day is the second day of 'hartal' observed in the city. Most of the mills and markets were closed.—Associated Press.

New Delhi, February 22.

Sir Homi Mody is leaving for Bombay on the morning of Thursday (February 25th) by the Frontier Mail.—Associated Press.

#### **'C. R. '—PHILLIPS TALKS**

New Delhi, February 22.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has a second meeting to-day with William Phillips in connection with Mr. Gandhi's fast. The first meeting between them took place on February 19th when the leaders conferred opened here. —Associated Press.

#### **BHULABHAI—PHILLIPS TALK**

New Delhi, February 22.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Opposition in the Central Assembly, met Mr. William Phillips to-day.

#### **DAY OF FASTING AND PRAYER ON THURSDAY**

Durban, February 22.

The South African Hindu Mahasabha Council at a meeting resolved to ask the Union Indians to observe 25/2 as a day of prayer and fasting for Mahatma Gandhi. The Council also cabled Mr. Churchill and the Viceroy demanding Mahatma Gandhi's release. An appeal is also made to Field Marshal Smuts.—Reuter.

## BE UNITED & SAVE MAHATMA

Peshawar. February 22.

"Mahatma Gandhis last has perturbed the whole of India and is a constant source of anxiety; he should not be allowed to die at this stage and this can only be done by standing united ", said Dr. Khan Sahib, ex-Premier of the Frontier Province addressing a public meeting under the auspices of the Peshawar Congress. He stressed the need for unity in India and remarked: "Germany can never win the Russian war as the Russians stand united to protect their country ".—Associated Press.

### DR. KHAN SAHIB & LEADERS' CONFERENCE

Peshawar. February 22.

Dr. Khan Sahib, in a statement to the 'Associated Press' says; "I strongly support the object of the Leaders' Conference, but have intentionally avoided to attend it as it is against my creed as a true Congressman to request Government for any favour". He adds: "In resigning their offices the three Executive Councillors have done what every patriot would do for his country"— Associated Press.

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*Bombay Chronicle.*

23rd February 1943.

### **Bombay Demands Mahatma's Release.**

"Don't Let Prestige Stand In Way", Appeal Speakers.

"No Peace Can Be Won If Apostle Of Peace Is Not Released".

A resolution expressing great concern at the fast of Mahatma Gandhi and his physical condition and conveying an earnest appeal to the Government of India to release Mahatma Gandhi immediately and unconditionally was unanimously passed at a citizens' meeting, convened by the Sheriff of Bombay and held at Bai Sunderabai Hall, on Monday evening.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakoradas was elected President of the meeting, in pursuance of a resolution moved by Seth Pramlal D. Nanjee and seconded by Mr. Vaikunth L. Mehta and passed at the meeting.

The hall overflowed with people and large number of them were forced to stand out and listen to speeches.

### PRAYER FOR LONG LIFE AND RELEASE

As the speakers addressed with warmth and emotion, there was vociferous and enthusiastic response from the public. But when the President, in putting the resolution to vote, asked the audience to stand in silence for a minute and pray for the long life of Gandhiji and his release, they responded spontaneously in reverential silence and in a disciplined manner.

Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas observed that the purpose for which they had met was eminently a just, fair and an urgent one. He felt that there could not have been an act which was more full of risk to the country than the continued detention of Gandhiji whose release should have been recognised before now as one which could brook no delay

The citizens of Bombay, he stated, had always relied upon the Sheriff to read, the mind of the public in the right direction and give a lead. The meeting was a proof of the confidence which the public should repose in him as it reflected the current, public political opinion.

He pointed out that Gandhiji had been able to stand the ordeal mainly because of his control over his will. Lesser men would have succumbed to this long ago. His release had now become urgent and on that question there would be no difference of opinion throughout the length and breadth of the country.

He recalled that in the conference held recently at Delhi, speakers reflected various points of view. But all these points of view coavergerd on one central conclusion that Gandhiji should be immediately and unconditionally released.

#### “MORE INSCRUTABLE THAN PROVIDENCE”

But he failed to understand how, in spite of the insistent and persistent demands of the public, Government had still not released him. The ways of Government seemed more inscrutable than the ways of Providence. Although, he did not want to cast aspersions on any one he could not help saying that unless it was the old question of prestige that came in the way. there was no explanation for keeping Mahatmaji in jail till now and much less any longer. If the old, false idea of prestige still persisted he had no doubt that those who stuck to it would have to pay for it very dearly before long. If they doubted the "*bona fides*" of Gandhiji. they would find it difficult to justify their action before any set of people either in India, or in England or any other part of the world.

The speaker firmly believed that no one in India wanted the Axis powers to win this war and as far as India was concerned, the solution could only come from the release of Gandhiji. By detaining him, the authorities were doing great injustice to themselves, to the country and perhaps to the allied nations, It was not merely the question of winning the war; it was also the question of winning the peace, and he thought that no peace would be won. unless the Apostol of Peace was released.

#### RELEASE HIM IMMEDIATELY

Mr. Haridas Madhavdas moved the following resolution:

"This meeting of the citizens of Bombay expresses its great concern at the fast of Mahatma Gandhi and his physical condition and conveys an earnest appeal to the Government of India to release Mahatma Gandhi immediately and unconditionally".

In the Course of his speech, the mover of the resolution said: "We are naturally overwhelmed by the gravity of the situation and as such this is not a fighting occasion to go into the whys and wherefores of the incidents culminating in Mahatmaji's fast. We are anxious to save him and thereby to prevent a tragedy being enacted before our very eyes.

"Here is a man whose sincerity of purpose, loftiness of ideals of life and the sheet-anchor of whose philosophy have not so far been questioned and if I may venture to say so, cannot be seriously questioned by anyone. He has chosen to put himself through an ordeal so as to carry conviction to others. Considerations of humanity, if nothing else, should prevail. Government should not be obsessed by any false sense of prestige or the natural desire to settle issues with anybody challenging the duly constituted authority. Gandhiji is not merely a political leader: to many in this country and perhaps to a good number outside, he represents all that is good and noble in India: He epitomises the Indian renaissance. Above all, he is the one man who is fighting to introduce a moral basis in political life not merely in this country but throughout the world.

#### DON'T FLOUT PUBLIC OPINION

"This war, it is claimed, is being fought for the preservation of certain ideals and certain fundamental rights. In the very midst of it, let not that cause be allowed to suffer by the perpetration of a serious wrong to the millions in this country who are equally vehement in their enthusiasm for the preservation of the said ideas. Public feeling irrespective of caste, creed and political predilections, has expressed itself unmistakably on this issue and no Government, however, secure or powerful, should flout public opinion and act in complete disregard of national wishes and desires.

Sir Sultan Chinoy seconding the resolution said that the demand of millions of people of India was that Gandhiji, the man with the tallest moral stature in the world, would be released.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta supporting the resolution, said that Gandhiji should not be allowed to die when the whole world was wallowing in bloodshed, violence and hatred. Gandhiji undertook the fast because he wanted to clear himself of dishonour attributed to him by the Viceroy. It would be unfair on the part of the authorities in refusing to release Gandhiji to enable him to refute the charge against him and the Congress.

#### INCOMPREHENSIBLE

Mr. A. V. Thakar said that it was incomprehensible how the charge of violence could be levelled against Gandhiji. After reading the statements made by Gandhiji to absolve himself from that charge, he wanted to say one word to those like Dr. Ambedkar and others in the Viceroy's Executive Council. He pointed out how Dr. Ambedkar was helpful in saving the life of Gandhiji in 1932. He did not understand why he should be unhelpful after 11 years. Why should not Gandhi be allowed to

continue to render service to the community and to the country as he had rendered for these 11 years he asked.

#### VICEROYS "NO"

Mr. S. A. Brelvi remarked that never before in the history of Modern India had people been stirred so deeply as now. The Viceroy had summarily rejected the demand made by the conference at Delhi as well as by the country recently and in reply stated that no new factors had emerged since the arrest of Gandhiji to warrant change in Government's Policy. Mr. Brelvi asked whether, in the face of the statement made by doctors who attended on Gandhiji and the expression of alarm shown by the public not to speak of the resignation of three members of his own Council, the head of the Government in any other country would make such a statement with any sense of responsibility. He had not come across any other instance where the united demand for the release of the most beloved and revered a leader had been so unceremoniously rejected.

#### UNTHINKABLE INSULT

It was unthinkable to hold Gandhiji responsible for violence and it was an insult to the intelligence of anyone to say that Gandhiji condoned violence. The relief that Gandhiji wanted, namely, the opportunity to refute the charges against himself and the Congress was as much in the interests of Government as in those of the Congress and the Mahatma for all wanted to see that an end was put to violence.

"Release him to-day "observed the speaker, " and I am sure, as day follows night that Gandhiji will condemn violence."

Continuing the speaker said that Gandhiji had not been given a trial; he was kept in Jail without a charge-sheet having been framed against him. There was neither moral nor legal justification for his detention. Political expediency, statesmanship and international goodwill and above all humanity demanded that Gandhiji should be released immediately and unconditionally.

#### BRITISH AND AMERICAN INTEREST IN FAST

Mr. B. G. Horniman further supporting the resolution stated that the Government of India should realise the tremendous unanimity of the people in this country on the question of Gandhiji's release. The meeting which the speaker believed to represent every shade of opinion, every party, every section of the country, only demanded an act of common humanity, for a man who was greatly revered, known by his service for humanity, great principles to which he had lived up and for remarkable qualities in the whole world. It was untrue to say that the British people and the American people were taking little interest in the fast. On the other hand they were taking great interest and it was their nature to do so. If anything happened to Gandhiji there would be a revulsion of feeling like the one following the fast and the death of McSwiney in prison and a great wave of indignation would sweep through America.

And he also felt sure that as happened in the case of Ireland nothing would prevent India from getting her independence and her freedom. He refuted the accusation that the fast was a piece of political blackmail, because it showed a complete lack of knowledge about the doctrine of Satyagraha.

Mr. S. H. Prater supporting the resolution said that their concern should be to do what they could and try to avert that "awful disaster". The life of Gandhiji was precious to Indians, to the world and to the Allies. His life-force which was bound up with political aspirations and hopes should not be extinguished and if it was done so, it might lead to frustrations and worse disasters. His life was a tremendous asset, to world freedom

Mr. Evelyn Wood who claimed to come from the place of McSwiney believed that no single man could influence the millions who lived in India as could Mahatma Gandhi. Without his endless patience and enormous influence the upsurge of freedom could never be felt so strongly in India as it was being felt at present. And without full freedom, the enormous potential for peace among all men which India possessed could never be released for the benefit of the whole world, as it should be. It was, therefore, essential that peace like charity, should begin at home. In his opinion, the Government should immediately release the only man whom millions obeyed.

The resolution was unanimously passed, all standing.

Another resolution authorising the President to communicate the resolution to the Government of India through the Governor of Bombay immediately, was moved by Mr. J. C. Setalvad and seconded by Mr. M. R. A. Baig, was also unanimously passed.

Resolutions expressing thanks to the Sheriff of Bombay and to the President were passed. Dr. J. A. Collaco, Messrs. J. K. Mehta and P. A. Wadia spoke.

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*Bombay Chronicle,*  
23rd February 1943.

#### LONDON INDIANS' GRAVE CONCERN

LONDON, FEBRUARY 22.—A deputation of 19 Indians, described as representative of all classes and political opinions, today asked the High Commissioner for India, Sir Azizul Huque, to make known to the Government their grave concern at the condition of Mr. Gandhi and their request for his immediate release. The deputation, which was led by Dr. N. N. Gangulee and included a number of women, saw the High Commissioner following a meeting of the Indian community in London, yesterday, when immediate release of Mr. Gandhi was urged.

### Tagore Society's Appeal to Smuts

London, February 22

The Tagore Society in London to-day sent the following Cable to General Smuts:

"APPEAL TO YOU IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY TO DO WHATEVER IS POSSIBLE TO PREVENT GANDHI'S DEATH. HIS DEATH AT THIS MOMENT WILL BE THE GREATEST TRAGEDY IN WORLD'S HISTORY AND WILL DO IRREPARABLE HARM TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST."

"Last Act of Tragedy"— But Don't Intervene.

Says 'Herald Tribune'.

The New York "Herald Tribune" to-day maintained that the United States "Cannot and should not attempt So intervene " in the Gandhi issue.

"We are witnessing what may prove to be the last at of the tragedy" said the paper "But it would be folly to suppose that there is any magical way of intervening to prevent its inevitable development. It is difficult not to believe with the Viceroy. Lord Linlithgow, that the fast was undertaken at the bottom as a form of "political Black Mail" to restore failing leadership and that to release Mr. Gandhi would be a disastrous surrender and particularly dangerous under the peril of war. It is also difficult not to believe that the same political considerations move Indians who are now demanding Gandhi's release on humanitarian grounds, for virtually none of them suggests that Mr. Gandhi could save his own life simply by ending the fast. That would mean too complete a political defeat of the Mahatma".— Reuter.

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*Times of India*

24th February 1943

### CONCERN OVER MR. GANDHI'S HEALTH

#### Muslim 'Women Urge Leader's Release

A resolution expressing deep concern at Mr. Gandhi's state of health and demanding his immediate and unconditional release was passed at a meeting of Muslim women convened at Blavatsky Lodge, Bombay, on Tuesday evening. Mrs. Lukmani presided.

Moving the resolution Mrs. Asmat Latif hoped and prayed that Mr. Gandhi would come out of the ordeal successfully.

Madame Sophia Wadia said that millions in the country loved and revered Mr. Gandhi, and in the present troubled times his voice of sanity and love was the only hope for humanity. She appealed to the audience not to abandon hope, for God was with them.

Mrs. Brelvi said that Mr. Gandhi is the only person who could solve the complicated communal and political problems of the country.

Dr. (Mrs)i Gilder said that Mr. Gandhi was a world figure. His message of love and non-violence could be of immense use to the world.

Among others who expressed similar sentiments and urged the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi were Mrs. A. S. R. Chad, Mrs. Jabir Ali. Mrs. Babibai Mulji, Miss Laiq Ali and Mrs. Lilavati Banker.

In accordance with a resolution passed by the Managing Committee of the Orient Club, Bombay, Sir Cowasji Jehangir Presiding, the honorary Secretaries of the Club have sent a telegram requesting His Excellency the Viceroy to release Mr. Gandhi immediately and unconditionally.

At the ninth annual general meeting of the P. E. N. All-India Centre, Bombay. Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri Presiding, a resolution was passed requesting Government to release Mr. Gandhi. Madame Sophia Wadia was authorised to send a telegram to the Viceroy in accordance with the resolution.

#### COMMERCIAL BODIES' MEETING

A meeting of the representatives of commercial bodies affiliated to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and of other leading commercial bodies in Bombay will be held on Wednesday to consider the situation created by Mr. Gandhi's fast

The Bombay Stock Exchange agreed at its meeting on Tuesday, not to transact business untill further notice. Funds were collected on the spot for being utilised for charitable purposes.

In a statement to the Orient Press, Moulana Fazlulla, a member of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Working Committee, says "After the refusal of the Viceroy to release Gandhiji at the request of the Leaders' Conference, it is necessary that a new approach should be made to the problem. Government have refused to release Gandhiji because it says that nothing new has happened in the political field which deserves a change in Government Policy. To save Gandhiji's life the Leaders' Conference should request Government to enable the Congress Working Committee to withdraw the resolution passed in August last by the A I. C. C. If Government allow the Congress Working Committee to meet. I am confident that in the interest of Gandhiji's life the Committee will withdraw the Bombay resolution. In this way a change would occur in the political field and then the Viceroy will have to release Gandhiji since he cannot put forward any excuse. "

There will be religious ceremonies and mass prayer at the Asthika Samaj Hall, Matunga. Bombay, from early morning till late at night on Wednesday.

CALCUTTA,—On his return from Delhi after attending the Leaders' Conference. Mr, Humayan Kabir, M.L.C. told the "Associated Press" that the anxiety expressed for Mr. Gandhi's immediate and unconditional



release has been overwhelming and unanimous and it is a matter of the deepest regret that the Government of India have not yet realised the consequences of refusing such a nationwide demand. The sands of time are running out and we can only hope that wisdom will dawn on Government before it is too late. In the meantime, it would be an act of bare humanity to bring immediately to Poona Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and other lifelong friends of Mahatma Gandhi".

#### GOVT. CLERKS PLEA

NEW DELHI.—Clerks of the General Headquarters have sent a telegram to H. H. the Viceroy demanding the unconditional and immediate release of Mr. Gandhi. They say: "Mahatmaji's unconditional and immediate release is requested to avoid a catastrophe and to promotewar efforts."United Press.

The Bombay Women's Association, the Maharashtra Utkarsha Mandal the Lucknow Women's Association, the Bombay Native Share and Stock Brokers' Association the Parmananddas Jiwandas Hindu Gymkhana, Bombay, the Bombay and Suburban Hotel and Restaurant Keepers' Association and the executive committee of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association have appealed to the Viceroy for the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi.

AHMEDABAD. — Mrs. Shirin Fozdar, Bahai Evangelist, has sent a telegram to Mr. Gandhi, appealing to him to cease fasting.

ALLAHABAD.—On behalf of the Allahabad University a telegram has been sent to Mr. Gandhi praying that his life may be saved for the good of mankind.

LUCKNOW.—There was a partial strike in the Lucknow University on Monday. Many students absented themselves in sympathy for Mr. Gandhi. Prayers for the successful termination of Mr. Gandhi's fast were offered by the staff and students of the Lucknow Christian College on Monday.

BENARES. — The local Hindu Sabha has sent the following telegram to Mr. Gandhi: " Pray break fast. Your valuable life is country's property. "

The Maharajkumar Sir Vijaya of Vizianagram, M.L.A., President of the Andhra Mahasabha, has in a statement appealed to Andhraites, to observe Wednesday, February 24, as a day of silent and solemn prayer for Mr. Gandhi.

#### **Mr. Cordell Hull on Mr. Gandhi's Fast.**

WASHINGTON. FEBRUARY 22.—There have been no further developments following the conference on Saturday between the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, and the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, when Mr. Hull expressed concern over Mr. Gandhi's situation. Mr. Hull

stating this today said he had not heard during the week-end from President Roosevelt's personal Envoy to India, Mr. William Phillips. Mr. Hull added that he did not know exactly what significance there was in the statement of Mr. Phillips that "discussions were being handled by high officials of the Governments of the United States and Britain."

Experts on India in the United States Government are naturally keenly interested in Mr. Gandhi's fast, its implications and the possible fatal denouncement, but the authoritative United States' view can be crystallised only in the utterances of Mr. Hull or President Roosevelt. Unofficially considered, there are no grounds for any belief that the United States might intervene to obtain Mr. Gandhi's release.

NEW YORK. FEBRUARY 22,—The American magazine *Notion* says in an editorial that Mr. Gandhi's 21 days fast appears to be politically a confession of weakness and personally a token of strength. "With the turn of the tide of war and the checking of the Japanese Advance India has unquestionably lost a good measure of its bargaining power *vis-a-vis* the British Strikes and demonstrations undoubtedly had effect, but at no time was there any serious possibility that the British would relax their grip. The stalemate gave every promise of enduring throughout the war. Mr. Gandhi's latest move may be looked upon as a desperate and dramatic effort to break the deadlock. His specific demand for unconditional release would appear to be more of a pretext than a general hope, since he can hardly expect to clear out a surrender on the part of the Viceroy".

#### A WAY OUT

The paper says that it believes it was a serious mistake for the British to arrest the Congress leaders in the first place. It continues: "What they can Mr. Gandhi hope to gain from his current manoeuvre? A chance perhaps to reopen negotiations to find a formula which will enable India to return at least to the status that prevailed at the abortive Cripps Mission. Hope that the British will invite support for mediation may be found in the reports that Mr. Gandhi has been given freedom to receive Mr. Rajagopalachari who is believed to be working towards this end."

The Chicago Sun in an editorial, today says: "The prospect that Mr. Gandhi may die a prisoner threatens to poison Anglo-Indian relations still more deep. Is there a way out? We believe there is. From the beginning of the conflict in India, we have emphasised two beliefs: that it is impossible for Britain during the war to inaugurate complete Indian independence demanded by Mr. Gandhi, but there should be during the war the maximum effort towards independence that is compatible with the efficient waging of war; and that India should be given full assurance of self-government at a stated period after the war. That course of compromise has not been followed. In our opinion, Mr. Gandhi should be released unconditionally. The fact remains if he died a martyred prisoner, the bad situation becomes incalculably worse. There is little time to lose."

Times of India.  
24th February 1943.

### **Mr. Gandhi appears Comfortable**

#### *SURVIVAL HOPES*

FROM OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Poona, February 23.—Friends of Mr. Gandhi assembled in Poona are praying that he may have strength enough to pull through his present 21 days fast. Though he is physically reduced, those around him derive consolation from the fact that today is the fourteenth day of the fast and that there is no worsening of some of the symptoms like euremia, the appearance of which earlier in the fast caused great anxiety.

Mr. Gandhi today was reported to have been a little more cheerful and to have evinced greater interest in what is going on around him. This has kindled the hope that with a supreme effort he may summon enough strength to survive.

To every one of those who visited him today—these included Mr. Horace Alexander, his English friend whom he first met in London when he attended the Round Table Conference—Mr. Gandhi had a smile. He spoke a little and those used to hearing his voice, it is said, noticed a slightly better tone. Mr. Gandhi even expressed a desire that the newspapers should be read out to him.

Among the visitors today was Mrs. Hansa Mehta (wife of Dr. Jivraj Mehta) and her sister. Mrs. Jaishri Rajji.

#### OFFICIAL BULLETIN

“Mr. Gandhi had only broken sleep during the night but has dozed off and on during the day. He appears comfortable. There is no appreciable change to record”, states the report on Mr. Gandhi's health up to Tuesday afternoon. The report which is signed by Dr. B. C. Roy, Major-General R. H. Candy, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Dr. S. Nayar Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari and Lt.-Col. B Z Shah, is contained in a communique issued by the Government of Bombay.

An Associated Press Message from Poona states: Those who interviewed Mr. Gandhi on Tuesday evening found him cheerful. His mind was quite clear and he recognised without difficulty even those relatives who have not seen him for a long time. His voice was distinct though feeble and he greeted every visitor with a smile. The doctors attending on him took the usual precautions to see that he did not strain himself, but it is understood that Mr. Gandhi insisted on speaking for nearly four minutes to Mr. Horace Alexander of the Friends Ambulance Unit, who conveyed to Mr. Gandhi a message of love and friendship on behalf of his numerous English friends. Mr. Symonds, a co-worker of Mr. Alexander, also saw Mr. Gandhi.

The United Press states that the doctors examined Mr. Gandhi for four hours in the morning and in the afternoon on Tuesday.

Inquiries in connection with the addition of sweet lime juice to the water drunk by Mr. Gandhi, to which reference was made in Monday's official bulletin, show that the sweet lime juice added to the water is so small in quantity that it is heavily diluted.

### **Another Move By Leaders Fails.**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 23.—Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Mr. K. M. Munshi, who were to have left Delhi yesterday, postponed their departure in order to make one more effort to bring Mr. Gandhi's fast immediately to an end.

It was their plan, explained Mr. Rajagopalachari in a statement that Government should send to Mr. Gandhi a responsible official with the evidence on which they based their charge of Congress complicity in acts of violence and sabotage and that if after such examination, Mr. Gandhi felt that he should meet the Congress Working Committee members. Government should afford facilities to that end. If Government agreed to this procedure, Mr. Rajagopalachari believed, Mr. Gandhi might be persuaded immediately to break his fast, so as to be able to examine the evidence and consult his colleagues. This would be consistent with Mr. Gandhi's demands, the refusal of which led to the fast and would at the same time not prejudice Government's position.

"I considered this a very fair proposal, which would provide for Government's prestige as well as save Gandhiji's life", declared Mr. Rajagopalachari. "I consulted my best legal friends and came to this conclusion. We have failed to persuade the Viceroy. The only hope now is that Mahatmaji may survive the 21 days ordeal. Let the country pray for this. If we deserve, we may find a response".—Associated Press.

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*Times of India.*

25th February 1943.

### **PLEA FOR RELEASE OF MR. GANDHI**

#### **Sympathetic Fasts And Prayers.**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 24.—Resolutions urging Mr. Gandhi's immediate and unconditional release are pouring in here from different parts of the country. Prayers are being offered at certain places for his long life and sympathetic fasts are being observed.

Meeting and congregational prayers were held at Kotah, Alwar, Ajmer, Meerut and Jhansi.

Swami Bhawani Dayal, leader of the South African Indian Congress, has sent the following telegram to H. E. the Viceroy from Ajmer, "On behalf of the South African Indian community I most humbly make an appeal for the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi

to save his life. His life is most precious to the Indian nation. Your Excellency's serious attention and prompt action will be greatly appreciated by Indians overseas.

Swami Bhawani Dayal told the "Associated Press that he had received a number of anxious inquiries from Indians in South and East Africa regarding Mr. Gandhi's fast and his condition".

BOMBAY.—At a meeting of the Council of the Western India National Liberal Association held on Wednesday evening, the following resolution was adopted: "The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association being of opinion that the use of the weapon of fasting for the solution of political issues is both undesirable and unjustified, earnestly appeals to Mr. Gandhi to give up his fast. At the same time, it urges upon the Government immediately to release Mr. Gandhi who is widely respected and honoured by large sections of his countrymen".

Prayers for the long life of Mr. Gandhi and the safe termination of the fast were offered by members of the Bombay Sindhi Association.

The Executive Committee of the Film Artistes' Association of India, Bombay, has sent a telegram to the Viceroy appealing to His Excellency to release Mr. Gandhi unconditionally.

#### MERCHANTS' CONFERENCE

A resolution calling upon the business community to adopt all possible non-violent means to secure the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi was passed at a conference of the representatives of commercial bodies convened by the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay on Wednesday. Mr. Haridas Madhavdas, President of the Chamber, presided over the meeting which was attended by representatives of 40 commercial bodies in the city.

Several speakers expressed disappointment at the way in, which the Government of India had attempted to tackle the problem.

The meeting concluded after offering prayers.

The Bombay Bullion Exchange will remain closed from February 25 to March 2 being the remaining period of Mr. Gandhi's fast, states the Secretary of the Exchange. The Board of Directors of the Bombay Shroff (Bankers) Association has resolved that members of the Association should keep their Hundi and other business closed up to March 2.

VILE PARLE.—Prayers for the preservation of Mr. Gandhi's life are being offered by a large number of residents of Vile Parle, who have been gathering every morning and evening in Tejpal Wadi for a week now. Since Tuesday morning the prayers are being offered at the place, without a break, throughout the day and night, the attendance varying at different times.

THANA.—A resolution expressing concern over Mr. Gandhi's health and urging his immediate release was passed by the Thana Municipal Board on Wednesday evening. The President Mr. K. M. Patel, was in the chair.

The women of Lucknow, representing different sections at a meeting, offered prayers for the long life of Mr. Gandhi. Begum Faiyaz Ali was in the chair.

The meeting adopted resolution appealing to Indians of all shades of opinion, specially Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Mr. V. D. Savarkar, to sink their differences and make an united effort to save "The precious life of Mahatma Gandhi" and requests H. E. the Viceroy to release Mr. Gandhi immediately and unconditionally.

#### CALCUTTA CITIZENS' MEETING

CALCUTTA. — May his life be spared to his country and to humanity and may Providence vouchsafe grace and wisdom to those from whom these virtues appear to have fled", observed Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas C.I.E., presiding over a meeting of the citizens of Calcutta on Tuesday to offer prayers for Mr. Gandhi's long life.

It is learnt that a requisition has been submitted to the Sheriff of Calcutta to convene a meeting of the citizens of Calcutta to consider a resolution urging the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi.

The Syndicate of the Calcutta University, meeting under the presidentship of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, in the absence of Dr. B. C. Roy. Vice-chancellor, adopted the following resolution: "The Syndicate of the Calcutta University feel deep concern at the grave state of health of Mahatma Gandhi. They hope and pray that he may survive the present ordeal. The Syndicate fervently trust that for the good of India and for the sake of international goodwill a way may yet be found to give effect to the united wishes of the people of India, so that the life of one of the greatest men of the age may be saved".

The text of the resolution has been communicated by wire to H. E. the Viceroy and to the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr. B. C. Roy.

COLOMBO.—The State Council passed on Tuesday by 37 votes to four Mr. Sripala Samarakkody's motion expressing concern at Mr. Gandhi's fast and requesting the British Government to release him immediately. Mr. Samarakkody's suggestion that the resolution be cabled to the British Prime Minister and the Viceroy was also put to the House and agreed to.

WASHINGTON.—The Assistant Secretary of State Mr. Sumner Welles asked to define the State Department's attitude towards the present situation in India, replied that he had nothing whatever to say for the time being. What had been said regarding Mr. Cordell Hull and Lord Halifax was all that was necessary for the time being, he added.

*Tmes of India.*

25th February 1943

# PREMIER'S REPLY TO LEADERS

## **"No Justification tor Mr. Gandhi's Release ".**

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 24.—In reply to the Leaders' Conference Committee's cable urging Mr. Gandhi's immediate release, Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister, says:—

"The Government of India decided last August that Mr. Gandhi and other leaders of the Congress must be detained for reasons which have been fully explained and are well understood. The reasons for that decision have not ceased to exist and His Majesty's Government endorse the determination of the Government of India not to be deflected from their duty towards the peoples of India and of the United Nations by Mr. Gandhi's attempt to secure his unconditional release by fasting.

"The first duty of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government is to defend the soil of India from invasion by which it is still menaced, and to enable India to play her part in the general cause of the United Nations. There can be no justification for discriminating between Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders. The responsibility, therefore, rests entirely with Mr. Gandhi himself".

## LEADERS' CABLE

The Committee of the Leaders' Conference had sent the following cable to. Mr. Winston Churchill. "The hundred public men from different parts of India representing various communities, creeds and interests, including commerce and industry, landed interests, workers, communists, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and British missionaries, met yesterday at New Delhi and unanimously passed a resolution urging the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi, whose condition is fast approaching a crisis. We fear that unless immediately released he will pass away.

"We wish to explain to British public opinion that the Mahatma is fasting only to be able to review the situation as a free man and to advise the people accordingly, and not on the issue of independence. We are convinced that the terms of his letter of September 23 recently published by Government amount to an unequivocal disapproval on behalf of himself and the Congress of all acts of violence.

"The Chairman of the Conference, Sir Tej Bahadur, Sapru, submitted the resolution to the Viceroy yesterday afternoon and immediately afterwards he received a reply from the Viceroy declining to interfere as no new factor had arisen to alter the previous decision and enclosing the official communication of February 10. We deeply deplore that the advice of so many representatives and responsible men should have been summarily turned down by the Viceroy.

"We firmly believe that if the Mahatma's life is spared a way will be opened to the promotion of peace and goodwill as surely as his death as a British Prisoner will intensify public embitterment. The charges brought by Government against the Mahatma do not rest upon an examination by any impartial tribunal or independent body of men. We firmly believe that much of the trouble which has arisen was preventable by timely action on the part of Government last summer and that the Mahatma should have been allowed to see the Viceroy to find a solution as he desired. Millions of our countrymen feel that the responsibility for saving the Mahatma's life now rests only with Government".

#### ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY

"We therefore, up that the Mahatma should be forthwith released. As under the existing Constitution the ultimate responsibility is of the British Parliament in the peace and tranquillity of India we request that this cable may be brought to its notice in order that it may do justice in the matter. We are convinced that wise and liberal statesmanship will solve the Indo-British problem more speedily and effectively than stern repression. "

The signatories included Sir T. B. Saprú, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Allah Baksh, Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, Mrs. Sarladevi Chaudhuri. President, Women's Hindu-Muslim unity committee, Mr. B. T. Ranadive, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee. Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Mr. J. R. D. Tata, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. G. L. Mehta, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. K. M. Munshi and Sir Jagdish Prasad.

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*Times of India.*

25th February 1943.

#### **"No Pressure From Congress M.L.A.S. ".**

#### SIR H. P. MODY ON HIS RESIGNATION

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 24.—With reference to a London report published in some Bombay papers that Sir H. P. Mody's resignation from the Governor-General's Executive Council was due to pressure from the Congress party members in the Indian Legislative Assembly, Sir H. P. Mody says:—

"This is an utterly untrue and mischievous suggestion. Not a single person approached me to influence my course of action, and those who know me should have no hesitation in laughing to scorn the idea that, after a long public career, during which I have done many unpopular things and after steadfastly facing the extremely dangerous and unpleasant situation which developed in the country after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, I should allow myself to be coerced into resigning my office. It only shows how little public opinion in England knows about what is happening in this country. Apparently people in England do not even know that most members of the Congress party are in jail and it is physically impossible for them to exert pressure on me".



The report referred to above is as follows: " The force of pressure which his (Mr. Gandhi's) sitting *dharna* exerted upon the two Hindus Mr. Aney and Mr. Savarkar) is understood and their resignations, therefore have not caused great surprise. That Sir H. P. Mody followed in their wake I have heard ascribed to the pressure which the Congress party members in the Indian Legislative Assembly can exert on one in various ways ".—Associated Press.

*Times of India.*

25th. February 1943.

### **Mr. Gandhi Standing The Fast Well.**

#### **DOCTORS HOPEFUL**

*(From our Staff Correspondent)*

POONA, FEBRUARY 24.—Opinion among medical circles in Poona is to the effect that Mr. Gandhi is standing the strain of the fast well. It is felt that, judging from the latest bulletin, he is now better than two or three days ago. The possibility of another crisis happening in the remaining seven days is not altogether ruled out by doctors who feel, however, more optimistic now about the outcome of the fast. Everyday and every hour that passes without a crisis, local medical practitioners explain, is a tribute to Mr. Gandhi's remarkable powers of endurance.

Mr. Gandhi received probably the largest number of visitors to-day. Those who interviewed him included his 80-year-old sister. Mrs. Gokiben Kapadia and members of Mr. Gandhi's Ashrams at Sevagram and Sabar-mati. Lines from Tulsidas were sung to Mr. Gandhi by one of the Ashramites to the accompaniment of stringed music. Mr. Gandhi was throughout cheerful

According to a telephonic communication received here, Mr. C. Raja-gopalachari and Mr. G. D. Birla are expected from New Delhi on Thursday evening. Mr. Rathindranath Tagore, son of Poet Tagore is also expected here.

An Associated Press message states that before the Ashramites started singing Mr. Gandhi asked the Superintendent of the Camp if it would be in order for the visitors to sing. When some children who had accompanied their parents to the Aga Khan Palace came into his room, Mr. Gandhi asked for some gur to be brought and distributed it to the youngsters.

#### **OFFICIAL BULLETIN**

"Mr. Gandhi's general condition shows a slight improvement. The uraemic symptoms are less prominent. He is cheerful and his strength shows no further deterioration", states the report on Mr. Gandhi's condition up to Wednesday afternoon. The report is signed by Dr. B. C. Roy, Major-General R. H. Candy, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Dr. S. Nayar, Lt-Col. M. G. Bhandari and Lt.-Col. B. Z. Shah, states a Bombay Government communique.

With the beginning of the third week today, the prospect of Mr. Gandhi successfully terminating the fast appears brighter, though the daily increasing weakness with its corresponding risk can by no means be ignored, states the United Press.

Doctors who held today their morning and afternoon examination of Mr. Gandhi's condition came out of the Aga Khan Palace with a more confident look on their faces. Friends having experience of Mr. Gandhi's previous fasts appear to hold the opinion that there are various phases of a three weeks' fast and Mr. Gandhi has yet to carry the "accumulated liabilities" of the last two weeks' fast into the third week.

It is understood that Mr. Gandhi had a few hours' sleep last night and appeared to be more comfortable this morning due to the rest he had yesterday. He is following the routine of prayers to the accompaniment of devotional songs, besides taking regular massage and sponge bath every morning. This daily process appears to tire him to some extent but it is considered necessary to keep him comfortable.

Since Mr. Gandhi finds it difficult to drink and retain water which is adjusted to one taste, it is understood it is being made sweet and sour alternately by mixing the usual dose of sour and sweet lime juice.

With the progress of the fast the number of journalists is daily increasing in Poona. Today three more foreign journalists arrived here.

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*Times of India*

26th February 1943.

### **Support To Government of India's Attitude.**

#### **MR. AMERY ON MR. GANDHI'S FAST**

LONDON, FEBRUARY 25.—The Secretary for India, Mr. Amery, answering questions in the House of Commons today, said that the British Government entirely agreed with the decision of the Government of India not to yield to Mr. Gandhi's efforts to enforce his unconditional release.

Mr. Amery said: "The circumstances in which the Government of India found it necessary to detain the Congress leaders are well known. The correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy preceding Mr. Gandhi's fast has been published.

It contains no indication that Mr. Gandhi sees cause for regret in the outbreaks of murder, violence and sabotage which followed the authorisation in August last by the Congress party of a mass struggle. By rejecting the offer of the Government of India to release him for the period of his fast and declaring that his fast would be unnecessary if he were released. Mr. Gandhi has also made it clear that the object of the fast is simply to enforce his unconditional release.

"The Government of India, composed when the decision was taken of nine Indian and four European members, including the Viceroy decided that they would not yield to this threat (Cheers). His Majesty's

Government are in entire agreement with their decision, India has a vital part to play in the general cause of the United Nations. She is still herself menaced by invasion.

#### NO SIGN OF REPENTANCE

" There can be no justification for the release of men who deliberately planned to paralyse India's defence at a most critical moment (cheers) and who have shown no sign of abandoning their criminal purpose, nor is there any reason in this respect for discrimination between Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders. Subject to their general decision, the Government of India have wished to show Mr. Gandhi every consideration. He has at the Aga Khan's Palace his own medical attendants as well as those provided by Government, and is allowed subject to their advice and to Government's permission, to receive visitors".

There were protests and some interruption when Mr. Sorensen (Lab.) asked for an early debate " in view of the very real concern in some parts of the House of Commons and the country ". Mr. Amery replied that that was a question for the Leader of the House to deal with.

Replying to a suggestion that the situation might be eased if Mr. Gandhi were placed among the interned leaders of the Congress Working Committee, Mr. Amery, amid cheers, said: " I leave that to the judgment of the Government of India."

Mr. Shinwell (Lab.) requested Mr. Amery to produce evidence supporting the implication in his statement that Mr. Gandhi was responsible for the outbreak of violence.

Mr. Amery: "A good deal has been produced but fuller matter is enroute from India and will be published on arrival".

There were cries of "No" when Mr. Kirkwood (Lab.) suggested that Mr. Gandhi's unconditional release would be a sign of strength, not weakness.

Mr. Mander (Liberal) asked if Indian leaders had appealed to Mr. Gandhi to abandon his fast in public interest.

Mr. Nicholson (Con.) said that the Government of India was earning universal respect by recognition of its primary duty-maintenance of conditions under which the masses of Indians could lead orderly normal lives. Mr. Amery made no reply to these further points.

#### NO LETTER TO MR. AMERY

Mr. Sorensen questioned Mr. Amery regarding the letter stated to have been sent by Mr. Gandhi to the Secretary of State. Mr. Amery replied: "The whole correspondence which passed between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy and the Government of India has been given to the Press. No letter was addressed to me by Mr. Gandhi. The Government of India's statement of Congress responsibility for the disturbances will likewise be given full publicity as soon as it is received here ".

Mr. Sorensen said that Mr. Gandhi had referred to such a letter and asked Mr. Amery to inquire why he never received it. Mr. Amery: "I have no doubt that if a letter had been addressed to me by Mr. Gandhi and sent by the Government of India, it would have reached me."

Later, the Leader of the House, Mr. Eden, rejected a request by the Labour Leader Mr. Greenwood, for an early debate on India. Mr. Eden said: "The Government's view is that in the present state of affairs respecting Mr. Gandhi's fast a debate would serve no useful purpose indeed rather the reverse. But, of course, we will review the situation as it develops"

Mr. Maxton (Ind. Lab.) asked if it would not be better to debate the situation before any tragedy happened rather than afterwards. Mr. Eden: "I did carefully consider the reply I have given. It is Government's considered view that no useful purpose would be served by a debate at present."

A deputation, including Canon Holland and a number of Labourite Members of Parliament waited on the India Secretary. Mr. Amery, in the House of Commons on Wednesday and urged him to release Mr. Gandhi and facilitate contact between Mr. Gandhi and Congress leaders.

General Hsuing Shih-hui, head of the Chinese Military Mission now in London, at a press conference today said "I hope the British Government will find a satisfactory solution to the deadlock in India."

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*Times of India,*

26th February 1943.

### **Hopes of Mr. Gandhi Surviving His Fast.**

"C. R. "AND OTHER LEADERS IN POONA

*(From our Staff Correspondent.)*

POONA, FEBRUARY 25TH.—The hopeful outlook regarding Mr. Gandhi's ability to tide over his present fast is supported by the absence of any further deterioration in his condition today, the sixteenth day of his fast. It is pointed out here that for a long period after Mr. Gandhi breaks his fast, on Wednesday next on the completion of 21 days, doctors' vigil over his health will not be relaxed, because the restoration of normal health after a long fast is rather a slow process needing careful watch and attention.

Considering that he is in the advance stage of a long fast, Mr. Gandhi is reported to have spent a fairly comfortable day today. Those who visited him this afternoon found him cheerful. Among those who saw him today were Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor of "The Hindu" Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Dr. P. Subbaroyan. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai and Mr. K. M. Munshi arrived here from New Delhi this evening. They will see Mr. Gandhi tomorrow.

Mr. K. Srinivasan left for Madras tonight, states the "Associated Press."

#### MR. GANDHI IN GOOD SPIRITS

Mr. Gandhi is in good spirits today. He had a sponge bath and massage this morning.

Although fully conscious all the time, he rarely speaks except in the evenings, when visitors see him. With six more days to go, a more optimistic view is taken in medical circles in Poona of Mr. Gandhi being able to terminate his fast successfully.

Headlines from the day's newspapers and other important news of the day were read out to him today. Those who saw him this evening found him propped up against a pillow and he was able to turn from side to side.

Despite the 16 days' fasting and his extreme state of weakness he showed keen interest in the conversation and during evening prayers today he asked for some of his favourite hymns to be sung.

#### OFFICIAL BULLETIN

The following is the report on Mr. Gandhi's condition up to this afternoon, states a Bombay Government "communique".

Mr. Gandhi has made no further progress. There is no appreciable change in his condition:

"Following the crisis on Sunday, nausea compelled him to drink sweet lime juice and water. This was continued on Monday and Tuesday and good results were manifested. Yesterday he reduced the quantity considerably as he wishes to take the minimum quantity enabling him to drink water."

The daily influx of American journalists to Poona is taken here as an indication of the increasing interest the American press is taking in the Indian situation arising out of Mr. Gandhi's fast, states the "United Press". A few more American journalists arrived here this morning and the new list includes a woman journalist. It is understood that two British journalists are also arriving here shortly.

The "United Press" understands that Mr. M. S. Aney is arriving here tomorrow evening, and private advices to this effect have already been received here today.

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*Bombay Chronicle,*

27th February 1943.

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 26TH.—Mr. N. R. Sarkar, who resigned from the Viceroy's Executive Council, on the eve of his departure for Calcutta, has issued the following statement to the Press:

"When I accepted office about a year and a half ago I did so in spite of the fact that it was not in line with the views of the predominant

political organisation with which I myself was intimately associated for the best part of my public life.

I strongly felt that a policy of keeping away from responsibility and refusal to take advantage of whatever chances came in our way would not be in the interests of the country under the present circumstances.

I had the honour to be in charge of three departments of the Government of India (Education, Health and Lands; Commerce and Food) and my experience has convinced me that, in spite of obvious limitations, there is enough scope for doing useful service to the country and promoting the national interests.

This is particularly so in times of war which brings in its train new phases of activities affecting vital national interests and welfare of the masses.

Similarly, during the difficult period of transition from war to peace many problems of far reaching significance are bound to arise, and without representative Indians on the Government at such a time, there is a real danger that the country's interests would largely go by default.

If in spite of all these, I decided to lay down my office, it was on an overriding consideration in connection with the latest policy of the Government of India regarding the greatest man of India who embodies our national aspiration for freedom and stands foremost in the sphere of our progressive social activities, and whose life is ever so vital for bringing about a real and lasting reconciliation between the various communities in India and between India and Great Britain.

Our humble power could not be of much avail in saving his life.

I am, however, confident that where we have failed, Almighty God Will step in to help us and to save him for us.

It is my prayer at this hour that he may yet live for many years to serve the country's cause.

It is also my earnest hope today that the political technique for winning national freedom may be re-adjusted in full appreciation of the realities of the present situation.

At the same time I would appeal to the British Government also to reorient their present policy and take a realistic and helpful attitude towards solving the present deadlock"—A. P.

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*Times of India*

27th February 1943.

MR. GANDHI IN GOOD CHEER.

**"C. R. 'S' Interview.**

Poona, FEBRUARY 26TH.—Mr. C. Rajagopalachari shares the view generally held here that Mr. Gandhi will pull through his 21 days' fast, He had a brief interview with Mr. Gandhi this afternoon and has sought

Government's permission to call on him as often as he desires during the present fast. On emerging from the Aga Khan's palace he told pressmen that Mr. Gandhi appeared pleased to see him, so was he to see Mr. Gandhi.

Naturally, in the present state of Mr. Gandhi's health he would not discuss political questions with him. It would have been cruel to do so especially as he differed with on some questions.

Among those who saw Mr. Gandhi today were Mr. Bhulabhai J.Desai, Mr. Walchand Hirachand and Mrs. Ramnarain Ruia, Mr. M. S. Aney, former member of the Viceroy's Executive Council has arrived in Poona.

Mr. K. M. Munshi saw Mr. Gandhi at the Aga Khan's Palace this morning. His interview was a brief one.

"Russia is far too occupied to take interest in us. China has already shown her great interest in a satisfactory solution of the Indian impasse and at the present moment she is helpless herself," said Mr. Rajagopalachari in an interview to the United Press, on what he thought about the attitude of Russia and China towards the present Indian situation.

#### OFFICIAL REPORT

The following is the report on Mr. Gandhi's condition up to Friday afternoon, states a Bombay Government communique:

"Mr. Gandhi's condition shows no appreciable change. He is cheerful".The report is signed by Dr. B. C. Roy, Major-General, R. H. Candy, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Dr. S. Nayar, Lieut-Col. M. G. Bhandari and Lieut- Col. B. Z. Shah.

An Associated Press message states that Mr. Gandhi is reported to be in good cheer. Since yesterday he has reduced the dose of lime juice which he was taking. As he feels he can do with a reduced quantity. One ounce of juice is diluted in ten ounces and more of water, and he sips it through a tube.

Mr. Ravindranath Tagore, who has arrived in Poona along with his family to be near Mr, Gandhi during the fast said in an interview: " Although I know that in the present condition it would not be wise or proper to seek an interview with Mahatma Gandhi, my wife and myself could not keep ourselves so far away from him at this critical time. We felt we should come to pay our silent homage of love and reverence to him: for he is as dear to us as a father. We wish no more than to be near him at this time. We cannot also forget the strong ties of love and friendship which bound my father to Mahatmaji. Nor can we be unmindful of the deep debt of gratitude which the Vishwabharati owes him."

It may be recalled that in 1932 when Mr. Gandhi went on fast on the Communal Award question in Poona, the Poet "Gurudev " came all the way from Shantiniketan to Poona in order to be near him.

*Times of India,*  
1st March 1943.

### **Mr. Gandhi Alert and In Good Spirits.**

#### **GENERAL CONDITION IMPROVES**

*(From our Staff Correspondent)*

POONA, FEBRUARY 28TH.—Mr. Gandhi, though still weak, after 19 food-less days, is reported to have been more cheerful and bright in his conversation today than at any time before during his present fast.

Today he had his first shave after a lapse of 19 days. One of the visiting doctors attending on him regularly officiated as his barber. The beard which he grew since launching on his fast was removed and his moustache nearly trimmed. Mr. Gandhi is said to have confined to spending long hours in meditation.

Since launching on his fast Mr. Gandhi is reported to have been spending long hours in mediation.

Today Mr. Gandhi received an unusually large number of visitors including Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

With only two more days to complete his 21 days' fast, Mr. Gandhi is reported to have told his friends that his confidence to pull through the fast remained unshaken. It is now believed, adds the United Press, that the last critical phase of the fast which threatened to affect his condition on Saturday, is now over and that there is no further apprehension of its recurrence during the next two days.

The usual four minute limit placed on visitors interviewing Mr. Gandhi was raised in the case of Mr. M. S. Aney, former Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, who had a fairly long talk with Mr. Gandhi at the Aga Khan's Palace on Saturday. The conversation was purely a personal one and it is understood that political questions were not discussed. Mr. Aney is likely to call on Mr. Gandhi again in the next few days.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari also called on Mr. Gandhi on Saturday afternoon. Later Mr. Aney called on Mr. Rajagopalachari and had a brief conversation with him.

#### **OFFICIAL REPORT**

"Mr. Gandhi's general condition shows improvement. He is alert and in good spirits," states a communique issued by the Bombay Government on Sunday evening on the health of Mr. Gandhi up to Sunday afternoon. The report is signed by Dr. B. C. Roy, Major-General R. H. Candy. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Miss S. Nayar, Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari and Lt.-Col. B. Z. Shah.

During his 20 minutes' stay at the Aga Khan's Palace Mr. Aney met Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi and other inmates of the palace states the United Press. The same news agency has learnt that



Mr. Aney has decided to stay at Poona till the termination of the fast and intends to see Mr. Gandhi frequently. For this purpose Mr. Aney has requested the Inspector-General of Prisons for the necessary permission.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, it appears, has secured Government's permission to meet Mr. Gandhi as often as possible.

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*Bombay Chronicle,*

2nd March 1943.

**"U. S. Must Intervene to Secure Gandhiji's Release".**

*Bombay Progressive Group's Plea.*

The Progressive Group, through its President, Mr. R. K. Karanjia, has addressed the following letter to Mr. William Phillips, Mr. Roosevelt's personal representative in India: —

Dear Friend,

On behalf of the Progressive Group of Bombay, one of the most influential non-party and cosmopolitan organisations in India I write this to impress upon you and the great democratic nation you represent, the views, hopes and fears of young India on the existing crisis. That crisis can, in our opinion, be resolved only by the immediate and unconditional release of Gandhiji. And such a consumption, it is also in our considered opinion, can only be brought about by the intercession of the U. S. A.

News that America may be discussing the situation with Britain has not given a little hope to us. For your leaders and your people can bring to our crisis a freshness of outlook and impartiality which we can expect of Great Britain, who has taken upon herself the role of the prosecutor, the Judge, the jury and the jailor in regard to the Indian National Congress.

**PROFOUNDLY ANTI -AXIS**

You have been with us long enough now to know well that this country is profoundly Anti-Axis, that we adhere to democratic ideals and that the whole background development and the history of the Indian National Congress repudiate the suggestion that Mahatma Gandhi, or for the matter of that any Congress leader has at any time deviated from the path of the democratic precept or practice.

Of recent months we have met Americans, known them well. Their propoganda has told us how in many different ways they have practised those very ideals of freedom for which the world, including your nation, is today fighting and making immeasurable sacrifices. Is it too much then, to ask you to intercede on behalf of those very freedoms in India and to give us an assurance of the courage and sincerity of your conviction, by ensuring the immediate and unconditional release of our great leader?

You need not have fears about consequences of such a step. We assure you and you have innumerable such assurances from Gandhiji's own past that such a gesture will not be lost upon him. Indeed it seems more

than likely from the Viceroy-Gandhi correspondence, that once he is released unconditionally Gandhi would condemn those misdeeds that have been done in India in the name of the Congress and, may be, hasten an honourable settlement with Britain.

Not only this country, but the entire freedom loving world looks up to America, to intercede and save the life of our leader.

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*Times of India.*

2nd March 1943.

### **End of Mr. Gandhi's Fast in Sight.**

#### **GOVERNMENT ORDER TO FRIENDS**

*(From our Staff Correspondent!)*

POONA, MARCH 1ST.—Friends of Mr. Gandhi who were allowed to see him at the Aga Khan's Palace during his fast have been informed that they will not be permitted by Government to be present at the thanks giving prayer which will precede the breaking of the fast on Wednesday morning. It is understood that only Mr. Gandhi's sons and near relations will be permitted to be present, should they desire to do so. ' Most of the visitors who are assembled in Poona to see Mr. Gandhi are not planning to leave. Dr. B. C. Roy, one of the physicians attending on Mr. Gandhi, proposes to leave for Calcutta on Wednesday afternoon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is likely to leave Poona on Tuesday.

The end of Mr. Gandhi's fast within the next 40 hours, is awaited by his friends with a growing sense of relief, doctors are amazed at the manner in which he has stood the strain so far, though they feel it has severely taxed his physical strength. His sleep last night was disturbed, but no serious complications have occurred, and medical opinion is that he will get through the remaining period of his fast.

At breakfast time on Wednesday, Mr. Gandhi will end his ordeal by sipping a glass of orange juice. In his previous fasts this ceremony has always been preceded by a prayer with all his followers gathering around him and reciting passages from the Bhagavad Gita, the Koran and the Bible.

Mr. Gandhi meanwhile spends most of his time on the verandah outside his room.

This morning Mr. G. D. Birla had an interview with Mr. Gandhi. As was the latter's silence day he did not speak. The meeting lasted nearly . half an hour.

The Bombay Government's report on Mr. Gandhi's condition up to Monday afternoon says: " Today is Mr. Gandhi's day of silence. His strength is maintained and he is in good spirits. He is easily tired by visitors." The report is signed by Dr. B. C. Roy, Major-General R. H. Candy, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Dr. S. Nayar, Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari and Lt.-Col. B.Z. Shah.

## MR. GANDHI'S VISITORS

The United Press says that Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Devdas Gandhi, Mr. Ramdas Gandhi and members of the Bajaj family, including Mr. Kamalanayan Bajaj, also called on Mr. Gandhi today. It is learnt that Mr. M. S. Aney will have a second interview with Mr. Gandhi tomorrow, afternoon.

It is understood that Prof. Bhansali, who wanted to come here to see Mr. Gandhi has been advised by his doctors not to undertake the journey in view of the weak state of his health.

As a mark of their affection for Mr. Gandhi and in view of his fast, members of the Bombay Stock Exchange have collected Rs. 50,000 for the relief of people and cattle. Out of this amount, Rs. 25,000 have already been sent to Bijapur for the relief of famine-stricken people and cattle.

Lahore: " The country has been agitated over Mr. Gandhi's fast. However, misguided we may think Mr. Gandhi's attitude has been and I for one think that he has been more a politician than a saint in this world crisis, yet it would have been a calamity for the Empire if his fast had been fatal," observed Sir William Roberts, President of the Punjab Branch of the European Association, addressing the annual general meeting of the Association. Sir William added: "We can ill-afford to dispose of anyone willing to sacrifice himself for an ideal. If the Mahatma lives he can yet be a great influence in bringing India to a better realisation of the issues at stake. Let us also search our hearts and see if we cannot, even at this late hour, do something to bring about a better atmosphere in this great country. " United Press.

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*Bombay Chronicle,*

3rd March 1943.

## MAHATMA DOES ALL THE TALKING

POONA, MARCH 2ND.—Mr. M. S. Aney had a second interview with Mahatma Gandhi this afternoon and had twentyfive minutes' talks with him. The " United Press" understands that during the major part of their discussion Gandhiji did all the talking despite Mr. Aney's warning not to exhaust himself.

Mr. Aney spent some time with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who in her characteristic humour reminded Mr. Aney that she was older than him, and gave him tea and fruits. It is understood that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who came to the Aga Khan's Palace in the meanwhile, also joined Mrs. Naidu's little tea party.

Mr. Rajagopalachari called on Mr. N. C. Kelkar and was closeted with him and also Mr. Aney for some time.

### BIDHAN ROY TO COME AGAIN

The "United Press " understands that Gandhiji has expressed a desire that Dr. B. C. Roy should pay him another visit; and accordingly Dr. Roy has applied to the Government for necessary permission. If the permission sought for is granted to him, Dr. Roy is expected here again by the end of this month.

### LIVING BUDDHA

In an interview to the "United Press" Prof. Tan Yun-Shan said:" We, Chinese people, regard Gandhiji as a living Buddha of modern India, and have the profoundest love and greatest veneration for him. We can imagine how deeply the people of China are concerned about Gandhiji's health. I most honestly pray with my Indian brethren that God may spare Mahatmaji to us for many years to come, and that Mahatmaji will live in this world a full span of life, for 120 years, as he himself has once said."United Press.

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*Bombay Chronicle,*

3rd March 1943.

### **Leaders' Conference Should Meet Again, Says Rajaji.**

POONA, MARCH 2nd.—" I can say nothing definitely for while I see some light and I have caught some hope from Gandhiji's beside. I cannot say I got anything clear in my mind as yet" declared Mr. C. Rajagopalachari interviewed by the Associated Press before his departure for Bombay tonight.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, who has been here for the last four days saw Gandhiji daily and had talks with him.

### NEXT STEP

Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "There is much cause for anger and bitterness but we should check these feelings and devise ways and means to overcome difficulties. It was all dark when I arrived at Poona. I have seen Gandhiji and talked with him both seriously and lightly sitting by his bedside these four days. It was a privilege by itself."

"My distress is much less as I go back from here and I seem gradually to be recovering hope.

It is necessary that those who met at Delhi recently should meet again and think furiously ".

Mr. Rajagopalachari added: " I must meet friends and think out some plan. "

### VALUE OF FAST

The continued fast should chasten our own souls and bring people together closer to one another than they were before and make people turn their critical faculty towards themselves before focussing it on others.

Mr. Rajagopalachari declined to be drawn into any conversation in regard to his talks with Gandhiji and said: " I should like to stop at this and not be questioned about further plans at this stage. "

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*Times of India,*  
3rd March 1943.

### **Mr. Gandhi's Lime Juice**

DR. ROY ON LEADER'S FAST

*(From Our Staff Correspondent)*

POONA, MARCH 3rd.—Mr. Gandhi is reported to be quite cheerful today, the last day of his fast. He will break his fast at 9 o'clock on Wednesday morning.

Dr. B. C. Roy, one of the physicians attending on Mr. Gandhi, was besieged by Indian and foreign press correspondents today and pressed to throw light on reports of sweet lime juice having been given to Mr. Gandhi last week after the crisis which occurred on the twelfth day of fast.

Dr. Roy said that since the crisis the quantity of sweet lime juice given to Mr. Gandhi averaged five to six ounces a day, diluted in three or four times that amount of water. The maximum amount of sweet lime juice given in a day was 20 ounces, diluted in water as above, on the fourteenth day of his fast. Since then, however, Mr. Gandhi had been insisting on a drastic reduction in the quantity and proportion of sweet lime juice.

Some of the foreign correspondents asked him whether there was not an inconsistency between a total fast and the drinking of sweet lime juice, however diluted. Dr. Roy replied in the negative and, quoted Mr. Gandhi's declaration prior to embarking on his fast that he proposed to drink water with citrus juice. Dr. Roy proceeded to explain that the juice which was added was intended purely to make the water palatable and to enable Mr. Gandhi to retain the water and to surmount nausea to which he was susceptible during fasts. During the present fast Mr. Gandhi had more than one attack of nausea, and doctors decided to add sweet lime juice to help Mr. Gandhi overcome nausea.

" Another reason why lime juice was added," the doctor continued, " is that it contains alkaline salts which not only suppress nausea but also check a tendency to excessive acidity in the urine and blood of which Mr. Gandhi betrayed strong symptoms during the fast. It was necessary to secure the elimination of waste products from the body. There was no question of substitution of new food."

### NUTRITIVE VALUE

One correspondent insisted that 20 ounces of sweet lime juice taken in a day would contain sufficient nutritive value to militate against the conception of a fast. Dr. Roy controverted this contention and said. "The

nutritive value of one ounce of sweet lime juice is 20 calories. An ordinary healthy man, resting, would need 1,800 calories a day to keep his body and muscular organism functioning. On the day Gandhiji was given the maximum amount of sweet lime juice, namely, 20 ounces, he took in only 400 calories, leaving a deficit of 1,400 calories. This meant that he was still wasting. Blood tests showed that his tissues were wasting. Therefore it was that the doctors suggested a small dose of sweet lime juice, big enough to prevent further waste leading to a collapse but too meagre to be regarded as ' food ' ".

Dr. Roy added that some of his medical friends had asked him why, in order to save Mr. Gandhi's life, the doctors attending on him should not mix glucose in the water given So him to drink. Dr. Roy's reply was: " That's all bunkum. There is no question of playing tricks of this type with a man like Gandhiji. Such a trick would be neither justifiable nor desirable. "

### CAPACITY FAST

An American correspondent sought light on the term "capacity fast" and inquired why Mr. Gandhi went so near death. Dr. Roy answered that, according to Mr. Gandhi, the duration of the present fast was within his capacity. The term did not, of course, mean that he would give up the fast the moment he felt the pangs of hunger. At the same time, it should be remembered, Dr. Roy went on, that Mr. Gandhi had proclaimed his intention not to court death; he hoped, and wanted to live. That was why, he agreed to the addition of a small quantity of sweet lime juice when the doctors convinced him that, if he did not do so, he would be extinguished. Even then he agreed to a dose which would avert death but at the same time would not amount to food.

In reply to a foreign correspondent, Dr. Roy explained the Indian, particularly Mr. Gandhi's, conception of a fast. He said it was different from the westerner's conception. Dr. Roy repudiated the suggestion that it was coercion or blackmail, and contended that Mr. Gandhi undertook the fast in order to stabilise the " inner strength " and by virtue thereof to increase the influence of righteousness on his opponents.

Mr. Gandhi will terminate his fast at nine o'clock on Wednesday morning. His first breakfast after 21 days will be a glass of orange juice. His favourite Ashram prayer will be recited before he breaks his fast in the presence of only his fellow-detenus and doctors. His two sons, Ramdas and Devadas, have preferred not to be present, but it is gathered they have been allowed by Government daily to visit their father for four days more. Mr. Kanu Gandhi, his grand-nephew, Mrs. Mahadev Desai and her son, Narayan Desai, who have been allowed to stay with Mr. Gandhi, will however, be there. Some of Mr. Gandhi's followers assembled here are planning to hold separate thanks-giving prayer meeting privately about the time Mr. Gandhi breaks his fast.

Resting on his hospital bed on the verandah in front of his room, Mr. Gandhi received the largest number of visitors so far on Tuesday. He had hardly any time to speak to each of them, but merely exchanged

salutations. Among those who saw Mr. Gandhi were C. Rajagopalachari and Mr. M. S. Aney who was for more than an hour in the Aga Khan's Palace. Before leaving Poona for Bombay tonight, Mr. Rajagopalachari had a long conversation with Mr. Aney. From Bombay, Mr. Rajagopalachari will leave immediately for Madras where his elder brother is dangerously ill. Mr. Aney is leaving for Bombay on Wednesday from where he will go to Yeotmal on March 4.

The Bombay Government's report on Mr. Gandhi's condition up to Tuesday afternoon states: "There is no change in Mr. Gandhi's condition. He is in good spirits."

#### "C. R. " ON HOPEFUL OUTLOOK

( *From our Staff Correspondent* )

POONA, MARCH 2ND.—Mr. Rajagopalachari admitted in an interview today that as the result of talks with Mr. Gandhi during the last four days, he was leaving Poona not without some hope. He added that those leaders who met in Delhi recently should again meet and think furiously. "There is much cause for anger and bitterness", he said, "but we should check these feelings and devise ways and means to overcome the apathy of those whose co-operation we want".

"It was all dark when I arrived here in Poona," said Mr. Rajagopalachari. "I have seen Mr. Gandhi and talked with him both seriously and lightly, sitting by his bedside these four days. It was a privilege by itself. My distress is much less as I go back from here, and I seem gradually to be recovering."

Asked about his future plans, he said: "I can say nothing definitely, for while I saw light and have caught some hope from Gandhiji's beside. I cannot say that I have got anything clear in my head as yet. I must meet friends and think out some plan. The fast should chasten our own souls and bring the people together to one another than they were before and make people turn their critical faculties towards themselves before focussing them on others

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*Times of India*

4th March 1943.

#### MR. GANDHI ENDS HIS 21-DAY FAST.

##### **Plans for Careful Nursing.**

(*From our Staff Correspondent*)

POONA, MARCH 3RD.—The last leaf fell from the calendar at Mr. Gandhi's bedside at 9 a.m. today when Mr. Gandhi sipped a glass of orange juice and ended his 17th public fast. The calendar had been specially prepared by Miss Miraben to cover the 21 days' fast and hung near Mr. Gandhi. In smallest room of the Aga Khan's Palace, Mr. Gandhi, his fellow detenus

and friends gathered with official doctors and the jailor to participate in the ceremony ending the 21 days' fast.

Exactly at 9 o'clock Mr. Gandhi's grandnephew, nurse and entertainer, 25 year old Kanu Gandhi, drew the bow accross the seven stringed *dilruba* and sang an ancient Hindu hymn. Mr. Gandhi reclined popped up by pillows on the bed. On the floor squatted Mr. Gandhi's wife, Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Miss Miraben, his Secretary Mr. Pyarelal, and detenu followes. Dr. Nayar, Dr. Gilder and wife and son of his late Secretary Mr. Mahadev Desai and Master Narayan Desai, Mr. Gandhi's friend Dr. B. C. Roy also squatted on the ground. On the chairs sat official doctors Major-General R. H. Candy, Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari, Lt.-Col. B. Z. Shah and Khan Bahadur Khatali, the jailor.

When Kanu Gandhi's songs ended Mr. Gandhi's feeble voice joined in the selections sung by his followers from the Gita, the Koran and Poet Tagore's poems. Miss Miraben sang Christian hymns. Mr. Gandhi closed his eyes in silent meditation for a few moments. Then turning to official and non-official doctors thanked them for the care and kindness they had bestowed on him, but smilingly credited "something higher" for his recovery.

#### ORANGE JUICE TAKEN

Whilst Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, dressed in simple white sari, placed a glass containing six ounces of orange juice mixed with an ounce of water in Mr. Gandhi's weak hand and steadied the glass, Mr. Gandhi sipped it, ending his fast. His followers also sipped the juice, as well as the official doctors. Mr. Gandhi is reported to have taken 20 minutes to sip the juice. Thus Mr. Gandhi ended his 21 day ordeal.

Messrs. Devadas and Ramdas Gandhi were not present at the ceremony at the Aga Khan's Palace this morning, but at 9 a.m. led Mr. Gandhi's followers, including Mr. Gandhi's 81 year old sister at a thanks-giving prayer which included the reading of prayers from the Koran, the Gita, Ramayana, the Bible, Buddhist writings and the Avesta. Mr. Horace Alexander read the Bible. The Chinese professor Tan Yun-Shan read the Buddhist prayer. Mr. M. S. Aney recited vedic hymns.

Government have permitted Messrs. Ramdas and Devadas Gandhi to continue to visit their father until he recovers from the effect of the fast. It is understood both are seeing Mr. Gandhi this afternoon. Kanu Gandhi is also remaining with Mr. Gandhi as nurse. For the time being Government have permitted the widow and son of Mr. Mahadev Desai, who died a prisoner to remain with Mr. Gandhi.

This morning, as Mr. Gandhi was breaking his fast, his follower, Swami Anand. scattered Mr. Mahadev Desai's ashes in the water of the Indrayani River at Alandi, 20 miles from Poona. The ashes were kept by Mr. Gandhi in his own room in a khadi bag which was handed over to Swami Anand by Pyarelal at the Palace gate.



The Government of Bombay have issued the following communique on Mr. Gandhi's health: "After prayers, Mr. Gandhi broke his fast at 9-30 this morning with orange juice slightly diluted with water. He showed signs of strain. He is weak but cheerful."

The bulletin is signed by all the doctors.

It is presumed that Dr. M. D. D. Gilder would now remain with Mr. Gandhi, says a message from Poona. "He must be looked after like a young child," said Dr. B. C. Roy later to a large number of Indian and foreign journalists, who, after hours of waiting and searching finally ran him down at Koregaon Park, Dr. Roy was beaming with smiles and so were the usual Sphinx-like guards at the Aga Khan's Palace.

The United Press understands that Mr. Gandhi has expressed a desire that Dr. B. C. Roy should pay him another visit; and accordingly Dr. Roy has applied to Government for necessary permission. If the permission sought for is granted to him, Dr. Roy is expected here again by the end of this month.

#### **DR. ROY LEAVES POONA**

Dr. Roy left Poona for Bombay this afternoon on route to Calcutta. In an interview with the United Press, Dr. Roy said that full control of the mind over the body and a strong determination to live, for which he fought every inch of the ground, was what enabled Mr. Gandhi to tide over the crisis that threatened his life at one stage of the fast. "Gandhiji helped his doctors so far as elimination was concerned." added Dr. Roy. "He tried to take as much water as possible —plain water and water mixed with salts or with sweet lime juice which also contains salts. The quantity was varied by him; he only took just the minimum quantity necessary to make water palatable. That this amount of juice did not alter the slate of the fast was definitely proved by the fact that urine examinations and blood examinations continued to show the presence of waste products which in normal persons might cause uraemia ending in coma and death."

"In the world of today, the physical organs of the body get more and more under the control of the mind," said Dr. Roy, "Many of the physical functions like hunger and thirst and different types of secretions and excretions are being brought more and more under the control of the higher centres. That is why the modern man is so complex as compared to the village man of older days. In the case of Gandhiji, partly as a result of the forces operating in all of us and partly as a result of self-discipline by which he has deliberately brought the physical functions under the control of his mind, functions of the different organs of his body are being more and more directed by the central nervous system. Therefore our forecasts proved to be erroneous. We could only depend upon the law of averages and could only give our opinion on the basis of what would happen to an average man under similar conditions."

#### **LEADERS' APPEAL**

The following appeal has been issued over the signatures of Mr. M. S. Aney, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. Horace Alexander.

Prof. Tan Yun-shan, Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Mr. Amritlal V. Thakkar, Shrimati Janakidevi Bajaj and Lady Thackersey.

"We appeal to men and women throughout the country to observe next Sunday, March 7, as the day of thanks-giving to God that Gandhiji safely passed through the ordeal of his fast and to offer prayers in temples, mosques, churches and other places of worship or in special gatherings."

#### ORIGINAL RESTRICTIONS REIMPOSED.

NEW DELHI: On the termination of Mr. Gandhi's fast the arrangements for his detention and that of the other persons detained at the Aga Khan's Palace which obtained before the fast have now been resumed, states a "communique ". Such extra medical attendance and nursing, as may be necessary, will continue for the present.

The Civil Defence Member, Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava. in a statement to the Press says: —

" To-day controversial politics is silenced by the universally welcomed news that Mahatma Gandhi has survived his penance. The fast which convulsed the country for three weeks is over. Let us all join in a thanks giving prayer to the Almighty for having spared the life of this great " Tapasvi". Let us pray too for the unity of India, a task to which Mahatma Gandhi has dedicated himself and hope that the purifying influence of his fast will lead to the resolving of the unfortunate political deadlock and that all parties will now shed their mutual jealousies, fears and suspicions and unite in working together for the welfare of the Indian people. "

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*Bombay Chronicle,*

4th March 1943.

#### GANDHI BROKE FAST.

(Through: A. P. and U. P. )

POONA, MARCH 3.—Mahatma Gandhi broke his fast at 9 a.m. to-day.

The fast breaking was preceded by the usual ceremony of prayers and devotional songs in which all the inmates of the detention camp participated.

The ceremony was simple one whereafter a glass of orange juice diluted with water was handed to Mahatma Gandhi by Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, and Mahatma Gandhi, after a few minutes of silent meditation, slowly sipped the orange juice.

This ended the 21 days fast.

#### DOCTORS' COMMUNIQUE.

The following 'communique' is issued under the signature of Dr. B. C. Roy. Major-General R. H. Candy, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Dr. S. Nayar, Lieut.-Col. M. G. Bhandari and Lieut.-Col. B. Z. Shah:—

"After prayers, Mr. Gandhi broke his fast at 9-30 this morning, with orange juice slightly diluted with water. He showed signs of strain. He is weak, but cheerful".

A thanks-giving meeting for the successful termination of Mahatma Gandhi's fast to-day was held in Poona this morning in the Morarjee Gokuldas Sanatorium.

Prayers were offered for the long life of Mahatma Gandhi and relevant passages from religious books such as Gita, Kuran, the Bible, Zenda Avesta were recited.

Mr. Horace Alexander conducted the recitation from the Bible while Prof., Tan Yun-Shan of the Vishwabharati recited Buddhist prayers.

#### ANEY JOINS PRAYERS

Among others who jointed the prayers were Mr. M. S. Aney, ex-Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Lady Thakersey, Mahatma Gandhi's two sons, Mr. Devadas Gandhi and Mr. Ramdas Gandhi.

On the termination of Mr. Gandhi's fast the arrangements for his detention and that of the other persons detained at the Aga Khan's Palace which obtained before the fast have now been resumed, states a 'communique' issued from New Delhi.

Such extra medical attendance and nursing as may be necessary, will continue for the present.

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi will be given fruit juice several times a day and his normal diet will be restored gradually.

#### KIDNEYS & LIVER AFFECTED

Now that the fast is over, medical circles are busy discussing the reaction of fast on Gandhiji during the next few days.

According to their considered view Gandhiji's kidneys and liver have been certainly affected due to the long duration of the fast at the ripe age of 74 and they are inclined to regard the next two or three weeks as a very "delicate period", when the tissues will be rebuilt and, therefore, extremely careful nursing and complete rest for some time will be absolutely necessary.

#### HOW MAHATMA BROKE HIS FAST

Poona, March 3.

The earliest to arrive at the Aga Khan's Palace was Dr. B. C. Roy and at 9 a.m. the Surgeon-General to the Government of Bombay, Major-General R. H. Candy, Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari and Lt.-Col. B. Z. Shah drove in.

After communal prayers, those present observed a five-minute silence of meditation. With folded hands Mahatma Gandhi was seen to close his eyes and was in meditation.

Prayers over, Kasturba, wife of Mahatma Gandhi, handed him a glass containing six ounces of orange juice. Before sipping it the Mahatma in a feeble voice thanked the Doctors for the great care and

attention which they had bestowed on him, and said that more than anything else it was their love and affection to him that must have saved his life. Further, the Mahatma told those present, there must be something higher than the Doctor's powers that saved him. He is reported to have taken 20 minutes to sip the juice.

Looking worn out and grave, the Mahatma reclined propped up by pillows on the bed. It is presumed that Dr. M. D. D. Gilder would now remain with Mahatma Gandhi.

#### DR. ROY TAKES LEAVE.

Poona, March 3.

Amidst touching scenes Dr. B. C. Roy took leave of Gandhiji after the latter's breaking the fast this morning. With tears in his eyes Gandhiji is understood to have expressed his sincere grateful to Dr. Roy for the utmost care he had taken during the period of the fast, and recalled on this occasion the illustrious memory of Dr. Ansari in whose footsteps Dr. Roy has stepped so far as Gandhiji was concerned.

#### IMPLICATIONS OF FAST

Prayers and devotional songs over, Gandhiji it is understood spoke to those present about the implications of the fast and his survival of the ordeal as he understood them and briefly narrated the working of his mind in the various phases of the fast.

Immediately after the breaking of the fast Dr. Roy was closeted with all other attending doctors and discussed for more than an hour the detailed programme during Gandhiji's convalescence. Dr. Roy who went to the Palace at 8 in the morning came out a little later than 11 a.m. with a beaming smile on his face.

#### SRIVASTAVA FOR THANKS GIVING PRAYER

New Delhi, March 3.

The Civil Defence Member, Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava has issued the following statement to the Press:—

"To-day controversial politics is silenced by the universally welcome news that Mahatma Gandhi has survived his penance. The fast which convulsed the country for three weeks is over. Let us all join in a thanks giving prayer to the Almighty for having spared the life of this great 'Tapasvi'. Let us pray too, for the unity of India—a task to which Mahatma Gandhi has dedicated himself and hope that the purifying influence of his fast will lead to the resolving of the unfortunate political deadlock and that all parties will now shed their mutual jealousies, fears and suspicions and unite in working together for the welfare of the Indian people".

*Times of India.*

5th March 1943.

## CONGRESS MUST RECONSIDER POLICY

### **Mr. Sarker on Duty of Mr. Gandhi.**

CALCUTTA, MARCH 4.—"Considering the reality of the situation in India, so far as the relations between the various communities are concerned and considering further the implications of the war situation, Congress should, under the leadership of Gandhiji now be prepared to reconsider its technique for obtaining political freedom" said Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, lately Commerce Member of the Government of India, addressing a meeting of the Indian Journalists Association today held to offer prayers for the life of Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Sarker said: "A political settlement is a common interest, but the events of the last ten months have made it nobody's concern. Shall we not then try to get back to the position of April last? I have always been in favour of accepting the Cripps proposals. The Cripps formula would have been the best possible solution in the prevailing circumstances. But since that opportunity has been missed, I feel we must again try to get back to that stage and I hope that, in a far-reaching and all-important issue like this, prestige will not be allowed to stand in the way of our efforts".

### APPEAL TO GOVERNMENT

Mr. Sarker added, "The British Government also must realise that even though they have, to all appearances, been able to suppress the Congress temporarily, the continuance of such a situation cannot bring any benefit to the British either. It behoves them, therefore, also to help in finding a way out by getting back to the stage of the Cripps formula. If the British Government were sincere and I believe they were, in making the Cripps proposals; if their professions regarding universal democracy and freedom are meant to be taken seriously, it is incumbent on them also, if they are to be consistent, to show an altered attitude".

Mr. Sarker, continuing, said: "Already many of the actions of the British Government have given rise to suspicions in various quarters about the sincerity of their intentions. These suspicions should not be allowed to grow. If they really mean to give to India the substance of freedom after the war, it is up to them even during the war, subject, of course, to war efforts not being impeded in any way, to try their best to end the present tangle.

"The Indians are an emotional people and they had placed much faith in the American declarations about freedom and self-determination for all peoples. If the high principles which America enunciated are not to apply to the vast section of humanity that inhabits India, the declarations would indeed be meaningless. I think that if American promises of world reconstruction and the establishment of a New Order are of any

value, the people of America should also, through their Government, take this opportunity to persuade the British people to settle the Indian deadlock."

#### ALLIED VICTORY ESSENTIAL

Earlier in his speech, Mr. Sarker said that he thought it would be generally agreed that the one thing that was borne in upon us was that the victory of the Allied Nations was a necessary basis of India's "swaraj".

"Gandhiji", Mr. Sarker said, "is the one man in India today who could be expected to bring together all parties and sections, notwithstanding the welter of confusion and cleavage and differences that now exist. What has been achieved as a preliminary to national unity during these three weeks is by no means to be minimised. I feel that we should not, now that Gandhiji's fast has been ended, let things drift. I am sure that after the stocktaking made, he would surely assess how far in actual results the policy and programme pursued by the Congress in the past have been of use in taking us nearer to our political objectives, namely, freedom and self-determination for ourselves. And we, can depend on him to act courageously according to the results of such examination.—Associated Press.

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*Times of India.*

5th March 1943.

#### **Start Negotiations in India.**

#### LORD STRABOLGI'S APPEAL

LONDON, MARCH 3.—Lord Strabolgi, speaking tonight at a meeting of the India League in London, said that with the end of Mr. Gandhi's fast, fresh negotiations with the leaders of the Congress and other communities in India should be opened up immediately and the release of Mr. Gandhi might be the first step. The future course of the war in the east would depend on the action Britain was now prepared to take, he added.

#### **Lord Halifax On India.**

NEW YORK, MARCH 4.—Lord Halifax in an article contributed to the magazine "The American" says he has "not the least doubt that what is called the Indian question will be settled amicably".

He makes the statement after relating the purpose of sending Sir Stafford Cripps to India, adding, "Meanwhile we continue to regard India as a trust and not a possession. We do not draw one penny of revenue from her. She is making a magnificent contribution to the war effort. All her leaders are free to carry on as usual except those whose unpredictable activities might prove harmful to her national safety. Against those the authorities have found it necessary to invoke the due processes of the law".

The New York Times says in an editorial: "Mr. Gandhi's fast has ended and he is still alive. He has made his moral demonstration. The British too have made their demonstration. The question that now arises is whether the time has now come to make a fresh start in India."

#### CHINESE PAPER'S COMMENT

CHUNGKING.—Rejoicing over the termination of Mr. Gandhi's three-week fast and especially his survival, even though his health has been affected, the Ta Kung Pao editorially expressed blessings to Mr. Gandhi as well as to India. The daily summarises the important events in the history of India to explain that India has been a tragic nation. Looking into the long history of India, the Ta Kung Pao points out: "The Indian nation has had the most calamities in the world. This fact is lamentable, but it is also due to this that the unification and independence of India is a gigantic task. With seven major races, more than 500 dialects, only some 70 of which are widely used, opposition of the Muslim League and the All-India Congress, together with many tribes consisting of more than 500 feudal groups and 14,000,000 hungry untouchables, it has been most difficult and laudable for India to have reached the present stage of the national movement. On the other hand, what is considered accumulative in the course of history cannot be uprooted in one day. Therefore, Mr. Gandhi must live for the sake of India".

#### Mr. GANDHI'S HEALTH

The following is the report on Mr. Gandhi's health up to Thursday morning, says a communique issued by the Government of Bombay: "After breaking his fast, Mr. Gandhi took orange juice, honey and water during the day. He slept well and is cheerful". (Signed) Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari, Dr. S. Nayar, Lt.-Col. B. Z. Shah.

When Mr. Gandhi was fasting, his mail bag was by far the biggest he has so far received. He received hundreds of telegrams from all over the country praying for the safe ending of his fast or urging him to give it up. It is, doubtful whether Mr. Gandhi could have gone through them. The doctors who attended on him did not escape public attention. Gratuitous advice as to how the patient should be treated poured in from professional medical men, quacks, religious heads and others.

Maulvi Sir Raffiuddin Ahmed, former Minister of Education, Bombay and one of the founders of the Muslim League, has sent a message of congratulations to Mr. Gandhi on the successful termination of his fast.

#### LEADERS MEET IN BOMBAY.

Prominent all-India leaders, some of whom were passing through Bombay on their way back from Poona, taking advantage of the presence in the city of the Rt. Hon Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, President of the recent Leaders' Conference at Delhi, met at the residence of the Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar on Thursday.

Those present at the meeting included Sir Tej Bahadur, Dr. Jayakar. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. M. S. Aney, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir Ardeshir Dalai, Mr. J. R. D. Tata, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Mr. G. D. Birla, Mr. A. V. Thakkar and Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Mr. Gandhi's son.

The leaders informally discussed the political situation and the implications of Mr. Gandhi's fast, the meeting lasting for about two hours.

Sir Tej Bahadur and Mr. Rajagopalachari left Bombay by the Madras Express on Thursday, the former for Hyderabad (Deccan) on professional work and the latter for Madras. Mr. Devadas Gandhi, who had come to Bombay only that morning also left for Poona by the same train.

Some of the other leaders may meet again next week for further discussions.

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*Bombay Chronicle,*

5th March 1943.

#### INDIA LEAGUE MEETING

*(From A Special Correspondent.)*

LONDON, MARCH 4.—At a thanks giving meeting held last night organised by the India League, Lord Strabolgi said that he was thankful that Gandhiji did not die while Britain's prisoner. Seconding the resolution demanding Gandhiji's release, he stressed the opening of negotiations.

MR. KRISHNA MENON DECLARED THAT MR. AMERY SHOULD RESIGN. MISS AGATHA HARRISON SAID THAT GANDHIJI WAS SAVED NOT ONLY FOR INDIA BUT FOR HUMANITY.

MESSAGES WERE RECEIVED FROM LORD HUNTINGDON, MR. EDWARD THOMPSON, MR. LAURENCE HOUSMAN AND THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY EXPRESSING URGENCY OF GANDHIJI'S RELEASE.

IT IS FELT IN OFFICIAL CIRCLES THAT, WHATEVER HAPPENS, GANDHIJI'S RELEASE IS IMPOSSIBLE: AND SO AN APPEAL ONCE MORE BY LEADERS SEEMS A FORLORN - HOPE.

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#### OPEN NEGOTIATIONS WITH CONGRESS

Release Gandhiji Immediately, Says Strabolgi.

London, March 3.

Lord Strabolgi, speaking tonight at a meeting of the India League in London, said that with the end of Mr. Gandhi's fast fresh negotiations with the leaders of the Congress and other communities in India should be opened up immediately and the release of Mr. Gandhi might be the first step.



The future course of the war in the east would depend on the action Britain was now prepared to take, he added.—Reuter.

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#### GANDHIJI SLEEPS WELL

POONA, MARCH 4.—The following is the report on Mr. Gandhi's health up to this morning issued under the signatures of Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, Dr. S. Nayar and Lt. Col. B. Z. Shah: —

"After breaking his fast, Mr. Gandhi took orange juice, honey and water during the day. He slept well and is cheerful".

#### "C. R. 's " NEXT STEP ?

NAGPUR, MARCH 3.—It is reliably understood that " C. R. " proposes to hold a small conference of leaders shortly with a view to place before them his reactions to Gandhiji's fast. This informal conference is expected to take some definite steps to solve the present political stalemate.—Orient Press.

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*Bombay Chronicle,*

6th March 1943.

#### NO NEGOTIATIONS BEHIND PRISON BARS.

Agatha Harrison demands release of Indian Leaders.

*(From our own Correspondent)*

LONDON, MARCH 4.—WHAT NEXT carries the big question mark for people who are gratified that Gandhiji has survived the fast.

This feeling was markedly manifested at the meeting at Conway Hall held by the India League last night, when a mixed gathering of Indians and Europeans surveyed the developments in India since Gandhiji began his fast.

Although there was a heavy barrage of gunfire following the German raid over London none left the Hall.

Those who participated in the discussion included Lord Strabolgi, Sir Elvin, ex-Chairman of the T. U. C., Miss Agatha Harrison, Mr. Soren-sen, Mr. L. Reginald Bridgeman, representatives of the Church, several Trade Union and political organisations.

The meeting passed a resolution, which deplored and protested against the policy pursued by the Government in barring the way to negotiations AND URGED THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICALS.

Lord Strabolgi said: "We should be thankful to God that Mr. Gandhi did not die in our hands. His death would have been a calamity. But what next is the worry to me ? It seems you must negotiate BUT YOU CANNOT NEGOTIATE IN PRISON SO YOU MUST RELEASE MR. GANDHI AND ALL OTHER POLITICALS.

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#### "ANSWER TO WHAT NEXT?"

Mr. Elvin said by his fast Gandhiji had shown magnificent courage and India had been consolidated in a way she never had been before.

Mr. Elvin added: Mr. Amery says in effect that he is leaving it to the Viceroy to decide the affairs of India. Those who are members of Parliament must, therefore, consider this as the most unconstitutional procedure adopted by a Minister of the Crown and there we get an answer to the query " What next ? "

" My reply is we must force Government to change the present policy and get it to start fresh negotiations in India immediately to discover a way out of the deadlock that is not only in the interest of India but also of Britain and the cause of the United Nations.

Miss Agatha Harrison expressed profound thankfulness to God that his mercy spared the life of the greatest spiritual leaders of our time. The life of this man who spared to the world, which can ill-afford to lose it—a man who was greatest friend of Britain.

"We must realise that because it is our own responsibility to see India righter immediately "

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#### GOVERNMENT MUST MOVE

Miss Harrison agreed with other speakers that Gandhiji's fast had helped towards finding ways and means to end the deadlock. It is up to the Government now to respond—sooner the better—by allowing Mr. Gandhi to contact men like Sir T. B. Sapro and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari who were two of the best friends of Britain, to me that seems to provide the answer to the query " What next?"

*Bombay Chronicle,*  
6th March 1943.

#### MAHATMA IN GOOD SPIRITS

POONA, MARCH 5.—On the third day to-day after the termination of the fast, Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have been in good spirits, and quite cheerful.

It is learnt that he has regained some strength as a result of the nourishing diet he is being given during the last two days. It is understood that besides the usual quota of orange juice to-day, he also ate an orange by itself. For the first time also today since he broke the fast, Mahatma Gandhi took a little goat's milk.

Mr. Devadas Gandhi saw Mahatma Gandhi and remained by his side for few hours today.—Associated Press.

*Bombay Chronicle,*  
8th March 1943.

#### MAHATMA WELL ON WAY TO RECOVERY

##### Devadas Gandhi Exposes Mailbags and Lime Juice "Legends "

BOMBAY, MARCH 7.—Mr. Devdas Gandhi who returned today from Poona after seeing Gandhiji has issued the following statement: —

" My brother and I paid our goodbye visit to Gandhiji yesterday. We have been spending about an hour and a half by his bedside each day since the end of the fast. The widely published report that I spent a few hours with Gandhiji on Friday is totally incorrect. I wish it had been possible to visit him for a few more days during his convalescence more particularly because the visits were a great comfort to my mother, whose growing infirmity of mind and body has become painful and alarming to watch.

I think Gandhiji is now well on the way to recovery. He is expected to take another fortnight to be able to get out of bed. But one is thankful now to be able to look back with relief upon these four weeks of history. I do not wish to attempt a public assessment of the results of the fast. I am content, along with the rest, to let the future unfold itself."

#### TWO LEGENDS

But there are a good few legends. I shall here refer to two of them. It has been reported in the Press that Gandhiji had a heavy mailbag during the fast. Actually no mailbag, heavy or light, made its appearance at the Aga Khan's Palace. Then there is the sweet lime juice story. I do not exactly know the fruit called "sweet lime". But a foreign correspondent very naturally asked me whether he would be right in drawing the inference that something sweet like honey or glucose, had

been added to the juice. To my knowledge the plain word "orange" is used in English to mean both "mosambi" and "santra".

And it was "Mosambi" juice, miscalled sweet lime juice, that was added in minute quantities to the water with no admixture of anything else.

The change from lemon juice to orange juice was made, in accordance with the terms of the fast, when for two days it had become impossible for Gandhiji to drink water and it took him five minutes to gulp one ounce of water.

I believe he took an average of less than six ounces of juice mixed in 64 ounces of water per day during the fast.—Associated Press.

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*Bombay Chronicle,*

9th March 1943.

#### Mrs. DURGABEN DESAI LEAVES FOR BOMBAY

POONA, MARCH 8.—Mrs. Durgaben Desai, wife of the late Mr. Mahadev Desai, and her son returned from the Aga Khan's Palace this afternoon after three weeks' stay with Gandhiji. They left for Bombay immediately.—United Press.

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*Times of India,*

9th March 1943.

#### "A DEVOTEE'S PENANCE"

Dr. B. C. Roy Explains Mr. Gandhiji's Fast.

CALCUTTA, MARCH 7.—" I do not know why Providence has saved me on this occasion; possibly it is because, he has some more mission for me to fulfil". This, was what Mr. Gandhi said after the fast was over, revealed Dr. B. C. Roy, presiding at a meeting of the staff and students of the Calcutta University held at the Darbhanga Hall today in observance of the Thanks-giving Day on the successful termination of Mr. Gandhi's fast.

Dr. Roy gave his impressions of " the tapasya (penance) of a great devotee" which he witnessed. " The whole fast," he said, " was in the nature of a religious ceremony ". If you start from the beginning and go on to the end you will perceive that the whole thing was conceived by him as part and parcel of a religious ceremony. He started by informing Government that under certain conditions he was prepared to undertake a fast, which he called a capacity fast. I think the word has not been properly understood by the people. The word "capacity fast" was used in contradiction to another expression which he used in 1932, namely, " fast unto death ". In this instance he mentioned definitely that it was

not his desire to die but that he would fast for 21 days because that was, in his opinion, the period which he had to lay before himself as a period of tapasya.

Dr. Roy explained that Mr. Gandhi took citrus juice with water only to give his system sufficient opportunity for expelling all the waste that must have been generating in his body in a large quantity due to the fast.

Dr. Roy added: "Mahatmaji started his fast with prayers and ended his fast with prayers and throughout the period he kept himself in tune with infinity. Day in and day out while he was being nursed by doctors and nurses he was always in a state of communion with a " high " power.

I can assure you and through you all in the country, that the whole period of his fast, the way he fought with death, the manner in which, from hour to hour, he waited patiently for the successful termination of the fast, were something of a privilege to witness. It was like watching a *yajna*, like watching a devotee at his prayers; and after these prayers were over, I saw him shut his eyes, I dare say, to feel the presence of the Almighty nearer his heart and then he broke his fast. "

Giving his impression of the fast, Mr. Horace Alexander, chief of the Friends Ambulance Unit (India), who had been to Poona and saw Mr. Gandhi twice during the period of his fast, said that whatever other significance Mr. Gandhiji's fast might have " to me " I think above all, it is a call to rededication. In part, to me, it is a solemn act of self-purification and rededication for the sins and sufferings of India and of the world. I think that is surely a part of his message that he sent to us by calling us to a fresh dedication of our lives in the service of suffering humanity. Whether it has any special relation to this country or even to the whole world no one of us can tell".

#### Mr. GANDHIJI'S ORDERS

Dr. Roy, elucidating the fact that, to the relief of all, Mr. Gandhi was able to conclude his fast successfully when earlier reports of the progress of the fast were pessimistic, said that Mr. Gandhi had told the doctors attending on him that in case he became unconscious, he should not be given nourishment of any kind and the doctors fulfilled this duty of carrying out his wishes. If he could not take the water he needed owing to nausea, he was prepared, however, to mix it with substances that would make it more palatable, such as potassium citrate, sodium citrate, or even, to some extent, with sweet lime. As soon as he was able to take the water he needed, Mr. Gandhi dropped the quantity of sweet lime juice that was mixed with it.

Dr. Roy recalled the case of Sir Rash Behari Ghose who was suffering from *euremia*, but had strong objection to the administration of anything through certain channels, such as veins. He had given strict instructions in that respect to the doctors. These instructions of the patient were carried out faithfully, as had been the case in the present instance with Mr. Gandhi's instructions also.

*Bombay Chronicle,*

19th January 1944.

#### TORY VIEW OF MAHATMA'S FAST

*(From a Special Correspondent.)*

LONDON, JANUARY 18.—The publication of the booklet " India Today and Tomorrow " by Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, former Governor of the Punjab, has caused great surprise in London political circle sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. Parliamentarians, newspaper editors and others to whom the booklet is being widely distributed do not seem to share the views unambiguously expressed therein in the following reference to the February fast of Mahatma Gandhi:

"Mr. Gandhi embarked on a twenty-one day fast to give a greater column of waves of sentimentality and to engineer unconditional release, but Lord Linlithgow's Government remained adamant. Rebels must be treated as rebels, until they make a public recantation of the rebellion".

These political circles feel that thus betrayal of utter ignorance of practical methods of resolving the deadlocks is only a futile attempt of the British Conservative Party to sidetrack the real political issue and mislead the British and American public on the Indian situation. They further assert that with the creation of a strong public opinion in England in the last few months, the belated publication of the booklet will hardly have its desired effect.

**SECTION II**  
**INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,**  
**BOMBAY STATE FILE**  
**AND**  
**MEMBER OF COUNCIL FILE**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1066 of 1942.  
 INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
 Poona, 26th August 1942.

**MEMORANDUM**

*Reference.*—Government, Home Department (Political), letter No. S.D.V.  
 403, dated 25th August 1942.

Attention of the Superintendent is invited to para 2 of the Government letter mentioned above and he is requested to submit immediately to this office a list of newspapers selected by Mr. Gandhi, for being forwarded to Government.

2. If Mr. Gandhi, declines to give a list the Superintendent, himself should make out a list after making discreet enquiries from other members of the household about the papers that he generally reads.

3. Other instructions given in the above quoted Government letter should be strictly followed.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
 Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
 Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Province of Bombay.

To  
 The Superintendent,  
 Poona Temporary Prison.

**SECRET**

No. 1096 of 1942.  
 Poona, 27th August 1942.

*LETTER*

From  
 Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
 Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Province of Bombay.

To  
 The Secretary to Government,  
 Home Department, Bombay.

*Reference.*—Para 2 Government letter, Home Department (Political) No. S.D.V.-403, dated 25th August 1942.

I herewith enclose a list of newspapers selected by Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
 Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
 Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Province of Bombay.

**SECRET**

File No. 11.  
 AGAR MAN'S PALACE,  
 Yeravda, 27-8-1942.

No. 27.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your Confidential Memo No. 1066, dated the 26th instant, I have the honour to submit herewith a list of Newspapers selected by Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Your most obedient servant.

(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,  
 Officer-in-charge, Agakhan's Palace,  
 Yeravda.

**SECRET**

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*LETTER*

No. S.D.V.-525  
 HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL)  
 Bombay Castle, 30th August 1942.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Province of Bombay, Poona.

Reference your letter No. 1096, dated the 27th August 1942.

Government approves of the list of newspapers selected by security prisoner M. K. Gandhi, and you are requested, therefore, kindly to arrange to supply them to him.

(Sd.) DALAL,  
 for Secretary to the Govt, of Bombay,  
 Home Department.

**SECRET**

No. 1137 of 1942.  
 31st August 1942.

To

K. B. A. E. Kately,  
 Officer-in-charge, H. H. Agakhan's Palace, Yeravda.

Copy forwarded with compliments for necessary action with reference to his Secret No. 27, dated 27th August 1942.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
 Lt. Col., I.M.S.,  
 Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Province of Bombay.



**Oriental Watchman Publishing House.**

PRINTERS: BOOKBINDERS: PUBLISHERS

Distributors of Health, Temperance, and Evangelical  
Literature in English and the Vernaculars  
of Southern Asia.

POST-BOX 35, POONA, INDIA.

Telegrams: "Watchman, Poona".  
August 30, 1942.

To

The Superintendent of Police,  
Poona.

Dear Sir,

We have received a request from a customer asking us to send Mr. Gandhi a copy of the book, THOUGHTS FROM THE MOUNT OF BLESSING by Mrs. E. G. White. I am writing to ask you how to address this book to Mr. Gandhi and whether we may send it to him or not.

Thanking you for an early reply to this enquiry at your convenience, We are

Yours faithfully,

ORIENTAL WATCHMAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

(Sd.) x x x

Manager.

---

No. 95 of 1942.

1/9.

Forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona, for disposal.

(Sd.) x x x

District Superintendent of Police,  
Poona.

Yeravda, 1st September 1942.

Regr. No. 1960.

Dear Raosaheb,

I am sending herewith a list of Newspapers to be obtained for this place, as directed by the Inspector-General of Prisons.

More detailed addresses are not available.

Times and Chronicle will be obtained by me locally.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) A. E. KATELY.

To

Raosaheb,  
S. S. Deshpande,  
P. A. to the Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

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No. 15301 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS'  
OFFICE: Poona, 1st September 1942.

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

To

The Editor,  
(1) Vande Mataram (Gujrathi), Bombay.  
(2) Dawn (Muslim League Official Organ.), Delhi.  
(3) Gram Udyog Patrika, Maganwadi, Wardha, C.P.  
(4) Hindu, Madras.  
(5) Hindustan (Urdu, Weekly), Lucknow.  
(6) Hindustan Times (daily), Delhi.  
(7) Khadi Jagat (monthly), Wardha, C. P.  
(8) Hindustan Standard, Calcutta.  
(9) Modern Review (monthly), Calcutta.  
(10) National Herald, Lucknow.  
(11) Rashtra Bhasha Samachar (Hindi), Wardha C. P.  
(12) Sarvodaya (Hindi monthly), Wardha C. P.  
(13) Talimi Sangh monthly (Hindi), Wardha C. P.  
(14) Statesman, Calcutta.  
(15) Bombay Chronicle.  
(16) Times of India.  
(17) Itihas.

Sir,

As I wish to be a subscriber for your paper/magazine for 3 months (August, September and October 1942) I will be obliged if you will kindly send by V.P.P. the issues of the same from 1st. August 1942 onwards.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt. Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.  
Subscription. M.O.Ch.

	Rs	as.	Ps.	
1. Khadi Jagat. (3 Vols for August to October 1942) ..	0	15	0	
2. Sarvodaya. (August only) .. .. .	0	6	0	
3. Hindu, (upto end of October 1942) .... ..	6	3	0	
4. Talimi Sangh. (V.P.P.) .. .. .	0	15	0	
5. Rashtrabhasha Samachar .. .. .	0	6	0	
6. Modern Review. (August and September issue 2ND).	2	11	0	
7. Gramodyoga Patrika. (V.P.P. for 3 months) .. ..	0	10	0	} to be recovered from K.B. Kately. 26/9.
8. The Dawn (3 issues By V.P.P. September.) .. ..	2	6	0	
	0	15	0	
	2	11	0	
	0	10	0	
	4	4	0	
9. Hindustan Standard. V.P.P. .. .. .	10	7	0	
	10	15	0	

No. 15346 of 1942.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 2nd September 1942.

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons.  
Province of Bombay.

To

The Manager,  
Oriental Watchman Publishing  
House, Box No. 35, Poona.

*Reference.*—Your letter, dated 30th August 1942, addressed to the Superintendent of Police, Poona.

Dear Sir,

Please forward the book "Thoughts from the Mount of blessing" to this office.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt. Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

**SECRET**

No. 1154 of 1942.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 2nd September 1942.

Dear Sladen,

Mr. M. K. Gandhi wishes to visit the place of cremation of Mr. Mahadeo Desai as he wishes to offer prayers there. So far he was allowed to go near the place but remained within the barbed wire enclosure. The place of cremation is about a few paces from the barbed wire enclosure. It is well within the outside compound fencing which is guarded by the Police and is not visible from the road. I personally do not see any objection to granting his request. I would however like to have Government orders in the matter.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

To

J. M. Sladen, Esquire, I.C.S., J.P.,  
Secretary to Government, Home Department,  
Secretariat, Bombay.

**SECRET**

D. O. No. S.D.V.-612.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, 3 September 1942.

Dear Bhandari.

With reference to your demi-official letter No. 1154 of the 2nd instant, I am desired to say that Mr. M. K. Gandhi may be permitted to visit the place where the body of the late Mr. Mahadev Desai was cremated for the purpose of offering prayers.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) J. M. SLADEN,

Lt. Col. M. G Bhandari, C.I.E, I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

## ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION, WARDHA (C. P.)

3rd September 1942.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Dear Sir,

We have your letter No. 15301 of the 1st instant. We have today sent by ordinary post August (1942) number of our Khadi Jagat. We shall be sending to you the September and October numbers also when they are published. We have not sent this number by V.P.P. as it would unnecessarily increase the cost. The cost of each number is annas 5 only. So please send us annas 15 only being the price of 3 numbers as per the enclosed bill, by postal stamps or moneyorder.

Yours faithfully.

(Sd.) x x x

Secretary.

## ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

## Khadi Jagat Karyataya, Wardha

Month				Price.			Total		
				Rs.		as. P.	Rs.	as	P.
August 1942	..	..	..	0	5	0	0	5	0
September 1942	..	..	..	0	5	0	0	5	0
October 1942	..	..	..	0	5	0	0	5	0
Total Rs.							0	15	0 only

(Sd.)

Manager,  
Khadi Jagat Karyalaya,  
Wardha.

From

Secretary, Gandhi Seva Sangh. Wardha (C. P.).

3rd September 1942.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay. Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No, 15301 of 1st September 1942 we have to inform you that we have been forced to suspend publication of our Hindi monthly "Sarvodaya" from the current month as both the editors of the magazine have been arrested and the press in which it was printed has been seized and locked up by the Government. We are, therefore, sorry that we cannot enrol you as a subscriber as desired by you.

The August number of the "Sarvodaya" is being sent to you under a separate cover, the price of which 0-6-0 (annas six only) may be remitted to us at your earliest convenience.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) R. S. DHOTRE,  
Secretary.

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DISPATCH ORDER

Oriental Watchman Publishing House.

Publishers: Printers: Bookbinders.

Salisbury Park, Poona, India.

Date Shipped 4-9-1942.

Checked by Sircar.

New Delhi Book Depot.

**Description**

Thoughts from the Mount of Blessing, Cloth.

To,

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Province, Poona.

For Mr. Gandhi.

Vide your letter, dated 2nd September 1942.

Ref. No. 15346 of 1942.

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**SECRET**

*LETTER*

No. S.D.V.-617.

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL):  
Bombay Castle, 4th September 1942.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
C/o The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Government desires that, if Mr. M. K. Gandhi or any of the other security prisoners in your charge should go on hunger-strike, the greatest care should be taken to ensure that news of the hunger-strike does not leak out.

2. An immediate report of the hunger-strike should be sent by letter addressed to me. The letter should be sealed and sent by a Special messenger.

If the messenger arrived in Bombay after office hours, he should deliver the letter to the Resident Deputy Secretary (Mr. Barye) in the Secretariat flat.

(Sd.) SLADEN.  
Secy, to the Govt, of Bombay.  
Home Department.

Copy to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay.

(Sd.)

THE HINDU  
1878  
*Proprietors:* KASTURI AND SONS LTD.  
CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

KASTURI BUILDINGS,  
MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS,  
5th September 1942.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Dear Sir,

We thank you for your letter No. 15301 of 1942, dated the 1st September 1942 ordering the supply of THE HINDU for a period of three months commencing 1st August 1942. But as back copies from 1st August 1942 are not available we have commenced posting the copies from the issue of the 4th instant.

As we do not realise subscription by V. P. P. we enclose our bill No. 2025 of date for Rs.6-3-0 towards subscription to the end of October 1942. We shall be obliged if you will pass the same for early payment.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Jt. Manager,  
Date: 5-9-1942.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.  
THE HINDU, MADRAS  
*Proprietors:* KASTURI and SONS, LTD

*A/C No.541/DI*

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Subscription to "The Hindu" Daily Edition from 4-9-42 to 31-10-1942.	6	3	0
To Postage, etc.	0	0	0
Rupees six and annas three only			

Total .. 6 3 0

Clerk

Checker

Jt. Manager.

*VANDEMATARAM*  
*EDITOR; AMALDAS GANDHI*

Nasik Chambers.  
 211-219, Frere Road, Fort,  
 Bombay, 5th September 1942.

*TELEGRAMS:*  
 VANDEMATARAM

The Inspector-General of Prisons.  
 Province of Bombay, Poona.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of 1st September 1942 we beg to inform you that due to the present political situation we have suspended the publication of our paper from the 14th August 1942. Two copies of the last issue of our paper are being forwarded to you under a special cover for your perusal.

Yours faithfully,  
 (Sd.) x x x  
*for Vandemataram.*

Manager.

The Editor, "Rashtrabhasha Samachar" states that an issue for August 1942 has been sent and requests to send Re. 0-6-0 for the 3 issues of August, September and October 1942. This will be sent to him.

(Sd.) BHANDARI.

To

The Editors,  
 (1) Dawn (Muslim League Official Organ.), Delhi.  
 (2) Gram Udyoga Patrika, Maganwadi. Wardha, C. P.  
 (3) Hindustan (Urdu, Weekly), Lucknow.  
 (4) Hindustan Times, (Daily). Delhi.  
 (5) Hindustan Standard, Calcutta.  
 (6) National Herald, Lucknow.  
 (7) Statesman, Calcutta.

Sir,

*Reference.*—My letter No. 15301. dated 1st September 1942.

This is to remind you that I wish to be a subscriber for your paper/ magazine for the 3 months (August. September and October 1942) and I will be obliged if you will kindly send by V.P.P. the issues of the same from 1st August 1942 onwards.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
 Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
 Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Province of Bombay.



**SECRET**

No. 17 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 7th September 1942.

From

Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Province.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Mrs. Gandhi had a heart attack (Angina Pectoris) on Saturday evening at about 6 o'clock. She had slight pain over the precordial region occasionally during the previous week, but it was not so much. I could not get in touch with the Civil Surgeon and with great difficulty, I managed to get in touch with Col. B. Z. Shah, I.M.S., Superintendent, Mental Hospital at about 10 p.m.

The present medical arrangements are obviously unsatisfactory. I saw the Adviser, Home Department, yesterday and the new arrangements agreed to are as follows: —

Col. B. Z. Shah, I.M.S. has been appointed Medical Officer for the Aga Khan's Palace. He will visit the palace daily and keep regular notes on the health of all detenus there. As he will have to visit daily I suggest that he may be given an allowance of Rs. 75 p.m.

Adviser, Home Department, has also permitted that Dr. Coyaji should be allowed to visit the palace to take Mrs. Gandhi's Electro cardiogram. (This cannot be done in the Civil Hospital as the necessary machine is not available there).

Adviser, Home Department, has also permitted that if it is necessary to take Mrs. Gandhi to Dr. Coyaji's consulting room it may be done and that she should be taken either in my car or Col. Shah's car. In case this is found necessary I propose to take Lady Doctor Nayar who is also a detenu with Mrs. Gandhi.

All arrangements will be made to do it as secretly as possible. I will arrange with Dr. Coyaji to undertake this work at a time when he is likely to have no patients in his consulting room.

I would further suggest that if the Surgeon-General agrees he may be requested to examine Mrs. Gandhi.

Your obedient servant,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Province.

*Free Press Journal.*

8th September 1942.

### **Gandhiji's Floral Tributes to 'M. D.'**

The Bombay Correspondent writes to the "Tribune."

Gandhiji is being regularly examined by Col. Prall, Civil Surgeon, Poona, in addition to the close attention by his Private Medical Adviser, Dr. Sushila Nair, who is detained with him in the same private building. It is guarded by a strong contingent of armed police. The Government's communique regarding Gandhiji's health has been welcomed but it is urged, even by non-Congress leaders, that the ban on interviews should be lifted forthwith.

Gandhiji has stood the bereavement, caused by the death of Mr. Mahadev Desai, well. He treasures the memory of his late Secretary in a very feeling manner.

Every morning as the sun rises above the trees, he walks to the place where the remains of the late Mr. Desai were cremated and offers floral tribute. It is a touching scene to see him spreading flowers and spending a few minutes in meditation, praying for the late Mahadev Desai's soul. This has become a regular item in his daily routine.

Gandhiji himself performed the cremation ceremony of the late Mr. Desai. The Government wanted to carry the body to the Bund Garden Cremation ground but Gandhiji said that he wanted to be present on the occasion of the cremation. The prison authorities referred the matter to the higher authorities.

Delhi also was consulted and finally it was decided that Gandhiji should not be allowed to go to the Hindu Burning Ghat at Bund Gardens. The body was, therefore, cremated at the farther end of the extensive compound of the place of detention.

Eight Brahmins and a priest were brought from Yeravda.

The funeral rites were performed according to the orthodox Hindu style. "I am both father and son to the late Desai," said Gandhiji as he lit the fire. Mrs. Kasturbai Gandhiji, Dr. Sushila, Mira Ben and Mrs. Naidu were present on the occasion, beside Lieut. Col. Bhandari, the Inspector-General of Prisons.

GRAMS: "DAWN"

PHONE: 5530,

Tele.

THE DAWN  
A Popular English Weekly

Ref. No. 1747.

DARYAGANJ  
Delhi, 9th September 1942.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your kind letter No. 15301 of 1942, we have to inform you that subscription for 3 months is Rs. 2 only.

As for old papers, we regret to inform you that old copies of August 1942, are out of stock and therefore we regret to say that they cannot be supplied.

If you like we can supply you with effect from the 1st week of September 1942, onwards. On receipt of your reply, together with necessary remittance, we shall do the needful.

Thanking you,

---

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Manager.

**SECRET**

D. O. No. S.D.V.-724.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay,  
9th—11th September 1942.

Dear Bhandari,

Please see the enclosed cutting from the *Free Press Journal*.

Will you please let me have your remarks on the article particularly on the point whether there has been any leakage or whether anything can be done to prevent it ? A similar letter has been sent to Inspector-General of Prisons.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) J. M. SLADEN,

Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

**SECRET**

No. 1252 of 1942,  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:  
Poona, 16th September 1942.

Dear Sladen,

*Reference:*—Your D. O. No. S.D. V-724, dated 9th September 1942.

There is a very large number of Police Constables staying in quarters just close to the place where Mr. Mahadeobhai Desai was cremated. It is quite possible that one of them may have mentioned it to his friends in the city. As far as the Jail staff is concerned, I do not think they get an opportunity to give out any information. Sepoys on duty in the Palace are not allowed out at all except in company of the Chief Head Warder.

Their food is brought from the quarters to the Jail lines and handed over to them at the palace gate.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

To  
J. M. Sladen Esquire,  
I.C.S., J.P.,  
Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

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HINDUSTAN STANDARD  
A Nationalist English Daily

3 C. Burman Street,  
Calcutta, 10th September 1942.

*Reference No.* H. S-345-42.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Dear Sir,

*Reference:*—Your letter No. 15301, dated the 1st September 1942.

We appreciate very much, the esteemed desire of your good-self to subscribe to our Hindusthan Standard for a period of three months from 1-8-42 to 31-10-42.

But as all subscription periods are to commence, by our rule, always from future dates and not from past ones, it is not possible for us to supply you the paper from the date mentioned by you.

So if you would be pleased to abide by the above rule, and decide to subscribe to our paper, we would be glad to commence the supply on hearing from you again, and realise the required amount (Rs. 10 only) per V.P.P. as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully,  
Hindustan Standard.  
(Sd.) x x x  
for Manager.

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**SECRET**

AGAKHAN'S PALACE:  
Yeravda, 11th September 1942.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to state that the Newspaper called " Bandemataram ", which was included in the list of Newspapers, approved by the Government for the use of security prisoner M. K. Gandhi, has since been stopped publication. Mr. Gandhi, therefore, requests that in its place a "Bombay Samachar" in Gujrati may please be supplied.

Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,  
Officer-in-charge, Agakhan's Palace, Yeravda.

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No. 1784 of 1942.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 13th September 1942.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Copy forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.

2. In this connection a reference is solicited to Government Home Department letter No. S. D. V.-525, dated 30-8-1942.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt. Col. I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

THE ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION  
Maganwadi, Wardha, C.P.

Date 11-9-1942.

Publication Department  
The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay, Poona.

Rs.

Sr. No (1)	Description (2)	Quantity (3)	Rate (4)	Per (5)	Amount (6)
	Subscription for Gram Udyog Patrika (English) for 3 months (August, September, October 1942). V.P.P.	12		each copy	0 6 0
					0 4 0
	August and September issues sent. October issue will be sent in due course.				0 10 0
Invoice No. 2121	R.N. 5628	.		(Sd.) Supervisor	

No. 15812 of 1942.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS;  
Poona, 12th September 1942.

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

The Editor.

Sir,

*Reference.*—My letter No. 15301, dated 1-9-1942.

This is to remind you that I wish to be a subscriber for your paper/ magazine for the 3 months (August, September and October 1942) and I will be obliged if you will kindly send by V.P.P. the issue of the same from 1-8-1942 onwards.

Your obedient servant.

(Sd.) x x x  
for Lt. Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

1. Dawn (Muslim League Official Organ), Delhi.
2. Gram Udyoga Patrika, Maganwadi, Wardha, C. P.
3. Hindustan (Urdu Weekly), Lucknow.
4. Hindustan Times (Daily), Delhi.
5. Hindustan Standard, Calcutta.
6. National Herald, Lucknow.
7. Statesman, Calcutta.

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D. O. No. 61.  
AGAKHAN'S PALACE:  
14th September 1942.

Dear Sir,

With reference to our conversation which took place yesterday evening, I beg to state that the sepoys and Jamadar who are posted here are reliable. They even do not get opportunity to leave this place. Wherever any purchases are to be made, one trustworthy sepoy is sent out with the Jamadar.

Here I may state that there is a police guard of about 36 men guarding this place, out side the barbed wire fencing. These men are changed every day. Besides, they are resting in the out-houses next to the place where the body was burnt, and it is possible that the information may have reached to the press through them.

Further a file of 10 prisoners comes here every day to do the domestic and gardening work from the Yeravda Central Prison. From this batch six prisoners were released on one day, who were from different parts of the province.

Yours obediently,  
(Sd.) A. E. KATELY.

To  
Colonel, M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Yeravda.

---

HINDUSTHAN STANDARD

3 C, Burman Street.  
Calcutta, 15th September 1942.

Dear Sir,

*Reference.*—Your letter No. 15812, dated the 12th September 1942.

In reply we have to ask you to refer to our letter No. H-S-345-42, dated the 10th September 1942 and oblige.

Yours faithfully,  
HINDUSTHAN STANDARD.  
(Sd.) X X X  
for Manager,

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona.

## THE NATIONAL HERALD.

*Proprietors:* The Associated Journals Limited.

Lucknow.

Date: September 16th, 1942.

*Referene* —No. Subs. 1012.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona

Dear Sir,

We thank you for your letter No. 15301, dated 1st September and regret very much the delay in replying to your letter due to dislocation of our office work resulted from the locking and sealing up of our premises by the Government.

We note that you wish to enrol yourself as a subscriber of our paper, but since we have suspended publication of our paper temporarily, we are not in a position to supply you copies at present. We shall however, gladly enrol you as our subscriber when we resume publication.

Yours faithfully,  
for the Associated Journals Ltd.  
(Sd.) T. N. Singh,  
General Manager.

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No. 15947 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 17th September 1942.

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

The Manager,  
The Dawn, Daryaganj, Delhi.

Dear Sir,

*Reference.*—No. 1747, dated 9th September 1942.

Please supply per V. P. P. copies of the paper from 1st week of September onwards for 3 months.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt. Col , I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.



No. 15948 of 1942.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 17th September 1942.

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

The Manager,  
Hindustan Standard,  
3C, Burman Street, Calcutta.

*Reference.*—Your letter No. H. S. 345-42, dated the 10th September 1942.

Dear Sir,

Please commence the supply of the paper immediately.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt.-Col., I. M. S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

**SECRET**

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LETTER

No. S. D. V. 899.

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL):  
Bombay Castle, 17th September 1942.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
C/o The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

*Reference.*—Your letter No. 58, dated the 11th September 1942, to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay.

Government has no objection to Mr. M. K. Gandhi being supplied with copies of the *Bombay Samachar* instead of the *Bandematram* which has ceased publication.

B. P. DALAL,  
*for* Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

No. S. D. V. 900  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL):  
Bombay Castle, 17th September 1942.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, with reference to his endorsement No. 1234, dated the 13th September 1942.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,  
(Sd.) X X X  
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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*For Information.*

We have asked the manager on 17-9-42 to commence the supply of the paper immediately.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1288 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 17th September 1942.

**MEMORANDUM**

Periodicals as per accompanying list were obtained and sent to you for being delivered to Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

2. Please arrange to remit Rs. 12-10-0 to this office and debit the same to his account.

(Sd.) M. G. Bhandari.

Lt. Col., I.M.S..

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To:

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katelý,  
Poona.

---

*For information.*

This was asked by us for Mr. Gandhi. The U. P. P. has been accepted.

The paper will be sent to K. B. Katelý.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

" TIMES ", NEW DELHI.

*THE HINDUSTAN TIMES.*

(Largest Circulation in Northern, North-Western and Central India).

No. 14163.

Post Box No. 40.

With reference to your letter No. 15812, dated the 12th September 1942, we beg to state that the publication of our daily is temporarily under suspension and as such we are unable to comply with your order at present.

Yours faithfully,  
For The Hindustan Times Ltd..  
(Sd.) X X X  
Circulation Manager.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 73.  
AGAKHAN'S PALACE:  
Yeravda, 19-9-42.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your Confidential Memo. No. 1288, dated the 17th instant, I have the honour to send herewith a sum of Rs. (12-10-0 ) twelve and annas ten only for the periodicals received for Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Yours most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) A. E. Kately.  
Officer I/C. Agakhan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

CUTCH CASTLE:  
Bombay-4, 21st September 1942.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Jail, Poona.

Sir,

I am sending by Registered Parcel Post 4 pieces of cloth that is 2 Pairs of Dhotis for Mahatma Gandhi for his birthday which comes on 2nd October.

Will you kindly give it to him. I have been sending him these for the last 20 years without fail. These Dhoties are very valuable to me, Oh it takes months for me to spin the yarn and get it woven according to his requirements, moreover I get very little time to do this work as I have to be on attendance on my husband who is suffering from heart complaint for the last five years.

If he is not in Yeravda Prison, will you please direct this to the officer-in-charge of his person to be handed over to him.

You may open the parcel and examine it before forwarding.

Thanking you in advance for your good offices.

I beg to remain,  
Yours truly,  
(Sd.) AVINTIKA GOKHALE,

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1327 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona. 22nd September 1942.

**MEMORANDUM**

*Reference.*—His Secret No. 27, dated 27th August 1942.

Has the honour to state that the Managers of the following three papers have replied that the publication of the paper has been temporarily suspended: —

- (1) Sarvodaya—Wardha.
- (2) Hindustan Times—New Delhi.
- (3) National Herald—Lucknow.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.  
Lt-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Yeravda.

Telegrams: DAWN.

Tele: 5530.

THE "DAWN"

Dated 22nd September 1942.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter, dated 17th September 1942, three copies of the 6, 13, 20, issues of the "DAWN" have been sent to you to-day per V.P.P. covering a period of three months.

Please receive the same and oblige.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) x x x

The 6th September 1942.

Manager.

The 5th December 1942.

**SECRET**

No. 87.  
 AGAKHAN'S PALACE:  
 Yeravda, the 24th September 1942.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to state that the following newspapers have been sanctioned for the use of the security prisoner Mr. M. K. Gandhi, but they have not been received so far, I have, therefore, to request you to kindly arrange to supply them from 8th August 1942:—

- (1) Hindustan Standard, Calcutta.
- (2) Statesman, Calcutta.
- (3) Hindustan, Urdu Weekly, (Basheshwarnath Road), Lucknow.
- (4) Dawn (Official Organ of the Muslim League), Bombay.

Past issues of the copies of the "Hindu" Madras from 8th August 1942 may also kindly be arranged.

A note from him is attached hereto.

Your most obedient servant,  
 (Sd.) A. E. KATELY,  
 Officer I/C, Agakhan's Palace.

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The following out of the papers that were requisitioned, are continuing publication, but have not been received so far: —

1. Hindustan Standard (Calcutta).
2. Statesman (Calcutta).
3. Hindustan, Urdu Weekly (Basheshwarnath Road), Lucknow.
4. Dawn (Official Organ of the Muslim League), Bombay.

These papers are required from 8th August 1942.

The following back numbers of the papers noted against them have not been received.

The "Hindu": from the 8th of August to the 4th of September and September 15th.

*For information.*

We have asked the editors of "Hindustan Standard" and the "Dawn" to commence the supply of the paper and the same is awaited.

As regards "Statesman" and the "Hindustan" we have received no reply in spite of a reminder. Another reminder will be issued.

The back numbers are not available. K. B. Kately will be informed accordingly.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1382 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 25th September 1942.

**MEMORANDUM**

*Reference.*—Your No. 87, dated 24th September 1942.

The Editors of "Hindustan Standard", Calcutta and the "Dawn", Delhi, have been asked to commence the supply of the paper as early as possible. The past issues of these papers and the "Hindu" are not available.

2. As regards the "Statesman", Calcutta and the "Hindustan", Urdu Weekly, Lucknow, replies from the Editors are yet awaited. They have been asked to expedite the same.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt. Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Yeravda, Poona.

No. 16471 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 25th September 1942.

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

The Editor,  
1. Hindustan (Urdu Weekly), Lucknow.  
2. Statesman, Calcutta.

*Reference.*—My letters No. 15301, dated 1st September 1942 and 15812, dated 12th September 1942.

Dear Sir,

This is to remind you that I wish to be a subscriber to your paper for 3 months (August, September and October 1942) and I will be obliged if you will kindly send by V.P.P. the issues of the same from 1st August 1942 onwards.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt. Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

Sir,

This was asked by us. It will be sent to K. B. A. E. Kately.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

THE "STATESMAN"  
THE "SUNDAY STATESMAN"  
*Proprietors:* The Statesman Ltd.  
(incorporated in India).  
Published simultaneously in Calcutta and Delhi.  
Telegrams: "STATESMAN", CALCUTTA.  
Telephone Cal: 5329.

In Replying.  
Please Quote. S/9111.

Calcutta, 29th September 1942.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
I.G.P's Office,  
Poona.

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter No. 15812, dated 12th September last.

Your previous letter referred to does not appear to have been received by us.

We can supply copies of August issues at back date rates which are double of the current rate while those of September issues will be supplied at the current rate.

We shall be glad to commence your supplies on your approval of the above terms.

Yours faithfully,  
THE STATESMAN LTD.  
Subscription Dept.

No. 16831 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 1st October 1942.

#### MEMORANDUM

Please arrange to remit to this office Rs. 12-15-0 being the subscription for periodicals obtained for Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

										Rs.	As.	P
Short recovered on Gramodyoga Patrika.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	2	0
Dawn.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	0
Hindustan Standard.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	7	0
Total.										12	15	0

(Sd.) x x x  
Personal Assistant,  
for Inspector-General of Prisons.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
The Officer-in-charge,  
His Highness Aga Khan's Palace,  
Poona.

**SECRET**

No. 99.  
AGAKHAN'S PALACE:  
Yeravda, 3/5-10-42.

Regr. No. 2561.

Date: 5-10-42.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum No. 16831, dated the 1st instant I have the honour to ssnd herewith a sum of Rs. 12-15 0 bieng the subscription for periodicals for Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,  
Officer I/C, Agakhan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

---

No. 17099 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 7th October 1942.

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

The Editor,  
"STATESMAN", Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

The terms in your letter No. S/9111, dated 29th September 1942, are approved.

2. The issues from August 1942 onwards may please be supplied accordingly.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.



**MOST SECRET**

File No. 3  
 D.O. No. S.D.V.-1385.  
 HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
 Bombay, 8th October 1942.

My dear Bhandari

I am directed to say that, in view of the delay which you experienced in obtaining the orders of Government regarding the disposal of the body of the late Mr. Mahadev Desai, Government considers it desirable to work out in advance a scheme for the disposal of the bodies of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the other security prisoners detained with him and the security prisoners detained in the Ahmednagar Fort, should any of them unfortunately die while in custody.

So far as Mr. Gandhi and his companions are concerned, a reference has been made to the Government of India suggesting that the arrangements should be similar to those made for the disposal of the body of Mahadev Desai. Government desires, however, that, if possible, a Brahmin priest from outside should not be employed for the purpose of reciting the *Mantras*, and I am to enquire whether arrangements could be made to obtain a suitable person for that purpose from amongst the prisoners or the jail staff.

So far as the detenus in the Ahmednagar Fort are concerned, I am to request you to submit proposals, after consultation with the District Magistrate, Ahmednagar and Major Sendak, for the cremation or burial, without publicity of the bodies of any of them who may die while in custody.

Yours sincerely,  
**(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.**

**Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E. I.M.S.,**

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Province of Bombay, Poona.

**"THE HINDU"**

Mount Road, Madras,

(Props: Kasturi & Sons Ltd.)

18204

13-10-1942.

10-10-1942.

Please quote.

Account No. 541/DI.

Dear Sir,

We beg to advise that your subscription to " The Hindu " Daily Edition expires with the issue dated 31st October 1942 and that the renewal will fall due on that date. As the subscriptions are strictly payable in advance

we request you to favour us with your renewal order accompanied by a remittance to avoid interruption in the supply of the paper.

Trusting this will have your prompt attention.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Jt. Manager.

*N.B.*—For Subn. Rates please see reverse.

---

"THE HINDU"  
all issues including  
The illustrated Sunday Edition.

						Madras City.		Inland Post.	
						Rs.	A.	Rs.	A.
Monthly	..	..	..	..	..	3	00	3	04
Quarterly	..	..	..	..	..	8	13	9	09
Half Yearly	..	..	..	..	..	17	10	19	02
Yearly	..	..	..	..	..	35	04	38	04

Other Edns. Annas 1½ throughout India.

Sunday Edition only.

City and Mofussil.

Quarterly Rs. 2

..

Annual Rs.8

Foreign Countries.

Annual

..

Rs. 16

Subscriptions for the Sunday Edn. are not accepted for less than three months.

We are getting the copy of the 'Hindu Daily' for Mr. Gandhi from 11th September 1942.

In our letter we have mentioned that we want to be a subscriber for 3 months, *i.e.*, from August to October.

The Manager of the 'Daily Hindu' writes that the subscription expires on 31st October 1942.

It is for orders whether we should renew the subscription for 3 months more.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt. Col., I. M. S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

**MOST SECRET**

D. O. No. 18 of 1942.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:

Poona, 13th October 1942.

Government consider it desirable to work out in advance a scheme for the disposal of the bodies of any security prisoners detained in Ahmednagar Fort, should any of them unfortunately die while in custody and requires proposals in connection with the same.

I would therefore request you to work out a scheme in consultation with Major Sendak, I.M.S., and send your proposals for submission to Government.

While working out the scheme the following points may be noted:

Place for cremation should not be open to the public. Therefore, it would be necessary to have it inside or near the Fort.

Would it be possible to have a reliable Brahmin priest to perform the ceremonies and who will not talk about it in the City later on. As regards taking the body some four Brahmin Police Constables and the Sub-Inspector may be requisitioned from the local Police in consultation with the District Superintendent of Police.

It may also be noted that out of the 12 detenus at Ahmednagar some are Muslims. In their case arrangements for burial will have to be made with proper religious rites. Muslim priest would be necessary. Another important point is that the burial ground should be near the Fort and arrangements will have to be made for some Muslims to carry the body (the latter may be taken from the Police).

All those who may be present should be reliable persons who must not talk about it to outsiders at any time later on.

To

S. A. Ghatge, Esquire, B. A..LL.B.,  
District Magistrate,  
Ahmednagar.

Bill No. 42/X8823

K 14666

Led. Fo.

THE STATESMAN.  
STATESMAN HOUSE,  
CALCUTTA.

please remit by  
Crossed Cheque to  
The Statesman Ltd.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Date: 14th October 1942.  
Paper to—

## THE STATESMAN (ALL ISSUES)

To Subscription in advance from 1-1-42 to 31-1-43.

Rs. a. p.

24 4 0

	Memo
Balance still due	Rs. _____
Amount of this bill	Rs. _____
Total due	Rs. _____

Arrear rates are applicable to this bill if unpaid on 1-9-42 \_\_\_\_\_

*For information.*

The Statesman of Calcutta, has sent a bill for Rs. 24-4-0 from 1st August 1942 to 31st January 1943, *i.e.*, from 6 months while we had mentioned in our letter that we would like to be a subscriber from August to October, *i.e.*, for 3 months.

For orders.

We may accept the bill. Since this is now the end of October (3rd month) and we have also asked "Hindu" to continue supplies for further three months.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

\_\_\_\_\_  
 THE STATESMAN LTD.,  
 STATESMAN HOUSE;  
 Calcutta, 16th October 1942.

In replying

Please Quote S/10349.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Province of Bombay, Poona.

Dear Sir,

We thank you for your letter No. 17099 of the 7th instant, and have Booked your order for supplies of the "Statesman" with back numbers from 1st August 1942.

We are sending our bill for Rs. 24-4-0 in respect of subscription to 31st January 1943 for favour of your attention.

Yours faithfully,  
 The Statesman Ltd.  
 (Sd.) X X X  
 Subscription Department.

"THE HINDU" OFFICE,  
MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS.

No. 7777.

20-10-1942.

Received with thanks from the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona, Rupees nine and annas nine only.

M. O., dated 19th October 1942, being subscription to "The Hindu" Daily Edn. quarter from 1st November 1942.

Rs. 9/9

A/C No. 541/DI

(Sd.)	(Sd.)	(Sd.)	(Sd.)
Clerk.	Cashier.	Accountant.	Manager.

Regr. No. 2877.

Date:—24-10-42.

Inspector-General of Prisons

**Report on my visits to the Security prisoners at H. H. The Aga Khan's  
Palace, Yeravda.**

MRS. GANDHI—I was called there on the evening of the 18th and I saw her at 8 p.m. She was suffering from an influenza cold with bronchitis. Her temperature was 100.8°. The pulse was regular but bounding. She had a severe headache. On the morning of 19th, her temperature was 100°. She had a bad night with restlessness and very little sleep. In the evening she was better, her cough being better and her temperature a little above normal.

On my morning visit on the 20th, although she had a poor night, she was better. Temperature 97.6°. She had good sleep during the day and when I saw her in the evening she was better on the 21st she was very much better after a good night. She is a difficult patient as regards food, having queer ideas.

22nd—Improvement maintained. She is eating better.

23rd—She is very much better. She is weak but well on the way to convalescence.

The others are all well. Mr. Gandhi has put on  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb in weight. Mrs. Naidu has lost 1 lb and Mr. Pyarelal 3 lbs. Miss Slade has gained 1 lb and Miss Nayyar's weight is stationary.

Yeravda.

23rd October 1942.

(Sd.) B. Z. SHAH,

Lt-Col., I.M.S.

**SECRET**

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE;  
Poona, 24th October 1942.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information.

Lt-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

K/-2

No. 15033.

Led. Fo.

Colin. 2/64

THE STATESMAN.

Cashier.

STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

27th October 1942.

Received from Inspector-General of Prisons of Province of Bombay, Poona, the sum of Rupees Twenty-four and annas four only in payment of SUBSCRIPTION to THE STATESMAN and THE SUNDAY STATESMAN from 1st August 1942 to 31st January 1943 as per Bill No. 42/8823. Rs. 24-4-0.

*for the Statesman,*

(Sd.) X X X

Subscription Department.

*For information —*

We have received a copy of " Vande-mataram " a Gujarathi publication. It is included in the list of newspapers approved by Government for the use of security prisoner Mr. Gandhi.

The editor had informed this office that they have suspended the publication of the above paper from 14th August 1942 to the present political situation.

As requested by Mr. Gandhi he has since then been supplied with " Bombay Samachar " instead of " Vande-mataram " which has ceased publication as approved by Government.

The editor informed that he had resumed the publication of the above paper.

The office I/C, Aga Khan's Palace, will be asked to inform this office, whether Mr. Gandhi wishes to continue the supply of " Vande-mataram " the publication of which has been resumed.

**SECRET**

D. O. No. 1840 (5).

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS;  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:  
Poona, 3rd November 1942.

Dear Ghatge,

Will you please send your reply to my Secret D.O. No. 18, dated 13th October 1942, as proposals in the matter are to be submitted to Government.

Kindly reply early.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. G. B.

To

S. A. Ghatge, Esquire, B.A.,LL.B.,  
District Magistrate,  
Ahmednagar.

---

**MANAGING EDITOR: SAMALDAS GANDHI, "VANDEMATARAM"  
GUJARATI EVENING DAILY**

File No. 11

Phone: 27281-82.

Telegram " Vandemataram"

Nasik Chambers,  
Frere Road, Fort.  
Bombay, 6th November 1942.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona.

Dear Sir,

In continuation of our letter, dated 5th September 1942, we have the pleasure to inform you that the publication of "VANDEMATARAM" has been resumed from today.

We shall be thankful if you will kindly let us know whether the instruction regarding the V. P. P. for 3 months of our paper mentioned in your letter No. 15301 of 1st September 1942 is now to be carried out or not.

In the meantime we continue sending the issue of our paper from to-day.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,  
*for* " VANDEMATRAM "  
(Sd.) X X X  
Manager.

## LETTER

To

The Editor,  
"Vandemataram",  
Nasik Chambers, Frere Road, Fort,  
Bombay.

Sir,

*Reference:* Your letter, dated 6th November 1942.

I have the honour to inform you that the instructions contained in my letter No. 15301, dated 1st September 1942, should be considered as cancelled.

2. The issue of your paper received under your above quoted letter is returned herewith.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.  
Inspector-General of Prisons.

\_\_\_\_\_  
DISTRICT MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE:  
Ahmednagar, 10th November 1942.

Dear Colonel,

Your D. O. letter No. 18 of 1942, dated 13th October 1942. and reminder dated 3rd November 1942, I have consulted Major Sendak.

As this matter had to be done personally and every detail had to be seen and considered that required time.

As your letter mentioned "Fort or nearabout", I consulted Col. Pearson with a view to find out if there was any such spot in the fort or in the moat. He consulted Capt. Spens and came to the conclusion that there was no such spot. Col. Pearson thought of such a spot being on the side of the Kapurwadi Firing range. We saw the spot there to the north of 600 yards rest.

However, when inquiring about the burial or cremation and the solemnity and sanctity that is attached to it, I thought that the spots to be selected should be such that none should raise an objection to it later on, with one precaution added to it that they should be secluded.

The Hindus here cremate the dead bodies in the bed of the Sina river and so I have selected the spot which is secluded, away from inhabited localities and quite clean. For the Muhomedan, it is going to be Kabarasthan itself. This Kabarasthan that I have proposed is quite secluded.

There are, however, one or two points that I shall like you to be properly considered and clear instructions issued. They are:—

- (i) Are the relatives of the deceased to be informed or not ?
- (ii) If anybody is there, is he to be allowed to attend or not ?
- (iii) The persons to attend and accompany.



(i) This question arises when the prisoner is ailing for sometime. Most probably he will be released or removed somewhere else, but in case such a case is allowed to stay on and his relatives come to see him, this question might arise and the District Magistrate will have to give some reply.

(ii) The other question is about anybody dying suddenly are any of his relatives to be informed. This will mean knowing the names of relatives, their place of residence etc. A very complicated question.

(i) and (ii) can be decided together.

(iii) This is an important point and requires close consideration. Here if anybody dies, it will be in our interest to have some one or two of them to attend the funeral as Gandhi attended in the case of late Mahadev Desai and was useful in removing the misunderstanding. I should think that one or two should be allowed to attend.

This is further to be considered as a practical proposition. There will be eleven left and the question will be whom to take. If at all Government agrees with me, they should be the two at the top. There will then be no question of preference to caste or community.

If you approve of the accompanying scheme, I shall keep Major Sendak and the District Superintendent of Police informed.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) S. A. GHATGE.

To,

Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons, B. P., Poona.

If any death occurs in the Jail in the fort, the Superintendent-in-charge should phone to the District Magistrate and if the District Magistrate is not at the Headquarters, to the District Superintendent of Police and failing that to the Police Sub-Inspector, Police Headquarters (Phone No. 1 or 3, 43). The Superintendent should send a sepoy simultaneously to the District Magistrate with a chit showing the name of the prisoner. If the District Magistrate is not there, he should inform the District Superintendent of Police whether it is a Hindu or Muslim funeral,

*Muslim.*

The religious rites in the case of a Muhomedan are:—

(i) Bath to be given. There is a special person " Bangi" or some such man who gives the bath.

(ii) Taking the dead body in a coffin (Janaja).

(iii) Prayers at the burial ground. (Namaj of the Janaja).

(iv) Taking the Janaja to the grave,

(v) Prayers when the first shovel of earth is put on it.

All these can be conveniently gone through in the regular burial ground, as there are all the necessary conveniences. The burial ground that will suit this purpose is one near the Electric Supply Co's Power-house. This

burial ground is known as. the "Haji Hasan Ali Sha Quadri Kabarasthan". It is secluded and has a Masjid in it.

As soon as the District Magistrate or the District Superintendent of Police gets the news, he should instruct the Police Sub-Inspector, Headquarters to get two closed buses ready and intimate that it is Hindu or Muhomedan death. If it is day time, he has to wait till the evening. He should make the necessary purchases of clothing etc. If it is a Hindu death, he should send a Brahmin constable and make the purchases etc., send the fuel and inform the priest

If it is night time, all this will have to be done at one time. One thing to be remembered in this respect is that the funeral has to be finished during the night.

The Police Sub-Inspector (Headquarters) should send a closed bus with five Muhomedan Constables in plain clothes to the fort. They should take a stretcher with them. The Police Sub-Inspector should himself go in another closed bus and ask the Fakir in charge of the Kabarasthan to keep ready all arrangements for bath etc., and ask the Mali to keep a grave ready in the southeastern corner. He should purchase high class clothing. It should be kept at the Kabarasthan.

Major Sendak should in the meantime inform the Fort authorities of this and arrange with them to get the ambulance and if necessary the bus, into the fort. The constables should behave most politely and solemnly. They should put the body on the stretcher, remove all the necessary clothing also along with it. The ambulance should proceed to the Kabrasthan. It should go by the Nagar-Poona Road and turn left and go to the gate along the cart track going towards Faria Bagh. The dead body should be taken out and the rites gone through without apparent haste.

The Police Sub-Inspector should pay all the charges and a rupee or two in charity. He should submit to the District Magistrate details of expenditure.

#### *Hindu*

The rites are:—

- (i) Bath.
- (ii) Preparing the pyre.
- (iii) Offering water.
- (iv) Kindling the fire.
- (v) Going round it when it is burnt about half.

As to giving the news the same procedure as above should be followed. One or two elderly Brahmin constables should be sent by the Police Sub-Inspector to make purchases of the required articles. They should arrange to send fuel also either in a cart or bus. He should inform Mr. Krishnaji Ambadas Mulay, Maliwada also and make arrangements to take him. He will work as the priest.

The spot suitable for this purpose is the Sina River about a mile and a half beyond Faria Bagh. One has to go up to Faria Bagh, then turn right and go by, the cart-track and then by the nallah to the river. It is away Burudgaon and Wakodi and between these two villages.

The ambulance and the bus if necessary should go to the fort, take the dead body with all the necessary clothing and proceed to the above spot. It will be possible to take the ambulance and bus within a furlong of the river.

There the body should be taken on the stretcher. It should be given a bath there only, clothed and put on the pyre.

They should wait there till the dead body is burnt completely. The ash should be collected in a bag and the bones in a small bag. The ash should be sent with the priest to Puntamba, a place of pilgrimage. The bones should be returned to the relatives of the deceased or deposited in the river at Puntamba. The Police Sub-Inspector should send the bills to the District Magistrate.

---

## **MOST SECRET**

D. O. No. 19.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS.

PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:

Poona, dated 12th November 1942.

*Reference* — Your D. O. No. S.D.V./1385, dated 8th October 1942.

I forward herewith copies of my D. O. No. 18, dated 13th October 1942, to the District Magistrate, Ahmednagar, and his reply thereto suggesting a scheme.

I am coming to Bombay some time next week when we can discuss this matter and settle it finally.

To

H. V. R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S., J.P.,  
Additional Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

---

## **LETTER**

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

No. 19286 of 1942.

To

The Editor,  
" Vandemataram "  
Nasik Chambers, Frere Road, Fort, Bombay.

Poona, 14th November 1942.

*Reference*—Your letter, dated 6th November 1942.

I have the honour to inform you that the instructions contained in my letter No. 15301, dated 1st September 1942, should be considered as cancelled.

Your obedient servant.

(Sd.) X x x

Col., I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

No. 19480 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 17th November 1942.

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

The Editor,  
"Vandemataram",  
Nasik Chambers, Frere Road, Fort, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

*Reference*—This office letter No. 19286, dated 14th November 1942.

The instructions contained in my above quoted letter should be considered as cancelled.

2. You may continue sending the issues of the paper for 3 months, from the date from which the publication of the same has been resumed.

3. The back issues of the paper which have not already been sent may please be supplied.

4. Bill for three months may be sent so that the amount will be remitted to you.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X  
Lt. Col., IMS.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

---

Managing Editor—Samaldas Gandhi.  
"VANDEMATARAM"  
*Gujarati Evening Daily.*

Telegram: "Vandemataram"

Nasik Chambers, Frere Road, Fort,  
Bombay, 18th November 1942.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Dear Sir,

We have pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 19480 of 1942, dated 17th instant and as desired therein is enclosed herewith a Bill for Rs. 11-8-0, being the subscription for three months.

As regards the previous issues they are being sent to you under a separate cover.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,  
for "VANDEMATARAM".  
(Sd.) X X X  
Manager.

Phone No. 27281.  
Telegram: "Vandemataram".

Nasik chambers.  
211-219, Frere Road, Fort,  
Bombay, 18th November 1942.

VANDEMATARAM  
MUDRANALAYA

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Inspector-General of Prisons' Office,  
Poona.

Bill No. 534.

Particulars.  
Subscription of our paper  
" Vandemataram " for 3 months.  
from 6-11-1942 to 5-2-1943.

Rate.	Rs.	Dr. As.	Ps.
	11	8	0
Total Rs.	11	8	0

E. & O. E.

*For " Vandemataram " Mudranalaya.*  
(Sd.) X X X  
Manager.

A separate receipt will be given on payment of the amount of this bill

**CONFIDENTIAL**

*LETTER*

No. S. D. VI /2942.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL):  
Bombay, 2nd December 1942.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Reference correspondence ending with Government endorsement No. S.D.V./900, dated the 17th September 1942.

Security prisoner Mr. M. K. Gandhi may be allowed to receive copies of the Urdu newspaper " Ittehad ". The enclosed copy of the newspaper, which has been received from the editor of the paper for Mr. Gandhi. may be delivered to him. The publisher is being asked to send future copies direct to you.

As the editor of paper has expressed a desire to send copies for Mr. Gandhi and has been informed that he may do so, there is no need to purchase copies.

(Sd.) x x x  
*for* Additional Secretary to the Government of  
Bombay, Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 2285 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 4th December 1942.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-charge, H. H. Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information.

2. In this connection please see Government, Home Department (Political), No. S.D.V/399,  
dated 17th September 1942, addressed to you.

(Sd.) X X X  
Lt. Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

"Ittehad"  
246, Rippon Road,  
Bombay, 4th December 1942.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

Sir,

I am sending today a separate packet of eight copies of "Ittehad" (both Gujarati and Urdu) by Book-post. The Papers are to be given to Mahatma Gandhi. I am instructed to do so through you by the Home Department, Bombay Government, I hope you will see to it that these papers are delivered to Gandhiji immediately.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) AMTUS SALAM,  
Editor, "Ittehad".

No. 20785 of 1942.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 7th December 1942.

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

The Editor,  
'Ittehad',  
246, Rippon Road, Bombay.

Dear Madam,

*Reference*—Your letter, dated 4th December 1942. I have to inform you that the copies of the newspaper 'Ittehad' will be duly delivered.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt. Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

THE STATESMAN  
STATESMAN HOUSE,  
CALCUTTA

Date 16th January 1943.

*EXPIRY NOTICE*

The Manager of the " Statesman" presents his compliments and intimates that your current period of subscription is due to expire with the issue dated 31st January 1943.

He trusts he will be favoured with your renewal instructions on the attached form.

14666 Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona.
---

Date -----

The Manager of the " Statesman" is hereby instructed to renew MY/ OUR subscription to the Statesman and the " Sunday Statesman " for the further period of months.

A remittance for Rs. is enclosed  
sent by M.O.

Cheques should be crossed and made payable to The Statesman Ltd.

Please consider me a Category 'A' Subscriber.

Paper to -----

Ref. K/21.

Signature.

*NOTICE*

Subscribers to " The Statesman " are of two classes, Category " A " and Category "B".

*Category " A" Subscribers* are those who give instructions for the continuance of their paper until countermanded, on the understanding that they will be sent a bill by V. P. Post quarterly, half-yearly or yearly as they may elect. A postal intimation precedes the despatch of such bills.

In the event of a V. P. Bill being returned by the Post Office as unclaimed or refused, it is assumed that the paper is no longer required and supplies cease forthwith.

*Category " B" Subscribers* are those who do not specifically ask to be considered in the foregoing category.

In this class, the paper is considered to have been ordered for a definite period after which, if no renewal instructions are received supplies cease. A notice is issued to the subscriber fifteen days before the expiry of his subscription to avoid possible inconvenience.

**MOST SECRET**

D. O. No. S.D.VI/451.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay. 18th January 1943.

Government has considered the question of the action which should be taken should Mr. Gandhi or any of those detained with him unfortunately die or become seriously ill while under detention, and I enclose for your information and guidance a statement showing what action is to be taken. I am, however, to say that "these instructions relate only to death or illness which has not been caused by a hunger-strike. Separate instructions will be issued later as regards the action which is to be taken in the event of death or illness caused by a hunger-strike.

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,  
20-1-43.

**MOST SECRET**

Demi-Official.

No. S.D. VI/452.

HOME DEPARTMENT ( SPECIAL ):  
Bombay, 18th January 1943.

Copy, with a copy of the accompaniment, forwarded for information and guidance to-

The Inspector-General of Police, Province of Bombay, with reference to his Demi-official letter, dated 16th September 1942.

The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., Poona.

The District Magistrate, Poona.

The District Superintendent of Police, Poona.

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately.

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.



*Action to be taken in the event of the death of Mr. M. K. Gandhi or any of those detained with him in His Highness the Aga Khan's Palace at Yeravda*

Name	Action to be taken in event of sudden death	Action to be taken in the case of expected death
(1)	(2)	(3)
M. K. GANDHI	<p>The Officer in Charge of the detenus at the Palace should inform Government immediately by telegram in code which should be sent either through the District Magistrate or the District Superintendent of Police, Poona, or, in the absence of those officers, through the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona.</p> <p>On receipt of intimation, Government will arrange to inform Mr. Gandhi's sons.</p> <p>His body should be handed over to his relatives or friends or to the public for disposal, subject to such restrictions as Government may impose.</p>	<p>If considered advisable, Mr. Gandhi may" be permitted to call in private doctors. In that event, the name of the doctor should first be communicated to Government by the Inspector-General of Prisons, and further instructions awaited. Any doctor so-called in should be required to give an undertaking in writing that he will not make use of his visits for publicity about any persons detained in the Palace.</p> <p>Any serious development in Mr. Gandhi's condition should be reported to Government by the Medical Officer-in-charge of the detenus by telegram in code, either through the District Magistrate or the District Superintendent of Police, Poona, or, in their absence, through the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona. This report should be supplemented by a letter containing fuller details which should be sent by a special messenger. No information should be communicated by telephone.</p>

MRS. KASTURBA  
GANDHI.

Intimation of her death should be communicated to Government by the Officer-in-charge of the detenus by telegram in code, either through the District Magistrate or the District Superintendent of Police, Poona, or, in their absence, through the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona.

On receipt of the telegram, Government will arrange, if possible, to procure the presence of her sons. If her sons cannot be present, other close relatives and friends may be permitted to be present. Relatives and friends, on entering the Palace, should be informed that permission to enter is granted on the clear understanding that they will not make use of their

Government will arrange for Mr. Gandhi's sons to be informed in good time to enable them to be present.

In the event of Mr. Gandhi's death, the Officer-in-charge of the detenus should inform Government immediately by telegram in code, either through the District Magistrate or the District Superintendent of Police, Poona, or through the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona.

The procedure to be followed for the disposal of Mr. Gandhi's body will be the same as in the case of sudden death.

Mr. Gandhi should be asked whether he would like a private doctor to be called in. If so, the Inspector-General of Prisons should communicate the name of the doctor to Government for orders. Any doctor so-called in should be required to give an undertaking not to make use of his visit for publicity about the persons detained in the Palace.

Any really important development in Mrs. Gandhi's condition should be reported to Government by the Medical Officer-in-charge of the detenus by telegram in code through the District Magistrate or the District Superintendent of Police, Poona, or, in their absence, through the Deputy Inspector-General of

Name	Action to be taken in event of sudden death	Action to be taken in the case of expected death
(1)	(2)	(3)
	<p>visit for publicity about any persons detained in the Palace and will not convey any message to or from them.</p> <p>The procedure to be followed for the disposal of her body should be the same as that which was adopted in the case of the late Mr. Mahadev Desai, but the introduction of an outside priest should be avoided, if possible.</p>	<p>Police, C. I.D., Poona, and this report should be supplemented by a letter containing fuller details which should be sent by a special messenger.</p> <p>Government will arrange to inform Mrs. Gandhi's sons in good time to enable them to be present. On entering the Palace, they should be informed that permission to do so is granted on the clear understanding that they will not make use of their visit or visits or publicity about any persons detained there, and will not convey any messages to or from them.</p> <p>Intimation of her death should be sent to Government by the Officer-in-charge of the detenus by telegram in code, either through the District Magistrate or the District Superintendent of Police, Poona, or, in their absence, through the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona.</p> <p>The procedure for the disposal of her body should be the same as in the case of sudden death.</p>

MRS. S. NAIDU  
MISS M. SLADE  
MISS S. NAYAR  
MR. P. NAYAR

Government should be informed by telegram in code which should be sent immediately by the Officer-in-charge of the detenus either through the District Magistrate or the District Superintendent of Police, Poona, or, in their absence, through the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona.

On receipt of the telegram, Government will arrange to inform the relatives in order to enable them to be present, if possible. If relatives cannot be present, friends may be permitted to be present. Relatives and friends should, however, be informed on entering the Palace that permission to enter is granted on the clear understanding that they will not make use of their visit for publicity about the persons detained there, and will not convey any messages to or from them.

The procedure to be followed for the disposal of the bodies should be the same as that adopted in the case of the late Mr. Mahadev Desai, but the introduction of an outside priest should, if possible, be avoided. Should, however, any demand be made by relatives, friends or the public for the body to be handed over to them for disposal, this may be allowed, but the District Magistrate, Poona, should immediately get into communication with Government and obtain its orders as to the restrictions, if any, which should be imposed.

Private doctors may, if considered advisable, be permitted to be called in, but any request for a private doctor and also the name of the doctor should first be reported by the Inspector-General of Prisons to Government for orders. Any doctor so-called in should be required to give an undertaking that he will not make use of his visits for publicity about any of the persons detained in the Palace.

Any really important development in the condition of the detenus concerned should be reported to Government by the Medical Officer-in-charge of the detenus by telegram in code, through the District Magistrate or the District Superintendent of Police, or, in the absence of these officers, through the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona, this telegram should be supplemented by a letter containing fuller details which should be sent by a special messenger.

In the event of serious illness which might lead to death, the detenus will be released, but, in the case of Mrs. Naidu, this will be done even if there is no great danger of a fatal termination.

Government will arrange to inform the relatives of the detenus in good time to enable them to be present.

The "Hindustan Times".  
Premier National Daily of India.  
Post Box No. 40.

New Delhi. 21st January 1943.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons.  
Poona.

Dear Sir,

We are regularly posting a copy of the "Hindustan Times" to Mahatma Gandhi c/o you and will continue to post the paper if you will kindly allow us to do so. We shall thank you to kindly let us know whether or not the paper is regularly delivered to Mahatmaji.

Yours faithfully,  
for The Hindustan Times Ltd.  
(Sd.) X X X  
Circulation Manager.

Bombay.

London.

Calcutta.

\_\_\_\_\_

The "Hindu"  
(Proprietors: Kasturi and Sons Ltd.)

Post Box 316.

Telegram: "Hindu". KASTURI BUILDINGS, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS.

Telephone 4455 (5 lines).

A/C No. 541-D.I.

22nd January 1943.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Province, Poona.

Dear Sir,

We have the pleasure to enclose our Bill No. 4924, dated 22nd January 1943, for Rs. 9-9-0 being subscription due for the "Hindu" and to request you to pass the same for early payment.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X x  
Manager.

No. 4924.  
Date: 22-1-1943.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

THE "HINDU", MADRAS  
(Proprietors: Kasturi & Sons, Ltd.)

Dr.

A/C No. 541/D.I.

	Rs.	A.	P.
To subscription to " The Hindu" Daily Edition for a quarter from 1st February 1943.	9	9	0
To Postage, etc.			
The period specified herein is based on the current subscription rates and holds good only as long as these rates are in force and subject to variation protanto on any increase or decrease in rates.			
Rupees nine and annas nine only.			
	Total	9	9 0
Clerk.	Checker.	Manager.	

To

- (1)The Editor,  
The Statesman,  
Statesman House, Calcutta.
- (2)The Joint Manager,  
The Hindu,  
Kasturi Buildings,  
Mount Road, Madras.
- (3)The Manager,  
Vandemataram,  
Nasik Chambers, Frere Road,  
Fort, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

- (1)Reference your Expiry Notice, dated 16th January 1943.
- (2)Reference your letter A/C No. 541/DI.
- (3)Reference your No. 2041, dated 26th January 1943.

You may continue supplying the Statesman Daily  
Hindu Daily for three  
Vandemataram Daily  
months more, i.e., from February to April 1943.

The subscription will be sent to you by money-order during the first week of February 1943.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Inspector-General of Prisons.

*For information.*

The Statesman is being received for Mr. Gandhi.

We will continue—This paper for 3 months, i.e., from February to April end. The subscription for the above period will be renewed.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

\_\_\_\_\_  
The Statesman, Statesman House,  
Calcutta.

Date: 23rd January 1943.

14666

Inspector-General of Prisons,

Prov ince of Bombay, Poona.

#### *EXPIRY OF SUBSCRIPTION*

The Manager of *The Statesman* regrets that he has not received your instructions to renew your subscription, which as intimated in the expiry notice sent one week ago, is due to expire with the issue dated 31st January 1943.

Instructions will be appreciated but, should they have already been despatched, this notice may kindly be disregarded.

Paper to \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Ref. K/2/

#### *NOTICE*

Subscribers to *The Statesman* are of the two classes. Category " A " and Category "B".

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In this class, the paper is considered to have been ordered for a definite period after which, if no renewal instructions are received supplies, cease. A notice is issued to the subscriber fifteen days before the expiry of his subscription to avoid possible inconvenience.

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES ARE PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

The Circulation Manager,  
The Hindustan Times,  
Post Box No. 40,  
New Delhi.

No. 1523 of 1943.  
Poona, 26th January 1943.;

Dear Sir,

*Reference.*—Your letter No. 16790, dated 21st January 1943.

I have to inform you that the paper "Hindustan Times" is regularly delivered.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.  
Lt. Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS:  
Poona, 28th January 1943.

My dear lengar,

I acknowledge receipt of your D. O. No. S.D.VI/451. dated 18th January 1943 and a copy of the D. O. No. S.D.VI/453 of the same date addressed to Major Sendak with the accompaniments in each case.

I would, however, like to bring to your notice a few points which may be clarified.



(1) In the event of sudden death of Mr. Gandhi, Government will, on receipt of intimation, arrange to inform his sons. But in case his sons cannot arrive in time it is presumed that the body is to be handed over to his friends in Poona. It appears from the instructions that under no circumstances he is to be cremated quietly on the spot.

(2) In cases where relatives or friends are to be permitted to be present I may please be informed whether this applies to relatives and friends who may be confined in Yeravda Central Prison.

In case of Mrs. Gandhi's death her friends and relatives are to be permitted at the cremation. That means that the friends will have opportunity to meet and talk to Mr. Gandhi.

(3) A priest is absolutely necessary when bodies are to be disposed of by the Jail authorities and it is not possible to avoid introduction of one from outside. In fact two priests had to be brought in from outside in the case of late Mr. Mahadev Desai as it was necessary and Mr. Gandhi insisted on it, and the same will have to be done in these cases also should such occasion arise.

(4) Place of cremation is not fixed as is done in the case of detenus in Ahmednagar Fort. I presume the same place where Mahadev Desai was cremated is to be used.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

To

H. V. R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S., J.P.,  
Additional Secretary to Government, Home D. (S.), Bombay.

Telephone No. 27281 (Two lines).  
Telegram: "VANDEMATARAM".

NASIK CHAMBERS  
211-219, Frere Road, Fort  
Bombay, 1st February 1943.

VANDEMATRAM MUDRANALAYA

Dr.

The Inspector-General of Prisons' Office,  
Poona.

Bill No. 548.

Particulars. Rate	Rs.	as.	ps.
Subscription of the Vandematram for three months from 6th February 1943 to 5th May 1943.	14	0	0
Rupees Forteen only.	Total Rs.	14	0 0
	E. & O. E.		
	for "Vandemataram" Mudranalaya.		

A separate receipt will be given on payment of the amount of this bill.

(Sd.) X X X  
Manager.

**THE STATESMAN LTD.,  
STATESMAN HOUSE.**

Calcutta, 5th February 1943.

Please Quote S/S1459.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona.

Dear Sir,

We thank you for your letter of the 29th ultimo and have pleasure in resuming your supplies of the Statesman for a period of three months from 1st February to 30th April 1943.

We note that you are sending us a remittance of Rs. 11 in this respect.

Our formal receipt will be issued as soon as the amount comes to hand.

Yours faithfully,

THE STATESMAN LTD.,  
Subscription Department.  
(Sd.) X X X

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*Report, Feb. 13th, 1943.*

Gandhiji was troubled with nausea yesterday—the third day of the fast—which caused him to take less water than usual. The nausea was relieved by the addition of small quantities of the juice of sour limes to has water. In all he took about three ounces of the juice in 24 hours. His night was not so good as the previous ones and he looks and feels weaker today. The B. P. is 195/104 this morning and the urine contains acetone and diacetic acid.

(Sd.) S. NAYAR.

(Sd.) M. D. D. GILDER.

---

Dated 17th February 1943.

Mr. Gandhi had a better day on the whole on Thursday. Nausea and headache are reduced and in consequence he was able to take 47 oz. of fluid. He had 7½ hours sleep during the 24 hours. His weight is 97 lbs. to-day, making a total loss of twelve pounds.

This morning he looks more cheerful and rested, although headache persists. The pulse rate is 82, volume small.

The blood pressure remains high. His general condition continues to cause anxiety.  
17-2-43.

B. C. ROY.  
R. H. CANDY.  
M. D. D. GILDER.  
S. NAYAR.  
M. G. BHANDARI.  
B. Z. SHAH.

---

NASIK ROAD CENTRAL PRISON:  
Nasik Road, the 20th February 1943.

Dear Col. Bhandari,

I have sent you a telegram today as follows:—

"Feeling extremely anxious about Mahatma Gandhi's health shall feel extremely obliged if you will kindly arrange for our receiving news in the daily bulletin about his health by wire the very day it is issued shall bear all expenses in connection therewith".

You will kindly appreciate my deep feelings for Mahatma Gandhi and our keen desire to know as fully and as early as possible all the news available to the public. The daily newspapers which we get here and which contain the news given in the daily bulletin, are received at about 3 p.m., i.e., practically twenty hours after its release. If you can see your way to inform the contents of the bulletin to the Superintendent by wire at my cost, we will get the news very much earlier. As these are very critical days for Mr. Gandhi, we naturally feel extremely anxious. The facility if granted will be highly valued and appreciated by all the detenus and we shall all feel deeply obliged.

In case you find any difficulty in granting this request without the permission of the Government, I am enclosing herewith a letter addressed to Mr. Irwin, Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor, which you may immediately forward to him and obtain his instructions by phone.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) MANGALDAS PAKVASA.

Attested:

(Sd.) Keshavlal H.,  
Superintendent,  
Nasik Road Central Prison.

NASIK ROAD CENTRAL PRISON:  
Nasik Road, the 20th February 1943.

Dear Mr. Irwin,

I am at present a prisoner in detention in the above jail.

We are deeply anxious about Mahatma Gandhi's health which is at present in a critical condition. You will appreciate our keen desire to get as early as possible the news contained in the daily bulletins issued by the Government.

As it is likely that the I. G. P. will require the sanction of the Government for granting the facility (at your cost), I am hereby requesting you to obtain His Excellency's permission in the matter, for which all of us will feel deeply thankful to him.

I shall thank you to treat this matter as very urgent.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) MANGALDAS PAKVASA.  
Before me.  
(Sd.) KESHAVLAL H.,  
Superintendent,  
Nasik Road Central Prison.

---

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 309 of 1943.  
CENTRAL ROAD PRISON OFFICE:  
Nasik Road, the 20th February 1943.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Sir.

I have the honour to forward herewith 2 letters written by detainee Mangaldas Pakvasa. One is addressed to you personally and the other to Mr. Irwin, Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

2. As regards para. 2 of the letter addressed to you may I suggest that instead of the daily bulletin being sent by wire from the Head Office, the news coming over the radio from Bombay regarding Mahatma Gandhi's health may be received by one of the staff and the same may be communicated to the detainees. This will save a lot of expenditure.

Yours obedient servant,  
(Sd.) KESHAVLAL H.,  
Nasik Road Central Prison.

Express Telegram

Dated 22-2-1943.

From

B. G. Kher.

To

M. A. Jinnah, Esquire, Bar-at-Law,  
Bhopal.

Pray you forget differences and use your undoubted unique influence to save Gandhi's life.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No, 311 of 1943.  
CENTRAL. PRISONS OFFICE:  
Yeravda, the 22nd February 1943.

F. W. C. to the I. G. of Prisons, Poona, for disposal.  
Rs. 4 is herewith sent for necessary postage.

(Sd.) R. BARKER,  
Superintendent, Y. C. P.

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No. 811 of 1943.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 22nd February 1943.

To

The Additional Secretary to Government, Home Department (Political), Bombay.  
Forwarded w. c. for favour of disposal.

(Sd.) x x x  
for I. G. of Prisons

My dear Mahatmaji,

You are aware that in spite of the divergence of opinion in political matters I have often differed from you, yet owing to the fact that you have imposed upon yourself under cover of spirituality severe physical disability in the form of a fast, I am all the same, passing an anxious hour. Every moment that passes, I wish you came out from the selfinflicted burden safe in spite of the fact that I am yet not able to understand whether you have resorted to, to this fast in defence of the denial of the responsibility for internal disturbances, since the Bombay Session of the All India Congress, or as alleged by the Government of India for

securing personal release from imprisonment. In any case, you are in the best position to give a convincing answer to this question. If however my presumptions were true that the former case applies to the genesis of this fast, then, excuse me, whatever has since taken place internally in the country, one fast admittedly not enough. No where in the entire world history we come across any instance, even in the defence of their leading Generals that one may have resorted to fast in defence of any particular action or otherwise adopted any manner of such an action in the interests of the Country or Community.

It is true however that the philosophy of non-violence which you desire to establish has received a severe blow by this fast method and this your hunger strike is another impediment in its way. I do not think it would be within permissible limits of the philosophy of " Non-violence " that however great one might be an enemy or however much you can exploit a friend, it would be right to exploit him at a time when he might be himself hard pressed, witness the British position, who for aught we know are engaged in a life and death struggle in the present war, one may create one more handicap for them and protract that difficulty to such lengths as will in itself affect us adversely. In that case many adverse constructions can be made on the working of any scheme.

You are aware that even at this moment the situation has arisen which the representative organ of the Moslem League has been openly proclaiming that you and the Congress present scheme is not only directed against the British Government, but is the secret reserve weapon for employment, later on, against the Indian Moslem Nation so that they may go out of India or suffer themselves to lie as political slaves at the mercy of the Hindu majority community. Whatever clarification is available on the point, one can safely infer and say that neither you nor the Congress can refute these allegations with any convincing proof. Notwithstanding the above, I am convinced you will have realised that it was a folly to have embarked upon the present policy, and there could be no two opinions save that the scheme adopted had, in the ultimate, the object of throttling the Moslems' interests and imperilling the peaceful atmosphere security of the country by exploiting Britain's difficulties and I am sure that you embarked upon this policy ignorant of the above perils and which indeed witnesses in spite of your will, your repentance, and failure envisaged in the fast itself. For such a great leader as you are, to suffer hardship in the domain of spirituality it is not the correct position nor is it at all proper—the proper remedy however is in true action—and whereby one can surmount to remove misunderstandings. I hope if you agree I am correct as stated above, then surely this is neither the time nor the place to adopt a faltering attitude in this self-immolating sacrifice in the cause of the defence of the denial of the grave internal incidents, but proceed to advise the Congress to make peace with the Mussalmans, and not until an agreement is arrived at to start on any such scheme.

I hope you will value this request that I have made, and I further trust you will in the evening of your life proceed to do an everlasting favour to Indians in the history of India.

I await your reply with eagerness, and in the meanwhile.

Hyderabad Sind:  
the 28th February 1943.

Former member All-India Congress Committtee,  
General Secretary All-India Baloach Conference, and  
President, Sind Provincial Khilafat Committee.  
West Katcha, Hyderabad.

I am,  
Your in deep anxiety,  
(Sd.) ALI MOHOMED,  
Ali Mohd. Mari Baloach.

No. S.D.V-1734.  
HOME DEPARTMENT ( SPECIAL ):  
Bombay, the 22nd February 1943.

My dear Bhandari,

Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mrs. Sarala Devi Chaudhary have applied to the Government of India for permission to interview Mr. Gandhi. Government has no objection to either of them having an interview and in case they approach you in Poona, please give them the necessary facility in accordance with the usual procedure.

2. I understand that Mr. Gandhi's sister, Mrs. Gokiben from Rajkot, wii be arriving in Poona tomorrow. There is no objection to her being allowed to see him.

3. An application has been received from Lady Vithaldas Thackersey and from Mr. Shantikumar Morarji to see Mr. Gandhi again. There is no objection to this and you may decide it in consultation with the doctor in charge as usual.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS Regr. No. 1449. Date 23-2-43.
--

Lieut-Colonel M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

DO. No. 19-I-43-Political(I),  
HOME DEPARTMENT:  
New Delhi, the 24th February 1943.

My dear Iengar,

We have had considerable discussion over the telephone about the difficulties that may arise if Mr. Gandhi dies and the members of his family propose to convey his ashes to some other place or places in India, in view of the risks of disorder that any such public transfer might involve. One may perhaps hope that the question will not arise, but if it does, you asked for our views, which have already been communicated to you, in writing for purposes of record.

These views are that, if death occurs, Devdas Gandhi (or whoever else takes on the responsibility for the funeral arrangements etc.) should be informed after the cremation that, if there is any proposal to convey the ashes to some other place, Government must have advance information and in the interests of the preservation of order, will have to take steps to prevent any previous publicity from being given to the journey or the date on which it will take place. He should be informed that Government will do everything they can to meet the wishes of the family in such a matter and would be prepared to provide air transport if necessary. They might also agree, if the relatives so wish, to a public announcement that the ashes would be transferred to the desired destination on some future and unspecified date but that they will prevent any further publicity in advance, either through the Press or by means of the telephone or telegraph line.

2. If a desire to transfer the ashes to some other destination is expressed, proposals for the date on which and the manner by which the transfer is to be carried out should be communicated to us for approval and ample time must be given to enable us to warn the Provinces concerned. At the same time, the District Magistrate, Poona, should take steps similar to those which will be taken in the case of the death itself to stop at source any messages on the subject either through the Press or through the telephone or telegraph. We shall warn A.I.R. and the Censors not to allow anything out on the air or any message leaving India and we have telegraphed to the Secretary of State asking him to ensure that the B.B.C. lets nothing out prematurely, in case the news were to reach London by some roundabout channel.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM.

H. V. R. Iengar, Esq., **C.I.E., I.C.S.**,  
Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay,  
Home Department, Bombay.



DETENTION CAMP:  
February 24th, 1943.

Dear Col. Bhandari,

There seems to be, between Khan Bahadur Kately and me a conflict in the understanding of Government instructions about interviews. From the correspondence and instructions you were good enough to read to me I had gathered that those who were permitted to visit me, were not restricted as to the nature of discussion or its duration, a Government representative, if necessary, being present. When I am physically unable to carry on discussion I leave it to Shri Pyarelal to finish it. Naturally also the visitors who are intimately connected with me are seen and talked to by my wife. I personally can do very little talking. Doctors for one thing, have to limit it to the fewest possible minutes. The Khan Bahadur's instructions are, that the talk must be confined only, as between them and me. If such is the position it is hopeless. Thus Seth R. D. Birla came and so also Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj. They know all about the trusts that I used to regulate. Naturally I took the opportunity of their visits and instructed Shri Pyarelal accordingly and he has been talking to them regarding them. The Khan Bahadur had a very delicate duty to perform. He did it firmly but as gracefully as was possible under the circumstance. The Khan Bahadur also says he has strict instructions not to allow visitors to take any notes or papers. During the remaining days of the fast and convalescence, I would like if possible to be undisturbed by such things. I would therefore like clear instructions which Khan Bahadur and I can mutually understand. I have no desire to go behind them. Shri Devdas Gandhi my son has permission to stop at the palace as long as he likes. During the permission period he talks during odd minutes when he thinks he can, naturally the Khan Bahadur cannot be present at those times. I have asked Shri Pyarelal, to show him all the correspondence that has passed between the Govt. of India and the Govt. of Bombay and myself, I had also the intention of supplying him with copies of such correspondence. But since the Khan Bahadur's prohibition, pending Govts. instruction I have asked my son not to take any copies.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

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**SECRET**

D.O. Letter No. 1409.  
Dated 25th February 1943.

Enclosed herewith is a list showing the disposal of 193 telegrams received for Mr. M. K. Gandhi, sent by you.

From the list, it will be seen that there are some telegrams which are to be referred to Government and some to be withheld. These two lots are separately enclosed herewith and on the centre cover, a note is made in red pencil as 'refer to Government' or 'withhold', as the case may be the telegrams have been duly numbered in pencil either in the right hand corner or on the reverse and arranged serially.

Those telegrams which were to be delivered to Mr. M. K. Gandhi were sent to you yesterday, i.e., on (24-2-43) for further disposal.

On the evening of 24th February 1943, 10 more telegrams were sent by you to this office which are returned herewith. These should be disposed of in accordance with the instructions given in D.O. letter from Mr. S. G. Barve, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary, Home Department, Bombay.

In future messages received for Mr. M. K. Gandhi should be handled on the lines mentioned in the D.O. letter.

To

K. B. Kately.

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**SECRET**

No. S.D.-VI-1995.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, the 27th February 1943.

My dear Bhandari,

I enclose for your information and guidance (should unfortunately that become necessary) a copy of the instructions of the Government of India regarding the disposal of Mr. Gandhi's ashes.

I have sent a copy to Hulland.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

Lieut.-Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

Telephones.

5329-5333 (5 lines)

THE STATESMAN  
STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA  
SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT

6th March 1943.

Dear Sir,

In their efforts to find a solution to the critical situation which has arisen in the country regarding the supply of newsprint, the Government of India have found it necessary further to refuse the sizes of newspapers and at the same time made a further compulsory enhancement in price.

This change in the case of the Statesman and The Sunday Statesman provides that our daily issues will be limited to four pages, which will be sold at two annas per copy. The Sunday Statesman will have eight pages

and will sell for two annas per copy. Certain provisions of the Newsprint Control Amendment Order render it possible for us to give eight pages on Sundays for 2 annas.

Consequent upon this change, it becomes necessary for us to revise our subscription rates, which from April 1st will be as follows:—

MOFUSSIL SUBSCRIPTION RATES (Inclusive of postage).

					The Statesman and The Sunday Statesman	The Statesman (only)	The Sunday Statesman
Yearly	..	..	..	..	50	44	9
Half-yearly	..	..	..	..	26	23	4/8
Quarterly	..	..	..	..	13	12	2/8

In due course, a note will be sent to you advising you of the adjustment in the period of your subscription which this change entails.

Subscribers will, we are sure, appreciate that by co-operating with Government in this matter, shipping space, so valuable to the Allies in the present stage of the war, is being saved, and we can only hope that in a comparatively short time, it will be possible for us to get back to bigger, better and cheaper newspapers.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X

THE STATESMAN, LTD.

Dear Sir,

In continuation of our letter of the 6th March 1943, advising a change in Subscription Rates as from April 1st, we have to inform you that your current subscription, which was due to expire on 30th April 1943 has been adjusted to expire on 27th April 1943.

Yours faithfully,

The Statesman, Ltd.,

(Sd.) X X X

Circulation Manager.

POST-CARD

14666

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
POONA.

*For information.*

The newspaper Hindu is being supplied to Mr. Gandhi daily. It will be continued for 3 months more.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

Quarterly revised rate of subscription	Rs.	12.		
of Statesman Daily is				
Quarterly Hindu	Rs.	12		
Total ..	24	0	0	

**"THE HINDU"**

(Props: Kasturi and Sons Ltd.),  
Mount Road, Madras.

Account No. 541/DI

Dear Sir,

We beg to advise that your subscription to "The Hindu" Daily Edition expires with the issue dated 24th April 1943 and that the renewal will fall due on that date. As the subscriptions are strictly payable in advance request you to favour us with your renewal order accompanied by a remittance to avoid interruption in the supply of the paper.

Trusting this will have your prompt attention.

									LOCAL		MOFUSSIL.	
									Rs.	As.	Rs.	As
Monthly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	14	4	2
Quarterly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	4	12	0
Half-yearly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	8	24	0
Yearly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	0	48	0

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Joint Manager.

Below letter dated 28th February 1943 addressed to Mr. Gandhi by Mr. Ali Mohomed Mari Baloach of Hyderabad (Sind).

**CONFIDENTIAL**

In. No. 2066  
10-3-43.  
No. P.O.L. 2481  
Poona, 8th March 1943.

Forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona. for disposal.

(Sd.) x x x  
Addl. D.M., Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1102 of 1943.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 11th March 1943.

To

The Addl. Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Political), Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of disposal.

(Sd.) x x x  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
I.-G. of Prisons.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 125  
Yeravda, 12th March 1943.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

*Reference.*—Your Memo No. 1052, dated 8th March 1943.

Sir,

I am sending herewith a list of persons who were granted interviews with Mr. M. K. Gandhi during the period of fast.

Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,  
Officer I/C Agakhan's Palace.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS, POONA Regr. No. 2147. Date: 12-3-43.
---

Yeravda, dated 13th April 1943.

My dear Raobahadur,

M. K. Gandhi states that the paper "Dawn" is not received by him for sometime. It is, he says, now a daily paper. So will you please arrange to get the daily.

He further asks for " Social Welfare " of Mr. K. M. Munshi. For this, I think, you will have to approach Government.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,

To

Raobahadur, S. S. Deshpande,  
Deputy Inspector-General of Prisons,  
POONA.

\_\_\_\_\_  
THE STATESMAN  
STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA

Dated 13th April 1943.

*EXPIRY NOTICE*

The Manager of the "Statesman" presents his compliments and intimates that your current period of Subscription is due to expire with the issue dated 27th April 1943.

He trusts he will be favoured with your renewal instructions on the attached form.

14666 Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona.
---

Date

The Manager of the "Statesman" is hereby instructed to renew MY/ OUR subscription to the " Statesman" and the " Sunday Statesman " for the further period of months.

A remittance for Rs. is enclosed/sent by M.O. Cheques should be crossed and made payable to The Statesman Ltd.

\*Please consider me a Category "A" Subscriber.

Paper to. ....

Ref. K./20

Signature.

\_\_\_\_\_  
*NOTICE*

Subscribers to " THE STATESMAN " are of two classes, Category "A" and Category "B".

*Category "A" Subscribers* are those who give instructions for the continuance of their paper until countermanded, on the understanding that they will be sent a bill by V. P. post quarterly, half yearly or yearly as they may elect. A postal intimation precedes the despatch of such bills.

In the event of a V. P. Bill being returned by the Post Office as unclaimed or refused, it is assumed that the paper is no longer required and supplies cease forthwith.

*Category "B" Subscribers* are those who do not specifically ask to be considered in the foregoing category.

In this class, the paper is considered to have been ordered for a definite period after which, if no renewal instructions are received supplies cease. A notice is issued to the subscriber fifteen days before the expiry of his subscription to avoid possible inconvenience.

Subscription Rates to all Issues of " The Statesman ".

Mofussil (Inclusive of postage)

												Rs.	As.
Yearly ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	0
Half-yearly ....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	0
Quarterly..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	0
Shorter Periods <i>pro rata</i> to..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	0
Town (Inclusive of delivery charges).	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	per month	
Yearly..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35	0
Half-yearly..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	0
Quarterly ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	0

*SUBSCRIPTION RATES ARE PAYABLE IN ADVANCE*

D. O. 1595.

16-4-43.

*Reference.*—Your D. O., dated 13th April 1943.

My dear Kately,

Regarding the newspaper "Dawn" the Manager has been written to For 'Social Welfare' learnt is being approached;

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. G. B.

To

K. B. A. E. Kately,

Officer I/C Aga Khan's Palace,

Yeravda.

*LETTER*

To

The Manager,  
"The Dawn", Daryaganj, Delhi.

No. 1594 of 1943.  
Poona, 16th April 1943.

Dear Sir,

As I wish to be a subscriber for your paper "Dawn Daily" for three months from 15th April 1943, I will be obliged if you will kindly send by V. P. P. the issues of the same.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) x x x  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons.

**SECRET***LETTER*

No. 1602.  
Dated 16th April 1943.

To

The Additional Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Political), Bombay.

I have the honour to state that Mr. M. K. Gandhi has asked for "Social Welfare" edited by Mr. K. M. Munshi. I may, therefore, kindly be informed whether the newspapers may be allowed to him.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Inspector-General of Prisons.

THE STATESMAN  
STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA

Dated 20th April 1943.

14666 Inspector-General of Prisons. Province of Bombay, Poona.
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*EXPIRY OF SUBSCRIPTION*

The Manager of "The Statesman" regrets that he had not received your instructions to renew your subscription, which, as intimated in the expiry notice sent one week ago, is due to expire with the issue dated 27th April 1943.



Instructions will be appreciated but, should they have already been despatched, this notice may kindly be disregarded.

Paper to  
Ref. K/20

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THE STATESMAN  
STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA

Dated 22nd April 1943.

Received from the Inspector General of Prisons of Province of Bombay, Poona, the sum of Rupees Twelve only, in payment of SUBSCRIPTION to "THE STATESMAN " and " THE SUNDAY STATESMAN" from 28th April 1943 to 19th July 1943 as per Bill No. 43/ X4126, Rs. 12.

for The Statesman,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Subscription Department.

*For Information and orders.*

Till January 1943 this office was receiving weekly paper "Dawn" at irregular intervals, for the use of Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

As the paper "Dawn" is issued daily, as stated by Mr. Gandhi, the Editor will be asked in this connection.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

As regards "Social Welfare" it is not included in the list approved by Government and we will have to approach Government for this.

(Sd.) X X X

From:

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The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

The Manager,  
"The Statesman",  
Statesman House, Calcutta.

No. 6859 of 1943.  
Poona, 26th April 1943.

*Reference.*—Your Notice of Expiry of Subscription.

Dear Sir,

Amount of Rs. 12 being the revised quarterly subscription for the months of April to July 1943 for your newspaper "Statesman" has already been sent to you by Money Order on 17th April 1943.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X  
for Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

A, E. Kately was asked to send a sum of Rs. 17 for payment of quarterly subscription of this newspaper, but he says he has no money. The subscription is to be paid so as to reach the Manager on the 5th May 1943.

It is, therefore, put up for orders.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.  
30-4.

Sent M. O. for B. 17/4/ on 1st May 1943.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

*LETTER*

No. S.D. VI/3777.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL):  
Bombay, 27th April 1943.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Reference your letter No. 1602, dated 16th April 1943.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi may be allowed to receive the newspaper " Social Welfare".

(Sd.) X X X  
*for* Additional Secretary to the Government of  
Bombay, Home Department.  
*For information.*

The Editor "Social Welfare" will be addressed to send by V. P. P. The issue of the newspaper for 3 months.

We have also been sending "Dawn Daily" to K. B. Kately from 2nd April.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

No.                      of 1943.  
Poona,                      April 1943.

The Editor,  
"Social Welfare",  
Lalgiri Chambers, Tamarind Lane, Fort, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

As I wish to be a subscriber for your newspaper for 3 months (May, June and July 1943) I will be obliged if you will kindly supply the paper

to this office. The quarterly subscription of the paper will be sent to you on being intimated by you to this office.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt. Col., I. M. S.

Copy to K. B. Kately for information in continuation of this office D. O. No. 1595, dated 16th April 1943.

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**MOST SECRET**

D. O. No. SD.VI-3104.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, 23rd April 1943.

Please see your most secret demi-official letter No. 22, dated the 28th January. Here are the replies to your questions seriatim:—

(1) The only ground on which Government will consider Mr. Gandhi's funeral in the Aga Khan's Palace will be if he has *himself* expressed a desire to be cremated there. Otherwise the funeral will be a public one outside the Palace, but not outside Poona; and the detailed arrangements will be those which were settled during the fast.

(2) If Mr. Gandhi's Funeral is to be public, *prisoners detained with him* and no other prisoners should be allowed to be present. If the funeral is to be in the detention camp itself, a few close friends both from the Yeravda Prison and from outside may be allowed.

Mrs. Gandhi's funeral will be in the detention camp itself. Government is aware that Mrs. Gandhi's friends and relatives will, on entering the premises, be in a position to talk to Mr. Gandhi himself. It is for this reason that the instructions require that they should be informed, on entering the Palace, that they should not make use of their visit for publicity about any of the persons detained in the Palace and that they will not convey any message from or to them.

(3) Government notes what you have stated about an outside priest.

(4) This is obviously a matter of convenience and is left to your discretion. If the place where Mahadev Desai was cremated is the most convenient, it should be used.

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

Lt-Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay., Poona.

**MOST SECRET**  
**DEMI-OFFICIAL**

No. S.D. VI/3105.  
 HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
 Bombay Castle, 23, April 1943

Copy, with copy of the letter under reply, forwarded to—

The Inspector-General of Police, Province of Bombay.

The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., Poona.

The District Magistrate, Poona.

The District Superintendent of Police, Poona.

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel.

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
 Home Department.

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Copy of Most Secret Demi-Official letter No. 22, dated 28th January 1943, from the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona.

I acknowledge receipt of your D. O. No. S.D. VI / 451, dated 18th January 1943 and a copy of the D. O. No. S.D.VI/453 of the same date addressed to Major Sendak with the accompaniments in each case.

I would, however, like to bring to your notice a few points which may be clarified—

(1) In the event of sudden death of Mr. Gandhi Government will, on receipt of intimation, arrange to inform his sons. But in case his sons cannot arrive in time it is presumed that the body is to be handed over to his friends in Poona. It appears from the instructions that under no circumstances he is to be cremated quietly on the spot.

(2) In cases where relatives or friends are to be permitted to be present I may please be informed whether this applies to relatives and friends who may be confined in Yeravda Central Prison.

In case of Mrs. Gandhi's death her friends and relatives are to be permitted at the cremation. That means that the friends will have opportunity to meet and talk to Mr. Gandhi.

(3) A priest is absolutely necessary when bodies are to be disposed of by the Jail authorities and it is not possible to avoid introduction of one from outside. In fact two priests had to be brought in from outside in the case of late Mr. Mahadeo Desai as it was necessary and Mr. Gandhi insisted on it, and the same will have to be done in the cases also should such occasion arise.

(4) Place of cremation is not fixed as is done in the case of detenus in Ahmadnagar Fort. I presume the same place where Mahadev Desai was cremated is to be used.

**MOST SECRET**

Memorandum of policy decided by the Government of India to be adopted in the event of another fast by Mr. Gandhi.

*Main policy.*—There will be no release even for the duration of the fast. This applies whether Mr. Gandhi should declare a suicide fast or a fast for a limited period. Mr. Gandhi will be kept where he is and not removed from the Aga Khan's Palace to any other place. A brief official statement will be made if he decides to fast.

*Interviews.*—These will be allowed to such of his relatives, friends and inmates of his Ashram as he himself may ask for and also to any other persons whom Government may think it advisable to admit. Admission will be subject in each case to the approval of Government, and this discretion will be exercised so as to limit the number of visitors much more strictly than on the last occasion.

*Correspondence.*—During the last fast letters and telegrams were withheld from Mr. Gandhi to the same extent as was the practice before his fast. This rule will be strictly maintained and no exception will be made in favour of communications from any individual or body of persons, even though they might take the form of urging abandonment of the fast.

*Newspapers.*—No change.

*Doctors and medical attendants.*—This will depend on the circumstances at the time and the nature of the fast itself. If the fast were to be a suicide fast medical attention would presumably be repugnant to Mr. Gandhi himself. If it were to be a limited fast and the period fixed for it were to be such that he might hope to survive, the matter might be different. If outside doctors are allowed to visit the Palace, their number will be strictly limited and there will be an absolute ban on their communication to the press of any details relating to the progress of the fast or to affairs inside the Palace.

*Bulletins regarding Mr. Gandhi's health.*—Bulletins regarding Mr. Gandhi's health should as on the last occasion, be signed by all the doctors attending on him.

*Artificial feeding.*—The law remains that a doctor is under no legal obligation to administer artificial feeding so long as the patient remains conscious and is able to feed himself, but when the patient becomes unconscious and the doctor considers that artificial feeding will save or prolong life, it is his duty to administer it. There can be no question of altering this position and it would be a question for the doctors to decide at the time at what point, if any, to administer food artificially.

*General.*—Should Mr. Gandhi intimate his intention to declare another fast, he will be informed by the Government of India at once of the conditions in which he would have to conduct it.

**From**

No. 1848 of 1943.

Poona, the 1st May 1943.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

**To**

The Editor,  
"Social Welfare",  
Lalgiri Chambers, Tamarind Lane, Fort, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

As I wish to be subscriber for your newspaper for 3 months (May, June and July 1943) I will be obliged if you will kindly supply the paper to this office.

The quarterly subscription of the paper will be sent to you on being intimated by you to this office.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1849 of 1943.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS OFFICE:

Poona, the 1st April 1943.

**To**

Khan Bahadur, A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-charge H.H. the Aga Khan's Palace, Poona.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information in continuation of this office D.O. No. 1595, dated 16th April 1943,

(Sd.) X X X

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

**THE STATESMAN LTD.,  
STATESMAN HOUSE**

Calcutta, the 4th May 1943.

In supplying

Please quote S/5619.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Bombay.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 26th ultimo we confirm having received your money order for Rs. 12 on the 24th ultimo in respect of subscription to The Statesman for the period 28th April to 19th July 1943.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X

The Statesman Ltd.,  
Subscription Department.

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**THE "SOCIAL WELFARE"**

An English Weekly.

Phone: 25668.

Office:

Lalgiri Chambers,  
Tamarind Lane, Fort,  
Bombay, 4th May 1943.

Editor,

K, M. Munshi, M.L.A.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 1848 of 1943, dated the 1st instant, we beg to inform you that the quarterly subscription of our weekly the "Social Welfare" is Rs. 1/10 and shall thank you, send the same by M.O. as early as possible. Please note that we have registered your name as subscriber from 1st May 1943. The issues will be sent regularly every week".

Thanking you, we remain,

Yours faithfully,  
for the "Social Welfare"  
(Sd.) X X X  
for Manager.

S/1998.

Tel. 25668.

**"THE SOCIAL WELFARE"**

No. 1976.

Lalgiri Chambers, Tamarind Lane,  
Fort,  
Bombay, the 10th May 1943.

*Subscription Receipt.*

Received with thanks from Personal Assistant, the Inspector of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona, Rupees one and annas ten only. Being the annual subscription from 1st May to 31st July 1943 (M.O.) Quarterly.

Rs. 1-10-0.

(Sd.) DIGHE,  
Manager.

---

Yeravda, the 30th June 1943.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Pyarelal wants a copy of second I.R. T.C. and back issues from July 1942 to end of August 1942 of "The Hindu" and "Bombay Chronicle".

Yours obediently,  
(Sd.) A. E. KATELY.

To

Colonel M. G. Bhandari,  
CLE., I.M.S.

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**LETTER**

No. 10793 of 1943.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 30th June 1943.

To

The Joint Manager,  
"The Hindu", Kasturi Buildings, Mount Road, Madras.  
The Editor, Bombay Chronicle, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

Please arrange to supply this office back issues of your paper from 14th July 1942 to the end of August 1942, together with the bill for the same.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.



**BOMBAY CHRONICLE CO., LTD.**

Telephone No. 22037.  
Post-Box 322  
Telegraphic Address:  
"Chronicle" Bombay.  
Code A.B.C. 5th Edition.

Red House,  
Parsi Bazar Street,  
Elphinstone Circle, Fort.  
Bombay, the 2nd July 1943.

To

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona.

Dear Sir,

Your letter No. 10793 of the 30th ultimo addressed to the Editor, has been forwarded to this Department for reply.

As desired by you, we shall post back issues of our newspaper from 14th July 1942, to the end of August 1942 under separate cover. As copies of the issues 30th July, 5th, 11th and 23rd August 1942 are not in stock, we regret we cannot send you the same. We enclose herewith our bill for Rs. 22-8-0, the price of a back issue being 8 annas per copy and shall thank you to remit the amount at your convenience.

Yours faithfully,  
FOR THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE CO., LTD.  
(Sd.) x x x  
Subscription Department.

For information.

Bill for Rs. 22-8-0 received from Bombay Chronicle Co., for 45 copies of back issues, remaining 4 issues dated 30/7, 5th, 10th, 23rd and 42 being not available will be sent to K. B. Kately along with the copies for remit in the amount to this office.

\_\_\_\_\_  
THE HINDU  
1878.

*Proprietors: Kasturi & Sons, Ltd.*

Circulation Department.

Kasturi Building, Mount Road,  
Madras, the 3rd July 1943.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 10793, dated 30th June 1943, we write to inform you that out of the 49 back copies of "The Hindu" asked for,

three issues dated 16th, 20th and 26th August 1942 are not available. The cost of the available copies is given below:—

	Rs.	a.	P-
18 copies of July 1942 (Dak Edition) (i.e.) from 14th to 31st July 1942 at Ans. 8 each.	9	0	0
10 copies of August 1942 (Morning Edition, since the Dak Edition copies are not available) issues dated 7, 10, 15, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 27 and 28th August 1942 at Ans. 8 each.	5	0	0
The remaining 18 copies (Dak Edition) of August 1942 at Ans. 8 each.	9	0	0
Total ..	23	0	0

On your agreeing to the cost of the copies, we shall send you the issues.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X

Jt. Manager.

\_\_\_\_\_  
THE STATESMAN  
STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA

Dated 4th July 1943.

#### *EXPIRY NOTICE*

The Manager of the Statesman, presents his compliments and intimates that your current period of subscription is due to expire with the issue dated 19th July 1943.

He trusts he will be favoured with your renewal instructions on the attached form.

<p>The Inspector-General of Prisons Province of Bombay Poona.</p>
---

Date.

The Manager of the Statesman is hereby instructed to renew My/Our Subscription to The Statesman and The Sunday Statesman for the further period of \_\_\_\_\_ Months.

A remittance for Rs. \_\_\_\_\_ in enclosed/sent by M.O. Cheques should be crossed and made payable to The Statesman Ltd.

\* Please consider me a Category "A" Subscriber.

Paper, to

Ref. K./20.

Signature.

### NOTICE

Subscribers to The Statesman are of two classes. Category "A" and Category "B".

*Category "A" Subscribers* are those who give instructions for the continuance of their paper until countermanded on the understanding that they will be sent a bill by V.P. post quarterly, half-yearly or yearly as they may elect. A postal intimation precedes the despatch of such bills.

In the event of a V.P. Bill being returned by the Post Office as unclaimed or refused, it is assumed that the paper is no longer required and supplies cease forthwith.

*Category "B" Subscribers* are those who do not specifically ask to be considered in the foregoing category.

In this class, the paper is considered to have been ordered for a definite period after which, if no renewal instructions are received supplies cease. A notice is issued to the subscriber fifteen days before the expiry of his subscription to avoid possible inconvenience.

Subscription Rates to All Issues of "The Statesman".

#### *Mofussil (Inclusive of postage)*

									Rs.	As.
Yearly	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	50	0
Half-yearly.		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	0
Quarterly .	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	0
Shorter Periods pro rata to .		...	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	8
									per month	

#### *Town (Inclusive of delivery charge)*

									Rs.	As
Yearly .	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	0
Half-yearly.	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	0
Quarterly.	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	0

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES ARE PAYABLE IN ADVANCE**

*LETTER*

No. 11122 of 1943.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 6th July 1943.

To

The Joint Manager,  
"The Hindu",  
Kasturi Building, Mount Road, Madras.

Dear Sir,

*Reference*—Your letter, dated 3rd July 1943.

46 back copies of the "Hindu" referred to therein may please be sent to this office as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

---

**SECRET**

No. 2918 of 1943.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 6th July 1943.

**Memorandum**

*Reference*.—Your D. O., dated 30th June 1943.

45 back issues of the Bombay Chronicle for July and August 1942, together with the bill for Rs. 22-8-0 are sent herewith.

Please arrange to send the amount of Rs. 22-14-0 (Rs. 22-8-0+0-6-0 money-order commission) to this office for being remitted to the Bombay Chronicle Co. Ltd., Bombay.

Copies of the issues of 30th July, 5th, 11th and 23rd August are not in stock.

(Sd.) x x x  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel,   
Officer in-charge,  
H.H. the Aga Khan's Palace, Poona.

Post-Box 316.

Phone No. 4455.

Mount Road, Madras.

"THE HINDU"

(Props.: Kasturi & Sons, Ltd.)

6-7-43.

Please quote

Account No. 541/DI

Dear Sir,

We beg to advise that your subscription to "The Hindu" Daily Edition expires with the issue dated 24th July 1943 and that the renewal will fall due on that date. As the subscriptions are strictly payable in advance we request you to favour us with your renewal order accompanied by a remittance to avoid interruption in the supply of the paper.

Trusting this will have your prompt attention.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X

Jt. Manager.

" THE HINDU "

All issues including the Illustrated Sunday Edition.

									M adras City		Inland	Post
									Rs.	A.	Rs.	A.
Monthly .	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	14	4	2
Quarterly.	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	4	12	0
Half-yearly.	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	8	24	0
Yearly .	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45		48	
Single Copy. On All days As. 2.	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..				
											Rs.	As.
<i>Foreign Countries</i>												
Annual Subscriptions											78	0
<i>Sunday Edition only. City and Mofussil</i>												
Quarterly .	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			2	0
Annual.	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			8	0
<i>Foreign Countries</i>												
Annual.	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			16	0

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE SUNDY EDITION ARE NOT ACCEPTED FOR LESS THAN 3 MONTHS.

**SECRET**

No. 328.

AGAKHAN'S PALACE:  
Yeravda, the 7th July 1943.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your Memo. Secret No. 2918, dated 6th July 1943, I have the honour to send herewith the amount of Rs. 22-14-0 (Rs. 22-8-0+0-6-0 M.O. Commission) for the 45 back issues of the Bombay Chronicle.

Yours Most Obedient Servant,  
(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,  
Officer-in-charge, Aga Khan's Palace.

\_\_\_\_\_  
"THE HINDU"

Kasturi Building.  
Mount Road.  
MADRAS  
The 8th July 1943.

'The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona.

Dear Sir,

As desired in your letter No. 11122, dated 6th instant, the forty-six back issues of THE HINDU asked for have been posted to you this day in six packets. Please acknowledge the receipt of the copies and pass the enclosed bill for Rs. 23 towards the cost thereof early.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Jt. Manager.

*For information.*

The Bill together with 46 back issues of Hindu will be sent to K. B. Kately asking him to send Rs. 23-6-0 to this office for being remitted to the Hindu,

(Sd.) M, G. BHANDARI.

File No. 11

No. 2117.

RED HOUSE,  
Parsi Bazar Street, Fort,  
Bombay, the 10th July 1943.

The Bombay Chronicle Co., Ltd.

Received from the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, the sum of Rupees Twenty-two, annas eight, for 45 old copies as per our bill No. 548 of 2nd July 1943.

Rs. 22-8-0

(Sd.) X X X  
for The Bombay Chronicle Co., Ltd.,  
Cashier.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

---

*LETTER*

No. 3000 of 1943.  
Poona, the 12th July 1943.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer in charge, H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

In continuation of this office Confidential Memo No. 2918, dated 6th July 1943, I have the honour to forward herewith 40 back issues of the Hindu for July and August 1942 together with the Bill for Rs. 23.

2. Please arrange to send the amount of Rs. 23-6-0 (Rs. 23+0-6-0 money-order commission) to this office for being remitted to the Manager. The Hindu, Madras.

3. Copies of issues dated 16, 20 and 26th August 1942 are not available.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.  
Lt. Col., I. M. S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

---

*LETTER*

No. 11665 of 1943.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 14th July 1943.

To

The Joint Manager,  
The 'Hindu', Kasturi Building,  
Mount Road, Madras.

Dear Sir,

*Reference.*—Your letter, dated 8th July 1943.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of the 46 back issues of the 'Hindu' for July and August 1942.

2. Money-order for Rs. 23 being the cost of the back issues referred to above is sent to you this day.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X  
for Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

---

**Memorandum**

*Reference.*—Your D. O., dated 30th June 1943.

45 back issues of the Bombay Chronicle for July and August 1942, together with the Bill for Rs. 22-8-0 are sent herewith.

Please arrange to send the amount of Rs. 22-14-0 (Rs. 22-8-0+0-6-0 money-order commission) to this office for being remitted to the Bombay Chronicle Co. Bombay.

Copies of the issues of 30th July and 5th, 10th and 23rd August are not in stock.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.  
Inspector-General of Prisons.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel, Poona.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

---

No. 3534.

Dated the 16th July 1943.

THE STATESMAN  
STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA

Received from the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona, the sum of rupees Thirteen only in payment of SUBSCRIPTION to THE STATESMAN and THE SUNDAY STATESMAN from 20th July to 19th October 1943 as per Bill No. 43/7130.  
Rs. 13.

For the Statesman,  
(Sd.) x x x  
Subscription Department.



## ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

## NOTICE

Since Shri J. C. Kumarappa the publisher and Shri G. B. Joshi Printer of the "Gram Udyog Patrika" are being prosecuted for an article under caption "Stone for bread" in the issue of December 1942 it has not been possible to continue the publication of the Patrika after the March 1943 issue. The unused portion of the subscriptions will be carried to the credit of the subscribers when the publication is resumed or if so desired in writing addressed to the Secretary, A.I.V.I. A., such balances will be returned.

---

*For information.*

Sir,

We had paid Ans. 10 only being the subscription for Gram Udyog Patrika for 3 months from August to October 1942. After the expiry of this period we did not receive any intimation for the renewal of subscription but copies for December, January and February were sent to our office and no payment was made. So that there is no question of refused.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

---

*For information.*

Newspaper "Vandemataram" is being supplied to Mr. Gandhi. The quarterly subscription of the paper expires on 5th August 1943. It will be renewed for 3 months more.

---

"THE HINDU"

Mount Road,  
Madras.

(Prop.: Kasturi & Sons, Ltd.)

1st October 1943.

Please quote.

Account No. 541/DI.

Dear Sir,

We beg to advise that your subscription to "The Hindu" Daily expires with the issue dated 24th October 1943 and that the renewal will fall due on that date. As the subscriptions are strictly payable in advance we request you to favour us with your renewal order accompanied by a remittance to avoid interruption in the supply of the paper.

Trusting this Will have your prompt attention.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X

Jt. Manager.

THE STATESMAN  
STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA

Date: 5th October 1943.

*EXPIRY NOTICE*

The Manager of the Statesman presents his compliments and intimates that your current period of Subscription is due to expire with the issue dated 19th October 1943.

He trusts he will be favoured with your renewal instructions on the attached form.

<p>Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona.</p>
---

Date

The Manager of the Statesman is hereby instructed to renew My/Our Subscription to The Statesman and The Sunday Statesman for the further period of       months.

A remittance for Rs.       is enclosed/sent by M.O. Cheques should be crossed and made payable to The Statesman Ltd.

\*Please consider me a Category "A" Subscriber.

Paper to

Ref. K. K/21.

(Sd.) X X X

---

*NOTICE*

Subscribers to The Statesman are of two classes. Category -"A" and Category "B".

*Category "A" Subscribers* are those who give instructions for a continuance of their paper until countermanded, on the understanding that they will be sent a bill by V.P. post quarterly, half-yearly or yearly as they may elect. A postal intimation precedes the despatch of such bills.

In the event of a V.P. Bill being returned by the Post Office on unclaimed or refused, it is assumed that the paper is no longer required and supplies cease forthwith,

*Category "B" Subscribers* are those who do not specifically ask to be considered in the foregoing category.

In this class, the paper is considered to have been ordered for a definite period after which, if no renewal instructions are received supplies cease. A notice is issued to the subscriber fifteen days before the expiry of his subscription to avoid possible inconvenience.

Subscription Rates to All Issues of "The Statesman".

Mofussil (Inclusive of postage):								Rs.	As.
Yearly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	50	0
Half-yearly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	0
Quarterly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	0
Shorter Periods <i>pro rata</i> to								4	8 per month.
Town (Inclusive of delivery charges)								Rs.	As.
Yearly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	0
Half-yearly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	0
Quarterly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	0

*SUBSCRIPTION RATES ARE PAYABLE IN ADVANCE*

No. 6515.  
Date: 18th October 1943.

**THE STATESMAN**  
**STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA.**

Received from the Inspector-General of Prisons of Province of Bombay, Poona, the sum of rupees thirteen only, in payment of SUBSCRIPTION to THE STATESMAN and THE SUNDAY STATESMAN from 22nd October 1943 to 21st January 1944 as per Bill No. 43/X10397.

Rs. 13.

For the Statesman.  
(Sd.) X X X  
Subscription Department.

The "SOCIAL WELFARE"  
An English Weekly.

Indian Publications  
Ltd.

Editor:  
K. M. Munshi

Office:  
Lalgiri Chambers,  
Tamarind Lane, Fort,  
Bombay-1, the 18th October 1943

Dear Sir,

We have to remind you that your subscription for this weekly expired on 31st July 1943.

We are sure you will continue as a subscriber and kindly remit to us your subscription (annual Rs. 5/8 or half-yearly Rs. 3) by money-order or a cheque on any bank in Bombay.

If we do not receive any instructions from you within 8 days from the date of receipt of this letter we shall take it that you are prepared to accept a V.P.P. in payment of your annual subscription and Ans. 4 as V.P. Charges.

We shall appreciate your writing to us in this matter at the earliest on the accompanying Business reply card.

Awaiting your early reply and thanking you.

Yours faithfully,  
for The "Social Welfare".  
(Sd.) x x x  
Manager.

---

*For information.*

The quarterly subscription of "The Social Welfare" which is supplied to Mr. Gandhi every week, expired on 31st July 1943.

We shall renew the subscription up to 31st January 1944 as the present quarter ending 31st October 1943 is nearly over.

If approved the Rs. 3 being the half-yearly subscription from 1st August 1943 to 31st January 1944 will be sent to the Social Welfare.

---

No. 18689 of 1943.  
Poona, dated 25th October 1943.

To

The Manager,  
The "Social Welfare" Weekly, Bombay.

Sir,

Please continue the following name as a subscriber of the Social Welfare for six months from 1st August 1943.

Subscription for six months Rs. 3 has this day been remitted by M.O.

(Sd.) X X X  
for Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay

To

The Manager,  
The "Social Welfare" Weekly,  
Lalgiri Chambers, Tamarind Lane, Fort, Bombay-1.

The "SOCIAL WELFARE" Weekly  
Lalgiri Chambers, Tamarind Lane.

Bombay, the 27th October 1943.

Receipt No. 2100.  
Subscriber No. 1998.

*Subscription Receipt.*

Received with thanks from the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona, rupees three only being subscription for six months from 1st August 1943 to 31st January 1944 by M.O.Rs. 3.

Acct.

(Sd.) x x x  
Manager.

**SECRET**

D.O. No. S.D.-VI-13800.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, the 13th December 1943

My dear Advani,

Can you ascertain from Kately and let me have whatever information he can supply on the following points ?

(1) Does Gandhi discuss political questions with the other inmates-Gilder, Sushila and Pyarelal Nayar and Miss Slade ?

(2) What is the daily routine of life in the Aga Khan's Palace ?

(3) Who does the typing work for Gandhi ?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) X X X

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
POONA.

Regr. No. 9710.  
Date: 14-12-43.

Lt.-Col. R. T. ADVANI, I.M.S..  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona.

**SECRET**

No. 604

AGA KHAN'S PALACE:  
Yeravda, the 15th December 1943.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your confidential D. O. No. 6247, dated 14th December 1943, I have the honour to give below the required information:—

(1) Mr. Gandhi discusses political questions with other inmates, especially with Mr. Pyarelal and Miss Slade. Miss Nayar is always there. Very rarely with Dr. Gilder. This takes place generally when they are reading newspapers.

(2) The daily routine of life of Mr. Gandhi—

He gets up at about 6-30 a.m. and after finishing morning ablution and breakfast he reads books or newspapers.

From 8-15 to 9 a.m. morning walk in the garden with Pyarelal and Misses Slade, Nayar and Manu. While walking they talk on political and other subjects.

Doctors Gilder and Nayar give him massage for about 45 minutes and then bath up to 11-15.

From 12-0 noon to 1-0 p.m. teaching Sanskrit to Miss Nayar. reads books to him.

From 12-0 noon to 1-0 p.m. teaching Sanskrit to Miss Nayar.

1-0 to 2-0 p.m. rest.

From 2-0 to 3-0 p.m. Mr. Pyarelal reads papers to him and discuss on several points arising from the papers, while he is either spinning or filing cuttings from the papers.

From 3-0 to 4-0 p.m. teaching Miss Manu.

From 4-0 to 5-30 p.m. indexing of newspaper cuttings on various subjects. He is assisted in this work by Pyarelal, Drs. Gilder and Nayar. They remove the selected and marked portions from the papers, paste them on slips of paper and give them to Mr. Gandhi; for indexing and filing.

From 5-30 to 6-30 p.m. Miss Slade reads papers to him and discuss on various political and other subjects.

From 6-30 to 7-15 p.m. evening walk with other inmates in the garden.

From 7-30 to 8-15 p.m. spinning while Pyarelal reads to him some books.

From.8-15 to 9-0 p.m. prayer.

From 9-0 to 10-0 p.m. reading and talking with Mr. Pyarelal and Miss Nayar.

He goes to bed at 10-0 p.m.

He changes his time according to climatic conditions.

(3) Mr. Pyarelal does the typing work of Mr. Gandhi, When the big letter was sent to the Government of India regarding the reply of the "Congress Responsibility" Dr. Gilder typed the major part of the letter.

I have etc.,

(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,  
Officer I/C, Agakhan's Palace.

P.O. Box No. 103.

Delhi, 15th December 1943.

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Province, Bombay.

"DAWN"

Please make out your cheques payable to " Dawn ", Delhi.

Dr.

Particulars		Amount		
		Rs.	As.	Ps.
To				
	Subscription towards one copy of "DAWN" including Sunday Edition. Six months From 22-10-1943 to 21-4-1944 Sub. No. 1178.	..	..	
		26	0	0
	Total ..	26	0	0

Rupees twenty-six only.

E. & O.E.

For DAWN.

(Sd.) X    X    X  
Manager.  
(Circulation).

The "DAWN"

No. 1178-D.

Delhi, the 16th December 1943.

Enclosed herewith please find our Bill No. 293, dated 15th December 1943, for Rs. 26 as subscription towards one copy of Daily "Dawn" for a period of six months from 26th October 1943 to 25th October 1944. An early payment will oblige.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,

For "Dawn".

(Sd.) x x x

Sales Manager.

End. Bill No. 293.

---

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE.

Dear,

Please send tomorrow Rs. 26-0-0+0-6-0 M.O. Commission=Rs. 26-6-0 being the subscription for "Dawn Daily" for the period from 22nd October 1943 to 21st April 1944.

Yours,

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately.

Officer-in-Charge,  
H.H. Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

---

SECRET

D. O. No.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, the December 1943.

Dear Khan Bahadur,

The following instructions are issued in regard to Mrs. Gandhi's interviews:—

(1) Ramdas Gandhi, Devdas Gandhi and their wives and children may be allowed to see Mrs. Gandhi in the Aga Khan's Palace.

(2) There is no objection to Mr. Gandhi being present, but his sons should not be allowed to see him separately without invigilation.

(3) The Government of India has no objection to more than one interview, provided that is justified by the condition of Mrs. Gandhi's health. You should grant only one interview for the present, if more are asked for you should inform me accordingly on phone.



(4) If more than one interview is allowed as far as possible they should be at fixed hours.

(5) The duration of the interview or interviews should be limited to a reasonable period and the persons coming for interview should not be allowed to stay in the Palace.

(6) Every person coming for interview should be informed that the condition of the interview is that he or she will not publish any account of what is seen or heard in the Palace except with the approval of the Bombay Government.

Yours sincerely,

O.C.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

---

**"THE HINDU"**

(*Props: Kasturi and Sons, Ltd.*)  
Mount Road, Madras.

1st January 1944.

Please quote  
Account No. 541/D.I.

Dear Sir,

We beg to advise that your subscription to "The Hindu" Daily Edition expires with the issue dated 24th January 1944 and that the renewal will fall due on that date. As the subscriptions are strictly payable in advance we request you to favour us with your renewal order accompanied by a remittance to avoid interruption in the supply of the paper.

Trusting this will have your prompt attention.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X  
Manager

**"THE HINDU"**

All issues including  
The Illustrated Sunday Edition.

								Madras City		Inland Post	
								Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
Monthly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	14	4	2
Quarterly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	4	12	0
Yearly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	8	24	0
Half-yearly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	0	48	0

Single Copy: ON ALL DAYS As. 2.

Foreign Countries.

Annual Subscription Rs. 78

Sunday Edition only.

City and Mofussil.

Quarterly Rs. 2

Annual Rs. 8.

Foreign Countries.

Annual

Rs. 16.

Subscriptions for the Sunday Edition are not accepted for less than 3 months.

---

THE STATESMAN  
STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

Dated 6th January 1944.

*EXPIRY NOTICE.*

The Manager of the Statesman presents his compliments and intimates that your current period of Subscription is due to expire with the issue dated 21st January 1944.

He trusts he will be favoured with your renewal instructions on the attached form.

14666 Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona
--

Date—

The Manager of the Statesman" is hereby instructed to renew My/Our subscription to the Statesman and The Sunday Statesman for the further period of        months.

A remittance for Rs.        is enclosed/sent by M. O. Cheque should be crossed and made payable to The Statesman Ltd.

\*Please consider me a Category "A" Subscriber.

Paper to

(Sd.) X X X

Signature.

THE STATESMAN  
STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

Dated 13th January 1944.

14666 Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona.
---

*EXPIRY OF SUBSCRIPTION*

The Manager of "The Statesman" regrets that he has not received your instructions to renew your subscription which as intimated in the expiry notice sent one week ago, is due to expire with the issue dated 21st January 1944.

Instructions will be appreciated but, should they have already been despatched, this notice may kindly be disregarded.

Paper to.

Ref. K./21.

---

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, the 14th January 1944.

My dear,

Please send tomorrow Rs. 13-0-0+0-4-0 M.O. Commission=Rs. 13-4-0 being the quarterly subscription for the "Statesman".

Yours,  
(Sd.) x x x

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
The Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravada.

THE STATESMAN  
STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA

The 24th January 1944.

Received from Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, the sum of Rupees Thirteen only, in payment of SUBSCRIPTION to THE STATESMAN and THE SUNDAY STATESMAN from 26th January 1944 to 25th April 1944 as per Bill No. 44/x 897.

Rs. 13.

for The Statesman,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Subscription Department.

**URGENT**

*LETTER*

No. 682 of 1944.

Poona, the 26th January 1944.

To

The Manager,

" Hindusthan Standard ",  
30, Burman Street, Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

I have to state that your paper " Hindustan Standard " is not being received recently. I would be glad if you will please re-commence supply of the paper to this Office as soon as possible together with the bill for the same.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

---

*NOTICE*

Subscribers to "The Statesman" are of two classes, Category "A" and Category "B".

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**MOST SECRET**

D. O. No. S.D.V-1439.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, the 27th January 1944.

My dear Bhandari,

I enclose, for your information, a Memorandum of policy that has been decided to be adopted in the event of Mr. Gandhi undertaking another fast while under detention. There are of course no grounds for believing that Mr. Gandhi is contemplating another fast, but the possibility that he may do so cannot be excluded.

The Government of India desires that the closest relatives of Mr. Gandhi who would be required to be in constant attendance on him during a fast should, with their consent, be accommodated in the Aga Khan's Palace and not allowed to come and go as they please. You will recollect that you told me in October last that there would be no serious difficulty in accommodating them if tents were pitched inside the barbed wire, but it would be necessary to make arrangements for a cook. Will you please let me know whether it would be possible to arrange for this.

Please keep, this letter in your personal custody.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

Li-Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

DETENTION CAMP:  
27th January 1944.

Sir,

Some days ago Smt. Kasturba Gandhi told the Inspector-General of Prisons and Col. Shah that Dr. Dinshah Mehta of Poona be invited to assist in her treatment. Nothing seems to have come out of her request. She has become insistent now and asked me if I had written to the Government in the matter. I, therefore, ask for immediate permission to bring in Dr. Mehta. She has told me and my son that she would like to have some Ayurvedic Physician to see her. I suggest that the I.-G. P. be authorised to permit such assistance when requested.

2. I have no reply as yet to my request that Shri Kanu Gandhi, who is being permitted to visit the patient every alternate day, be allowed to remain in the camp as a whole time nurse. The patient shows no signs of recovery and night nursing is becoming more and more exacting. Kanu Gandhi is an ideal nurse, having nursed the patient before. And what is more he can soothe her by giving her instrumental music and by singing *bhajans*. I request early relief to relieve the existing pressure. The matter may be treated as very urgent.

3. The Superintendent of the Camp informs me that when visitors come, one nurse only can be present hitherto more than one nurse has attended when necessary. The Superintendent used his discretion as to the necessity. But difficulty arose I made a reference to the I.-G. P. The result was that an order was issued that a doctor in addition may be present. I submit that the order has been issued in grievance or disregard of the condition of the patient. She often requires to be helped by more persons than one. Therefore, I ask that there should be no restriction as to the number of the attendants.

4. It would be wrong on my part if I suppressed the fact that in the facilities being allowed to the patient grace has been sadly lacking. The order about the attendants is the most glaring instance of pin-pricks, besides being in defeat of the purpose for which attendance during visits of relatives is allowed. Again, my three sons are in Poona. The eldest Harilal, who is almost lost to us, was not allowed yesterday, the reason being that the I.-G. P. had no instructions to allow him to come again. And yet the patient was naturally anxious to meet him. To cite one more pin-prick, every time visitors who are on the permitted list come, they have to apply to Government office, Bombay, for permission. The consequence is that there is unnecessary delay and heart burning. The difficulty I imagine arises because neither the Superintendent nor the I.-G. P. has any function except that of passing on my request to Bombay.

5. I am aware that Smt. Kasturba is a Government patient, and that even as her husband I should have no say about her. But, as the Government have been pleased to say that instead of being discharged she is

being kept with me in her own interest perhaps in interpreting her wishes and feelings I am doing what the Government would desire and appreciate. Her recovery or at least mental peace when she is lingering is common cause between the Government and me. Any jar tells on her.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

Home Department, New Delhi.

DETENTION CAMP:

27th January 1944.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I enclose herewith for despatch a letter addressed to the Government of India, but it need not be despatched if the Government of Bombay can *suo moto* deal with the matters referred to therein. As the object is to obtain relief as promptly as possible, instructions from the Central Government if necessary, may be obtained on the 'phone'.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**IMMEDIATE**

\_\_\_\_\_  
*TELEGRAM*

No. 19.

Dated 28th January 1944.

For Totenham from Iengar.

Mrs. Gandhi has asked for services of Dr. Mehta nature cure specialist of Poona who attended on Gandhi during fast. Colonel Bhandari and Dr. Gilder both think that Mehta cannot be of any use but they consider he can do no harm. Please telegraph whether Government of India have any objection to Mehta being called in.

Bombay Special.

**SECRET**

D. O. No. 84.

AGA KHAN'S PALACE:

Yeravda, the 31st January 1944.

Dear Raobahadur,

Mrs. Gandhi is not in a fit state to reply any question, but Mr. Gandhi informs me that:—

"She has no particular Ayurvedic physician in mind but my son Devdas has suggested the name of Vaidyaraj Sharma of Lahore. Any physician who is permitted will be in addition to Dr. Dinshaw Mehta and that too, if and when the latter has failed to give satisfaction. She has often expressed a desire to be seen by an Ayurvedic Physician. If the permission is granted it should be of general character. She is losing will power and I have to judge between a multiplicity of advices, so long as I am permitted to have responsibility for her peace of mind which is about all that is possible at this state."

Yours sincerely.

(Sd.) A. E. KATELY.

Rao Bahadur S. S. Deshpande,

Asstt. to the I.-G. of Prisons,

Poona.

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DETENTION CAMP:

31st January 1944.

I sent on the 27th instant a very urgent letter addressed to the Government of India. I am still without a reply. The patient is no better. The attendants are about to break down. Four only can work two at a time on alternate nights. All the four have to work during the day. The patient herself is getting restive, and inquires, "When will Dr. Dinshah come". May I know as early as may be even tomorrow if possible:—

- (1)Whether Shri Kanu Gandhi can come as full time nurse;
- (2)Whether Dr. Dinshah's services may be enlisted for the present;
- (3)and whether the restriction on the number of attendants during visits can be removed.

I hope it may not have to be said that the relief came too late.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Home Department, Bombay.



DETENTION CAMP:  
31st January 1944.

Dear Col. Bhandari,

As you know Smt. Kasturba Gandhi has been gradually losing grounds. Last night she had very little sleep, and this morning she had a bad collapse. She became very short of breath (resp. 48), the pulse was very feeble in volume and tension and 100 to the minute and her colour was ashy grey. She recovered after about twenty minutes treatment. Now at mid-day she is restless, complains of pain in the left chest and back, is cyanotic and dyspnoeic. The pulse rate is 108, the B. P. is 90/50, resp. 40.

Under these circumstances we would like to have the help in consultation of Dr. Jivraj Mehta (Yeravda Central Prison) and of Dr. B. C. Roy (Calcutta) who have seen her in former illness and in whom she has faith. We might state that the patient's condition is such that if the help of these doctors is to be of any use, it should not be delayed.

We might also point out that as she has to be watched all night and day, nursing has become difficult and patient herself has been constantly asking for Shri Kanu Gandhi and Mr. Dinshah Mehta.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) S. NAYAR.  
(Sd.) M. D. D. GILDER.

This letter sent to Government the same day with 768 of the same day. P. S.—Gandhiji's blood-pressure this morning was 206/110.

**URGENT**

*LETTER*

No. 1770 of 1944  
Poona, the 3rd February 1944.

To

The Manager,  
"Hindoostan Standard",  
30, Burman Street, Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

*Ref*—This officer letter No. 682, dated 26th January 1944.

I have not heard anything from you about supply of newspaper "Hindoostan Standard". Will you please look into this and send a reply as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd) M. G. BHANDARI.  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

DETENTION CAMP,  
3rd February 1944.

Sir,

Smt. Kasturba asked me yesterday when Dr. Dinshah was coming and whether a Vaidya (Ayurvedic physician) could see her and give her some drugs. I told her I was trying for both but that we were prisoners and could not have things as we liked. She has since been repeatedly asking whether I could not do something to hasten matters. She had a restless night again. This is of course nothing new for her at present. I request immediate orders about Dr. Dinshah and Vaidyaraj Sharma of Lahore. The latter will be some time coming. But Dr. Dinshah can come even today, if authority is given for calling him in.

I must confess that I do not understand this delay when a patient's life is hanging in the balance and may be saved by timely aid. After all for a patient alleviation of pain is as important as the highest matters of state.

I am etc.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Bombay.

This was forwarded to Government on 3rd February 1944 under this No. 905 of same date.

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No. S.D.-VI-2035.

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL):  
Bombay, the 3rd February 1944.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter of the 31st January and to reply as follows to the 3 points raised by you: —

(1) Government have agreed to Kanu Gandhi staying in for the purpose of helping in nursing Mrs. Gandhi on condition that he agrees to be bound by the same regulations as other security prisoners in the detention camp. Government consider that with Kanu Gandhi staying in the nursing assistance provided should be adequate and they cannot agree to any requests for further assistance.

(2) Government have decided that no outside doctors should be allowed unless the Government medical officer considers that it is absolutely necessary for medical reasons. The question whether

Dr. Dinshaw Mehta should be called in is accordingly for the Government medical officer to decide on medical grounds.

(3) Interviews with near relatives have been sanctioned for Mrs. Gandhi. While Government have no objection to your being present during those interviews they consider that other inmates of the detention camp should not be present except to the extent demanded by the condition of Mrs. Gandhi's health. It is understood that the Inspector-General of Prisons has agreed that one attendant may stay throughout the interviews and that a doctor may come in if necessary. Government considers that normally this should be adequate but the matter is one to be decided solely on medical grounds by the Inspector-General of Prisons.

Your obedient servant,

(Sd.) H. IENGAR.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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[H]

The responsibility for bringing in non-allopathic assistance would be wholly mine and the Government shall stand absolved from responsibility for any unfavourable result following such treatment. I am not sure that I shall accept the advice that such Vaidis or Hakims may give but if I do and if the prescription is ineffective I would like to reserve the right to revert to the present treatment.

11th February 1944.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1258.

COLLECTOR'S OFFICE:  
Poona, the 3rd February 1944.

Dear Bhandari.

As you know, I no longer am an official visitor at the Aga Khan's Palace, so have no direct knowledge of how things are. In the meantime I see somewhat anxious reports in the papers on Mrs. Gandhi's condition. In this connection please see the orders given in the accompaniment to Iengar's D.O. No. S.D.-VI-451, dated 18th January 1943. According to them important developments have to be communicated to Government through District Magistrate, District Superintendent of Police or DIG., C.I.D. Are these orders still in force ?

In any case could you keep me and the District Superintendent of Those telegrams which were to be delivered to Mr. M. K. Gardhi were sent to you Yesterday, i.e., on 24th February 1944 for further disposal.

which concern us being sent to the District Superintendent of Police and myself ? Further, as either or both of us are touring a good deal, it would be advisable for us to get warning, if possible, of any developments which might necessitate our presence in Poona. I am, therefore, sending you from now on, a copy of my tour programme, with a request that any urgent message for me be sent both direct (where possible) and through my P.A. (P. G. Deshmukh).

I am now in Poona up to and including the 6th though not easily available on the phone before 6 p.m. as I am holding office on the boundaries of the City. A chit would reach me quite quickly through the main office in case you think there is anything we should discuss.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) W. G. HULLAND.

Lt.-Col., M. G. Bhandari,  
CLE., D.T.M. & H. (Lond.), I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons, B.P.,  
Poona.

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Tour programme of the Collector of Poona for the month of February 1944.

Date				Place of Camp				Taluka or Peta.
7th to 9th	..	..	..	Khadki	..	..	..	Dhond
10th to 13th	..	..	..	Dhond	..	..	..	Dhond
14th to 16th	..	..	..	Bori-Pardhi	..	..	..	Dhond
17th to 18th	..	..	..	Poona	..	..	..	..
19th to 21st	..	..	..	Nhavra	..	..	..	Sirur
22nd to 24th	..	..	..	Kavthe	..	..	..	Sirur
25th to 28th	..	..	..	Ghodnadi	..	..	..	

Poona,  
28th January 1944

(Sd.) W. G. HULLAND,  
Collector, Poona.

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No. T. P. 1.

Poona, the 28th January 1944.

Copy submitted to the Commissioner, C. D., Poona, for information Copy to:—

1. The Dist. Supdt. of Police, Poona. (W. C).
2. All Prant Officers.
3. All Mamlatdars and Mahalkaris.
4. E. O. With a request to make necessary arrangements to reserve the bungalows.
5. M. O. (D.C.)
6. Price Control Office.

7. The President, Dist. Local Board, Poona.
8. The Executive Engineer, Poona Dn.
9. The Executive Engineer, Nira Canals Dn.
10. The Executive Engineer, Irrigation and Research Dn.
11. The Rural Development Board, Poona.
12. P.A. (D.I.)
13. Camp Clerk.
14. Manager, Court of Wards, Poona.

(Sd.) X X X  
For Collector, Poona.

Copy forwarded with compliments to—

Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari, CLE., D.T.M. & H. (Lond). IMS.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons, B. P., Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

D. O. No.  
No. 950.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:  
Poona. the 5th February 1944.

Dear Hulland.

*Reference.*—Your Confidential D. C. letter of 3rd February 1944.

Mrs. Gandhi has been dangerously ill for some time past and there has been so far no improvement in her condition. If there is any improvement hereafter I shall let you know. But in the meanwhile you may consider her to be still in a critical condition. She may die at any moment or linger on for some time.

It may be difficult to get in touch with you or District Superintendent of Police as both of you may be out and the information may have to be sent at some late hour. I suggest that it would be more convenient for Superintendent of Police and myself if you depute some local officer who could be informed on the telephone at his residence and office and who should then arrange to send the information to you and the District Superintendent of Police.

Yours sincerely.  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

To

W. G. Hulland, Esquire, B.A. (Oxon.) I.C.S..  
Collector and District Magistrate.  
Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

D.O. No. 1005.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:  
Poona, the 7th February 1944.

Dear Sir.

*Ref.*—Collector's D.O., dated 3rd February 1944 to the Inspector-General of Prisons.

A copy of Iengar's D.O. No. S.D.-VI-451, dated 18th January 1943, referred to in D.O. may kindly be sent as the same cannot be traced on the records of this Office.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) X X X

To

P. G. Deshmukh, Esquire, B.A.,  
Personal Assistant to the Collector, Poona.

DETENTION CAMP:  
14th February 1944.

**IMMEDIATE**

Sir,

I told you yesterday that Smt. Kasturba was so bad during the night that Dr. Nayyar got frightened and awakened Dr. Gilder. I felt that she was going. The doctors were naturally helpless. Dr. Nayyar had therefore to wake up the Superintendent who kindly phoned the Vaidyaraj. It was then about 1 a.m. Had he been on the premises he would certainly have given relief. I therefore asked you to let him stay at the camp during the night. But you informed me the Government orders did not cover night stay. The Vaidya however, you said, could be called in during the night. I pointed out the obvious danger of delay but you were sorry the orders would not allow you to go further. In vain I argued that the Government having given the authority to call in Vaidyaraj on condition that I absolved them from responsibility for any untoward result of the *vaidic* treatment they could not contemplate any restriction on the duration of the physician's stay at the camp so long as it was thought necessary in the interest of the patient. In view of your rejection of my request, I had to trouble the Vaidyaraj to rest in his car in front of the

gate so that in case of need he might be called in. He very humanly consented. He had to be called in and he was able to bring the desired relief. The crisis has not passed as yet. I therefore repeat my request and ask for immediate relief. I would like, if I can, to avoid the last night's experience. I do wish that the vexations caused by the delay in granting my requests about the patient's treatment came to an end. Both Dr. Mehta and the Vaidyaraj were permitted to come in after protracted delay. Precious time was lost making recovery more uncertain than it was. I hope you will be able to secure the necessary authority for the Vaid's Stay in the camp during the night, if the patient's condition requires it. The patient needs constant and continuous attention.

I am yours etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

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## IMMEDIATE

DETENTION CAMP:  
16th February 1944.

[Accompaniment to Appendix G]

Sir,

This is in continuation of my letter of the 14th instant.

When I asked for a Vaidyaraj and took upon myself the responsibility of changing Smt. Kasturba's treatment and absolved the Government physician of all responsibility, I naturally took for granted that the Vaidyaraj would be allowed such facilities as would in his opinion be necessary for carrying out his treatment. The patient's nights are much worse than her days and it is essentially at night that constant attendance is necessary. The Vaidyaraj considers himself handicapped in his treatment of the case under the present arrangements.

In order to be within immediate call, he has been good enough to sleep in his car outside the gate of this camp for the last three nights and every night he has had to be called up at least once. This is an unnatural state of things and though he seems to have infinite capacity for suffering in- Convenience for the sake of the patient, I may not take undue advantage of his generous nature. Besides it means disturbing the Superintendent and his staff (in fact the whole camp) once or more often during the night. For instance, last night, she suddenly developed fever with rigor. The Vaidyaraj who had left the premises at 10-30 p.m. had to be called in at

12 midnight. I had to request him to leave her soon afterwards, although he would have liked to have stayed with her longer, because so long as he stayed in it would have meant keeping the Superintendent and his staff awake which might have been even for the whole night. I would not do this, even for saving my life long or partner especially when I know that a humane way is open.

As I have said already the Vaidyaraj considers it necessary to be in constant attendance on the patient. He varies the drugs from moment to moment as the patient's condition requires. Dr. Gilder's and Nayar's assistance is at my disposal all the time they are more than friends and would be everything in their power for the patient. But as I have said in my last letter, they cannot help while treatment of a wholly different nature from theirs is going on. Besides being in its very nature impracticable, such a course would be unjust to the patient, to the Vaidyaraj and to themselves.

I, therefore, submit below the following three alternative proposals:—

(I) Vaidyaraj should be permitted to remain in the camp day and night so long as he considers it necessary in the interests of the patient.

(II) If the Government cannot agree to this they may release the patient on parole to enable her to receive the full benefit of the physician's treatment.

(III) If neither of these two proposals are acceptable to the Government I request that I be relieved of the responsibility of looking after the patient. If I as her husband cannot procure for her the help she wants or that I think necessary, I ask for my removal to any other place of detention that the Government may choose. I must not be made a helpless witness of the agonies the patient is passing through.

The Government have kindly permitted Dr. Mehta to visit the patient at her repeated requests. His help is valuable but he does not prescribe drugs. She needs the physical therapy given by him which soothes her greatly but she cannot do without drug treatment either. Drugs can only be prescribed by the doctors or the Vaidyaraj. The doctor's treatment has already been suspended. In the absence of a satisfactory reply to this letter by this evening, I shall be constrained to suspend Vaidyaraj's treatment also. If she cannot have the drug treatment which she should in full, I would rather that she did without it altogether.

I am writing this by the patient's bedside at 2 a.m. She is oscillating between life and death. Needless to say she knows nothing of this letter. She is now hardly able to judge for herself.

I am etc.,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.



**SECRET**

No. 1216 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, the 16th February 1944.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of disposal in continuation of this Office No. 1139, dated 14-2-1944, and my conversation on phone with the Secretary today.

(Sd.) X X X

Lt.-Col. I. M. S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay

**CONFIDENTIAL**

COLLECTOR'S OFFICE:

Poona, the 17th February 1944.

Dear Bhandari,

The D. O. in question is the covering letter to the directions of Government as to steps to be taken in the event of death or serious illness of important detenus at Aga Khan's Palace. They are general instructions not referring to conditions arising out of fasts or hunger strikes. The D. O. itself is unimportant and I assume you have traced the accompaniments.

Yours sincerely,  
DEVADAS GANDHI.

Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari,  
CIE., MBBS (Pb.) DTM&H. (Lond.),  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

No. 1771.

Date 18th February 1944.

DETENTION CAMP:

18th February 1944.

Sir,

Vaidyaraj Shri Shiv Sharma regretfully informs me that having put forth all the resources at his disposal he has been unable to produce a condition in Smt. Kasturba so as to give him hope of final recovery. As his was simply a trial to see whether Ayurvedic treatment could yield better

result; I have now asked Drs. Gilder and Nayar to resume the suspended treatment. Dr. Mehta's assistance was never suspended and will be continued till recovery or the end.

I want to say that the Vaidyaraj has been most assiduous and attentive in the handling of this most difficult case, and I would have willingly allowed him to continue his treatment if he had wished to do so. But he would not continue it, when his last prescription failed to bring about the result he had expected. Drs. Gilder and Nayar tell me that they would like to receive the benefit of the Vaidyaraj's assistance in the matter of sedatives, purgatives and the like. These have proved effective both from the doctor's and the patient's point of view. I hope that the Government will have no objection to the Vaidyaraj continuing to come in for the purpose. Needless to say, under the altered circumstances, he will not be required for night duty. I cannot refrain from regretfully saying that had there not been the wholly avoidable delay in granting my request for allowing the services of the Vaidyaraj and Dr. Mehta, the patient's condition might not have been so near the danger point as it is today. I am well aware that nothing happens outside the Divine Will, but man has no other means of interpreting that will apart from the result he can see.

I am etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

---

New Delhi, 22nd February 1944.

Dear Mr. Iengar,

This is just to remind you of my request made today on the telephone, that telegrams and letters of condolence to my father may be posted to me at my Delhi address after he has seen them each day, for some days to come, subject to such messages as he may wish to keep with him. I do hope this will be possible.

Another point is about the photographs. At your convenience could you kindly write to me to let me know what your policy is going to be regarding the photographs taken in the detention camp on the last day and the next day of the funeral ? I would greatly wish to see the photographs as early as possible and, if necessary, undertake to make no use for the time being of any or all of them.

Yours sincerely,  
DEVADAS GANDHI.

H. V. R. Iengar, Esqr.,  
Secretary, Home Department,  
Government of Bombay,  
Bombay.

**SECRET**

No. DO. S.D.-VI/3565.

HOME DEPARTMENT, (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, the 23rd February 1944.

My dear Bhandari,

The orders of Government as regards passing condolence messages to Mr. Gandhi and his replies to them are as follows: —

There is no objection to forwarding such messages as may emanate from friends in England.

Messages of sympathy from persons in India should be similarly delivered to Mr. Gandhi provided they are simple personal condolence messages. A distinction must be made as between personal messages and those of a political character. Thus for instance messages presuming to come from "the citizens of a particular city" should be withheld as being other than personal.

Mr. Gandhi may reply to messages from his relatives and Government will, if he so wishes, inform other correspondents that their messages have been delivered to him.

Will you please have the messages received at Poona treated along these lines and arrange to keep a note about the messages received and how disposed of ? In case of doubt Government may be consulted.

Messages received here will be similarly handled.

I am sending a copy of this to K. B. Kately.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) S. G. BARVE.

Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

---

Below telegram from the Detenués confined in the Nasik Road Central; Prison addressed to Mahatma Gandhi.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 312 of 1944.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Nasik Road, the 24th February 1944.

Forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, for favour of further disposal if approved.

(Sd.) X X X  
Superintendent,  
Nasik Road Central Prison.

Rupee one and annas five postal  
Stamps are sent herewith.

Inspector-General of Prisons.  
Regr. No. 2073.  
Date: 26-2-44.

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Below Telegram from the Secretary, Women's Association of All-India Women's Conference, Bombay.

No. 2590 of 1944.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, the 25th February 1944.

Forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona, for favour of disposal.

(Sd.) R. T. ADVANI,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Inward No. 2072.  
Dt. 26-2-1944.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1575 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 1st March 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. The telegram should be withheld.

(Sd.) X X X

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
for Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

---

Below telegram dated 24th February 1944 from the Chairman, Jalgaon Borough Municipal Committee to me.

**SECRET**

No. 1410 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 25th February 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments for disposal. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

PLEASE CONVEY THE FOLLOWING TO MAHATMAJI. JALGAON BOROUGH MUNICIPAL STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS GREATLY GRIEVED AT PASSING AWAY OF REVERED KASTURBA MEMBERS PARTICIPATE IN THE BEREAVEMENT OF MAHATMAJI, AND PREAY FOR PASSED SOUL.

**CHAIRMAN.**

Memo:

Enclosed herewith are four letters received for Mr. M. K. Gandhi which should be disposed of—according to the instructions mentioned in the D. O. letter from S. G. Barve, Esqr., I.C.S., Deputy Secretary.

(Sd.) M. G. B.

To

K. B. A. E. Kately.

For information:

These letters were sent by K. B. Kately. It is for orders whether we should return them to him for disposal.

Yes return them.

(Sd.) M. G. B.  
25-2.

---

**CONFIDENTIAL**

COLLECTOR'S OFFICE:  
Camp *via* Poona,  
the 25th February 1944.

Dear Colonel,

I came into Poona on Wednesday, but, as everything seemed very quiet I returned to camp on Thursday afternoon without worrying you. However, there are one or two points of procedure I'd like to get cleared.

1. Please see the first para of my D. O. of the 3rd instant. I have had no reply to the point raised but only a reference from your office to my P.A. (which I have since replied to) asking for a copy of lengar's D. O. I raise this point again because it seems, in fact, that the procedure in question was *not* followed. If those orders have in any way been modified, I'd be glad of a copy of any relevant reference from Government.
2. It seems that the District Superintendent of Police could get no definite information as to when the cremation was to take place. He gave me to understand that you were in communication with Government concerning some "conditions" that Gandhi wanted fulfilled. As the aforementioned orders of Government were quite clear on the procedure to be followed, may I know how it became necessary to adopt that actually followed ?
3. Have you any idea how the fact of Mrs. Gandhi's death became known so quickly (9 or 10 p.m. on the same night) in the City ? The District Superintendent of Police did not lay on his bando-bast till 6 a.m. chiefly, I gather, on the assumption that the death

could not be generally known before next morning. It was also to meet this contingency presumably that Government had laid down communication by Cole-Telegram *through* me or the District Superintendent of Police, or the D. I. G., C. I. D.

4. Could you tell me how and on what basis it was decided who should be allowed to attend the cremation and visit the palace that day ? The District Superintendent of Police gives me to understand that a very larger number of people came, and that there was no proper arrangement for checking them. I see (from the Times) that even quite unnecessary outsiders who never had any close connection with Gandhi, let alone Mrs. Gandhi, were allowed in. On this point again the orders of Government were such that they had been adhered to (or if a copy of any modification had been sent to D. S. P.), the checking would have been easy.
5. Lastly, I believe there was again a last minute hunt for firewood, ghee, etc. This also must have helped to give the show away. Is it not possible to keep a store ready—if not on the premises atleast over at the Jail ?

You will appreciate that I am making these queries with an eye on the future. Things passed off very quietly and I have no complains on that score, but we cannot assume that it would be so if occasion arose again. It seems clear to me that we must either—

(a) carry out together the orders we already have, or, if that has proved impracticable,

(b) have much closed liaison and mutual consultation between your people and the District Superintendent of Police (or his representative). Could you kindly let me have your remarks accordingly ?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) W. G. HULLAND.

Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., D.T.M. & H. (Lond.), I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona.

---

D. O. No. S.D. 11/3878.

HOME DEPARTMENT:

Bombay, the 25th February 1944.

2079-A.

Date: 26-2-44.

My dear Bhandari,

Will you please have the enclosed letter handed over to Mr. Gandhi ?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

Lt. Col. M. G; Bhandari, CLE., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

No. S. D.

HOME DEPARTMENT:

Bombay, Castle, February 1944.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esqr.,

Sir,

I am directed to transmit to you the following message from the Archbishop of Canterbury received through the Secretary of State for India.

" Profound Sympathy in your grievous loss. May God in his love be with you. William Contaur."

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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**SECRET**

D. O. No. 1409.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS

PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:

Poona, the 25th February 1944.

Dear Kately,

Enclosed herewith is a list showing the disposal of 193 telegrams received for Mr. M. K. Gandhi, sent by you.

From the list, it will be seen that there are some telegrams which are to be referred to Government and some to be withheld. These two lots are separately enclosed herewith and on the outer cover, a note is made in red pencil as 'refer to Government' or 'withheld', as the case may be. The telegrams have been duly numbered in pencil either in the right hand corner or on the reverse and arranged serially.

Those telegrams which were to be delivered to Mr. M. K. Gandhi were sent to you Yesterday, i.e., on 24th February 1944 for further disposal.



On the evening of 24th February 1944, 10 more telegrams were sent by you to this office which are returned herewith. These should be disposed of in accordance with the instructions given in D. O. letter from Mr. S. G. Barve, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary, Home Department, Bombay.

In future message received for Mr. M. K. Gandhi should be handled on the lines mentioned in the D. O. letter.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

---

"Hindusthan Standard"  
A Nationalist English Daily  
30, Burman Street.  
Calcutta, the 26th February 1944.

Ref. No. H/S/102/44.  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona.

Dear Sir,

As per your esteemed request (No. 682) of the 26th January 1944, we beg to forward herewith our bill No. H. S. 2306, dated 22nd April 1944 for Rs. 24-0-0 only to you, in respect of supply of our paper to you for six months only—from 31st January 1944 to 30th July 1944, and to remind you at the same time that the sum of Rs. 40-0-0 only due from you in respect of supply from 1st January 1943 to 31st December 1943 has still remained unpaid.

We shall be greatly obliged if you would kindly arrange for an early payment of the present bill together with the outstanding amount.

With thanks,  
Yours faithfully,  
Hindusthan Standard.  
(Sd.) X X X  
Manager.

**SECRET**

D. O. No. 1544.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:  
Poona, the 26th February 1944.

Dear Khan Bahadur,

Will you please have the enclosed letter received from the Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay handed over to Mr. Gandhi.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. G. B.

To

K. B. A. E. Kately,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

The Compounders' Union.

---

78, Sleater Road, Bombay-7.  
27th February 1944.

To

Mahatma Gandhi,  
Through the Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Revered Mahatmaji,

As desired by the Special meeting of the above Union held to-day, I beg to communicate to you the following resolution passed at this meeting: —

"The Compounders' Union places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the sad demise of Smt. Kasturba Gandhi on Tuesday, the 22nd February 1944. The Union is further of opinion that India has lost an ideal worker and the Indians a loving mother and true guide.

The union also feels that it has sustained an irreparable loss. "

I, personally associate in the feelings expressed in the above resolution and pray on my behalf and on behalf of the Union that the soul may rest in peace.

Yours obediently,  
(Sd.) X X X  
President.

**SECRET**

No. 1576 of 1944.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 1st March 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace, Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) M. G. B.,  
Lt.-Col., I. M. S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

No. 2219.  
Date: 1-3-44.

D. O. No. S.D.VI/4315.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, the 28th February 1944.

My dear Bhandari,

Will you please have the enclosed letter handed over to Mr. Gandhi ?

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

No. S.D.VI/4314.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL):  
Bombay Castle, 28th February 1944.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire,

Sir,

I am directed to transmit to you the following message from Sir Stafford Cripps received through the Secretary of State for India:-----

" I am deeply grieved to hear of tragic loss which you have suffered and I send you my deepest sympathy. "

Stafford Cripps "

Yours obedient servant,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

No. 1561.

NASIK ROAD CENTRAL PRISON:

Dated 29th February 1944.

**MEMORANDUM.**

*Reference.*—Your Confl. No. 312, dated 24th February 1944.

The Prs. should be informed that the telegram has been forwarded to Government for disposal.

2. Stamps worth Rs. 1-5-0 are returned herewith, of which please acknowledge receipt.

(Sd.) M. G. B.,

Inspector-General of Prisons.

To

The Superintendent,  
Nasik Road Central Prison.

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No. 336 of 1943-44.

Office of the Agricultural  
Produce Market Committee:  
Jalgaon, 29-2-44.

From

The Chairman,  
The Agricultural Produce Market Committee, Jalgaon.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of the resolution passed by the general meeting of the Jalgaon Agricultural Produce Market Committee Jalgaon held on 28th February 1944 regarding the death of

Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi with a request that the same may kindly be forwarded to Mahatma Gandhi at his present residence.

I have the honour to be  
Sir,  
Your most obedient Servant,  
(Sd.) K. B. SHAH,  
Chairman,  
The Agricultural Produce  
Market Committee, Jalgaon.

(Enclosure 1.)  
Inward No. 2293.  
Dt. 3-3-1944.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1742 of 1944.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE.  
Poona, the 7th March 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A E. Katel,   
Officer-In-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) M. G. B.  
Lt.-Col., I. M. S.  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

---

**SECRET**

D.O. No. 1572.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:  
Poona, the 29th February 1944.

My dear Hulland,

*Reference*—Your D.O. No. PER/32, dated 25th February 1944.

The original orders referred to by you in your D.O. are still in force. Certain alterations in the procedure were made in consultation with Government to suit the occasion.

2. The District Superintendent of Police telephoned to me some time about 10 p.m. on 22nd February. I informed him that the cremation would take place at about 9 a.m. the next morning. I could not tell him anything beyond that as the matter had already been referred to Government by me for further consideration.

In spite of clear orders on the subject I consider it is open to me to refer anything I consider necessary to Government and obtain fresh orders. The fact that Government was pleased to modify their orders shows that the reference was justified. I do not think Government expected that Mr. Gandhi's request to modify the existing orders if possible, should have been withheld.

3. District Superintendent of Police had informed me on Sunday the 20th February 1944 that he was going out on tour and that in his absence I should get in touch with Mr. Crone, Deputy Superintendent of Police. I also knew that you will be out during the next few days. Consequently I had a talk with Secretary, Home Department the same day (i.e. Sunday) and told him that I will send him the intimations to avoid delay. It appears to me that the idea in instructing the Superintendent to send information to Government through you or Police Officers was that he was sure to get in touch with one of the local officers while I may be away from Headquarters.

Public in Poona came to know about it as the Government had issued a Press Communique in Bombay some time between 8 and 9 p.m. and this had been telephoned to people in Poona. I know it because a person approached me about that time and told me that he got the information from the representative of some local newspaper. This person had come to me for permission to go to the Palace at once because of this news. Besides I heard the announcement myself on the Radio at 9-20 p.m. I have read Government orders carefully and nowhere, do I find any indication that Government intended to keep the news of Mrs. Gandhi's death from Public indefinitely or until 6 a.m. next morning. From what happened on the last occasion my impression is that Government wanted that it should be announced by them as early as possible and that public should not come to know about it from some unauthorised source. All precautions had been taken against the latter course and I am quite satisfied that the information did not leak out from the Palace. I may mention for your information that some relations of Mrs. Gandhi who were inside the Palace at the time were not allowed to leave the place till 10 p.m.

4. Government allowed friends and relations (about 100) to attend the funeral. Those who were to be allowed were to be selected by Mr. Deodas (Mr. Gandhi's son). Neither the District Superintendent of Police nor the Superintendent of Aga Khan's Palace were left any say in the matter. I gave instructions that Mr. Deodas and Khan Bahadur Katel should stand near the Gate and only those whom Mr. Deodas approved were to be allowed to go in. I also personally gave instructions to that effect to the Sergeant on duty at about 11 o'clock in the night

when I had gone there to communicate Government's decision to Mr. Gandhi. So you will see that what appears to be 'unnecessary outsiders' could not be kept out by any of us. Mr. Deodas had arranged to send intimations to those whom he wanted to attend the funeral during the night.

5. I have not heard anything about it except that the firewood was not quite dry. This together with certain other reasons prolonged the cremation to some extent. This should not have happened considering that I personally gave instructions to Mr. Crone on this matter on Monday morning in my office when I related to him what had happened on the previous occasion.

This however is a small matter which can be easily managed by the Superintendent of the Palace and he can get the firewood from the Jail. The idea of storing firewood in advance at the Palace for cremation purposes does not appeal to me. I quite appreciate your anxiety about the future and I do hope that no such occasion will arise again.

The 'show' was not given away partly by this or by any other particular incident as you presume. (I presume by "show" being given away) you refer to the public having come to know about it very early. The reason for this was quite different as explained above.

As regards the other points you have raised—

(a) I consider such orders from Government really just and outline of the procedure to be followed. The details have to be decided according to circumstances and local conditions at the time. I do not think Government could have any objection if reference is made to them again for further orders after one has studied the local condition at the time.

As far as my Department is concerned, I am quite satisfied that there was close liaison between us and the Police Department as the following will show:—

Please refer to my D.O. No. 950, dated 5th February 1944 in which I have requested you to depute somebody in Poona with whom we should get in touch in your absence to convey the information to you and to the District Superintendent of Police and I further suggested that such representative should be available on the telephone both by night and day.

On Sunday the 20th the District Superintendent of Police to whom you had probably mentioned this subject came to my Bungalow and discussed the matter with me. As he was also leaving Headquarters he had asked me to get in touch with his Deputy Superintendent of Police whose name and telephone numbers he gave me. We further decided and arranged a signal, and Mr. Crone was to be told to 'come and see me at once' which was to convey to him the news of Mrs. Gandhi's death. I have a recollection that I also discussed other arrangements such as supply of firewood, ghee etc to be sent in Police van.

However as the District Superintendent of Police was leaving Poona. I considered it advisable to intimate the requirements and discuss other matters, in this connection, with the officer who will be on the spot at the time. So I sent Mr. Crone to my office on Monday morning at about 10-30 a.m. and told him all that was required.

As soon as Mrs. Gandhi died, the Superintendent of the Palace got in touch with Crone and as the funeral was not going to take place before 9 a.m. the next morning I think he was asked to arrange to send the required articles next morning. He was told that I had already informed the Government and that I was awaiting for further orders and that the funeral will not take place before 9 a.m. in any case.

The District Superintendent of Police had told me to get in touch with him after 6 a.m. the next morning or earlier if there was some important information to be communicated to him.

Later on in the night Mr. Crone telephoned to me for further information and as by that time I had received instructions from Government, they were communicated to him and he was told to get in touch with the Superintendent and arrange about details.

Next morning Mr. Crone telephoned to me again and said that he intended to stop any crowd at the Bund Garden bridge and he did not know how to distinguish the friends and relations who should be allowed to go to the Palace. He himself suggested (and I approved it) that he would go to the Palace and talk over the matter with the Superintendent. I heard nothing about it and presumed that he had fixed up everything satisfactorily with the Superintendent.

I saw the District Superintendent of Police and Mr. Crone at about 9 a.m. when I went to the Palace and it appeared that everything had been arranged satisfactorily and did not notice any crowd near the Palace.

In view of what I have mentioned above, will you kindly suggest how the liaison and consultation between Jail and Police Departments can be improved on such occasions ? I personally think all that was possible was done and I appreciate the help and assistance given by the Police.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

To

W. G. Hulland, Esquire, B.A. (Oxon.), I.C.S.,  
Collector and District Magistrate,  
Poona.

P.S.

Copy of this letter together with a copy of your D.O. is being forwarded to Government for their information and any further orders that they may consider necessary to issue.



440

**SECRET**

1617

1st March 1944.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Political),  
Bombay.

I enclose herewith a letter from Mayor of Karachi to Mr. M. K. Gandhi for favour of disposal.  
(Sd.) M. G. B.

---

**SECRET**

D.O. No. 1595.

1st March 1944.

Please deliver the attached letter to Mr. Gandhi.

(Sd.) M. G. B.

To

K. B. Kately.

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**SECRET**

1609

1st March 1944.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Political), Bombay.

I enclose herewith a telegram from Prs. in Nasik Road Central Prison addressed to Mr. M. K. Gandhi for favour of disposal.

(Sd.) M. G. B.

---

MAHATMA GANDHIJI

DEEPLY GRIEVED OUR SYMPATHIES BY WILL LIVE FOR EVER IN OUR HEARTS.  
DETENUS NASIK JAIL.

---

The Bombay Municipal Congress Party.

Malbar View,  
Chowpatty Sea Face,  
Bombay No. 7.

To

Mahatma Gandhi,  
Through the Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Revered Mahatmaji,

A Special meeting of my Party was held Yesterday, when the following resolution was passed:—

"The Bombay Municipal Congress Party places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of the country's dearest 'Ba'

Smt. Kasturba Gandhi on Tuesday, the 22nd February 1944. In her death the nation has lost the ideal of Indian womanhood, an inspiring and indefatigable worker in the cause of the liberation of this country and above all Mahatma Gandhi's great companion. May God be pleased that in His Infinite Mercy Mahatmaji be consoled, as the void cannot be enrolled by human sympathy".

Under the circumstances, we are destined to face, it is beyond my power to express our feelings. Myself and every member of my party feels as if we have lost our mother. My prayer to the Almighty is " May the soul rest in peace ".

Yours obediently,

(Sd.) X X X  
Leader,

The Bombay Municipal Congress Party.

**SECRET**

No. 1578 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 1st March, 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace, Yeravda

Forwarded with compliments.

2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) X X X

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,

for Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

Superintendent, Yeravda Jail, Poona.

Please convey to Mahatma Gandhi sincere condolences in his bereavement from Bombay Womens Association of All-India Womens Conference.

Secretary.

Below telegram dated 26th February 1944 from Trichinopoly Ratepayers Association.

**SECRET**

No. 1577 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 1st March 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) x x x

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
for Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

Trichinopoly, fort-26.

Inspector-General of Prisons.

PLEASE CONVEY MAHATMA GANDHI, TRICHINOPOLY RATEPAYERS ASSOCIATION  
CONDOLES WITH MAHATMA DEMISE MOTHER KASTURABAI.

Extract from the Proceedings of the General Committee of the Bagalkot City Municipality held  
on 1st March 1944.

Item No. 119.

SUBJECT—Condolence Resolution.

Mr. R. V. Sholapurkar proposes that this Meeting should be adjourned in memory of the sad  
death of Mrs. Kasturbai Gandhi without transacting any business.

A copy of this Resolution should be sent to Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Belgal seconds.

Passed unanimously all members standing.

Municipal Office:

Bagalkot, the 4th March 1944.

No. 817 of 1943-44.

Copy forwarded with compliments to Mahatma Gandhi, through the Superintendent of Jail,  
Yeravda Prison, Poona.

(Sd.) X X X

President,  
Bagalkot City Municipality.

Bombay, 1st March 1944.

To

Col. Bhandari,  
Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay.

Sir,

The Hind Manila Samaj of Bombay has passed a resolution of condolence which I am sending herewith.

I shall feel highly obliged if you give this to Mahatma Gandhi.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) AVANTIKA GOKHALE,  
President,  
Hind Mahila Samaj, Bombay-4.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1997 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS, OFFICE.  
Poona, 16th March 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) x x x  
Lt.-Col. I. M. S.  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

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No. 1230 of 1943-44.  
MUNICIPAL BOROUGH, JALGAON:  
Jalgaon. the 1st March 1944.

From

B. V. Pradhan, Esquire, B.A., LL.B.,  
President, Municipal Borough, Jalgaon.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

SUBJECT.—Condolence Resolution.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of the Resolution unanimously passed by the Jalgaon Municipality at their Special General

Meeting held on 29th February 1944, for favour of transmission to Mahatma Gandhi.

Your obedient servant,  
(Sd.) B. V. PRADHAN,  
President,  
Municipal Borough, Jalgaon.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1740 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 7th March 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.  
2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) M. G. B.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

Below letter, dated 28th February 1944 from Jalgaon Cotton Merchants Association Ltd., and letter dated 28th February 1944 from President, Malegaon Camp Co-operative Store.

No. 1741,  
17th March 1944.

To

K. B. Kately,  
Forwarded with compliments.  
2. These letters should be withheld

(Sd.) M. G. B.  
Lt.-Col., I. M. S.,

**SECRET**

No. 1574.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona. the 1st March 1944.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Special),  
Bombay.

Copy together with a copy of the D. O. to which this is a reply forwarded with compliments for information.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt.-Col., I. M. S.,  
Inspector General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

This has a reference to Government, Home Department (Special),

D. O. No. S. D. VI/451.

Dated 18th January 1943.

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COLLECTOR'S OFFICE:

Poona, the 1st March 1944.

Dear Colonel,

Many thanks for your very full letter. It makes the position very clear. I agree that it is perfectly proper for you to contact Government since most of the actual internal bandobast would naturally devolve on your Department. The only general point on which I am still not clear is how the *police* could be kept more closely informed so that they can arrange *their* bandobast according to circumstances in the event of future casual-ties. That is to say, for example, that the District Superintendent of Police, might need to be more closely in the know of what is decided concerning visitors, and whether publication of news is to be delayed at all, pending the laying on of bandobast. It is clear in the present case, that all this didn't matter much but I would not like the precedent to be followed in certain other circumstances.

I have cancelled part of my programme and could have a chat with you if you feel so inclined. I have purposely not referred anything to Government as I was not sure that any proposals were necessary. If we talk the matter over we can, if necessary at all, decide precisely what suggestions need be made.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) W. G. HULLAND.

To

Lt.-Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., M.B.B.S. (Ph.).

DTM. & H. (Lond.), I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons,

Province of Bombay, Poona.

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DETENTION CAMP:

The 4th March 1944.

Sir,

It is not without regret and hesitation that I write about my dead wife. But truth demands this letter.

According to the news-papers Mr. Butler is reported to have said in the House of Commons on 2nd March 1944." .....she was receiving all possible medical care and attention, not only from her regular atten- dants but from those desired by her family..... "Whilst I gratefully acknowledge that the regular attendants did all they could, the help that was asked for by the deceased or by me on her behalf when at all

given was given after a long wait and the Ayurvedic physician was permitted to attend only after I had to tell the prison authorities that if I could not procure for the patient the help that she wanted or I thought necessary I should be separated from her, I ought not to be made a helpless witness of the agonies she was passing through. And even then I could make full use of the Vaidyaraj's services only after I wrote a letter to the Inspector-General of Prisons of which a copy is hereto attached. My application for Dr. Dinshah was made in writing on 27th January 1944. The deceased herself had repeatedly asked the Inspector-General of Prisons for Dr. Dinshah Mehta's help during practically a month previous to that. He was allowed to come only from 5th February 1944. Again the regular physicians Drs. Nayar and Gilder made a written application for consultation with Dr. B. C. Roy of Calcutta on 31st January 1944. The Government simply ignored their written request and subsequent oral reminders.

Mr. Butler is further reported to have said, "No request for her release was received and the Government of India believe it would be no act of kindness to her or her family to remove her from the Aga Khan's Palace". Whilst it is true that no request for her release was made by her or by me (as Satyagrahi prisoners it would have been unbecoming) would it not have been in the fitness of things if the Government had atleast offered to her, me and her sons to release her. The mere offer of release would have produced a favourable psychological effect on her mind. But unfortunately no such offer was ever made.

As to the funeral rites, Mr. Butler is reported to have said, " I have information that the funeral rites took place at the request of Mr. Gandhi in the grounds of the Aga Khan's Palace at Poona and friends and relatives were present". The following however was my actual request which the Inspector-General of Prisons took down in writing from dictation on 8-7 p.m. on 22nd February 1944 (I) "Body should be handed over to my sons and relatives which would mean a public funeral without interference from Government. (II) If that is not possible, funeral should take place as in the case of Mahadev Desai and if the Government will allow relatives only to be present at the funeral. I shall not be able to accept the privilege unless all friends who are as good as relatives to me are also allowed to be present. (III) If this is also not acceptable to the Government, then those who have been allowed to visit her will be sent away by me and only those who are in the camp (detenus) will attend the funeral.

"It has been as you will perhaps be able to bear witness my great anxiety not to make any political capital out of this most trying illness of life companion. But I have always wanted whatever the Government did to be done with good grace which I am afraid, has been hitherto lacking. It is not too much to expect that now that the patient is no more whatever the Government decide about the funeral will be done with good grace."

Government will perhaps admit that I have scrupulously avoided making any political capital out of my wife's protracted illness and the difficulties I experienced from the Government. Nor do I want to make any now. But in justice to her memory, to me and for the sake of truth I ask the Government to make such amends as they can. If the newspaper report is inaccurate in essential particulars or the Government have a different interpretation of the whole episode, I should be supplied with the correct version and the Government interpretation of the whole episode. If my complaint is held to be just I trust that the amazing statement said to have been made in America by the Agent of the Government of India. In U. S. A., will be duly corrected.

I am, etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

**MOST SECRET**

D. O. No. S.D.V/4889.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay the 7th March 1944.

My dear Bhandari,

Will you please let me have a reply to my demi-official letter No. S.D.V./1439 of 27th January 1944, in which I enquired whether it would be possible to arrange for accommodation in the Aga Khan's Palace for Mr. Gandhi's closest relatives who would be required to be in constant attendance on him in the event of another fast ?

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

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Below No. 817, dated 4th March 1944 from the President, Bagalkot City Municipality.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 550 of 1944.  
CENTRAL PRISON'S OFFICE:  
Yeravda, the 8/9th March 1944.

Forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona, for favour of disposal.

(Sd.) R. T. ADVANI,  
Lt-Col., I. M. S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison,

Inward No. 2618.  
Dt. 11-3-1944.



**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1932 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 15th March 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) M. G. B.,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

**SECRET**

No. 1743 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS:  
Poona, the 7th March 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments with a request to send Rs. 24-0-0 plus Re. 0-6-0 as commission charges for being sent to the Manager, Hindusthan Standard.

2. The Manager has stated that the sum of Rs. 40 is still outstanding in respect of supply of paper from 1st January 1943 to 31st December 1943, please state whether the amount is to be paid and the date from which the payment is to be made may please be verified.

3. This office may also be informed whether there was any period from 1st January 1943 up to date during which copies of the newspapers were not received.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,

No. H.S.-2306.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY, POONA

To

" Hindusthan Standard ",  
3C, Burman Street, Calcutta.

---

To Charges for subscription to the Hindusthan Standard.

Daily edition from 31-1-44 to 30-7-44 at	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 24 0 0
Rs. 24 per 6 months.						
Rupees twenty-four only.				Total Rs.	..	24 0 0

---

Dated 22-2-1944.  
Ledger Folio.E. & O.E.  
(Sd.) x x x  
Accountant.(Sd.) x x x  
Manager.*N.B.*—Please pay by Crossed Cheque in favour of "HINDUSTHAN STANDARD".

"DAWN"

Tele. 5689.

"DAWN"

Subs. No. 1178-Q.

P.O. Box 103.  
Delhi: 7-3-1914.*Notice to Subscribers,*

Dear Sir,

This is to inform you that your subscription for DAWN Daily falls due on 21st April 1944.

Please send the same before the date mentioned above so that the paper may continue to be sent to you without break otherwise your supply will be stopped.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) x x x  
Sales Manager.DAILY  
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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. C-8-190.

OFFICE OF THE D.S.P.:  
Poona, the 9th March 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS, POONA Regr. No. 2716. Date: 14-3-44.
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To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

SUBJECT.—Late Mrs. Kasturbai Gandhi. Expenses incurred for the cremation of—

Sir,

I have the honour to state that Rs. 236-3-6 were spent by the police over the cremation of Mrs. Gandhi on 23rd February 1944 and the removal of ashes on the 25th ultimo. The main items of expenditure are as under:—

												Rs	a.	P.
1.	Ghee ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	0	0
2.	Firewood ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	55	0	0
3.	Cloth ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39	7	0
4.	Incense, etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	12	9
5.	Sandlewood..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	12	0
6.	Garland, flowers etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	3	0
7.	Bamboos etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	11	0
8.	Miscellaneous, petty things, conveyance, private car expenses etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	2	9
9.	Plantain leaves	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	4	0
10	String	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	9	0
11	Betel leaves..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	2	0
12	Expenses of 25-2-44	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	41	4	0
13	Jail Priest	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	0	0
Total .. ..												239	3	6

2. I would request you kindly to remit the amount of Rs. 239-3-6 to the as early as possible before the close of the financial year.

3. The priest who was taken to Aga Khan's Palace by the police did the two day's ceremonies and he was offered Rs. 51 in view of his service at the time of Mahadeo Desai's death for which he was not paid because

he demanded more money. The priest brought with him some of the articles required for the two day's functions. He refused to accept Rs. 51 on the ground that it fell short of his expectations looking to the personality of Mrs. Gandhi and the 'Shastras' involved and demanded Rs. 5,000 as his fee. He could not, therefore, be paid any money.

Your obedient servant,

(Sd.) X X X

Dist. Supdt. of Police, Poona.

For information and orders—

Expenditure on account of cremation of late Mr. Mahadeo Desai was incurred from the allowances granted to inmate in the palace. But this was very small compared with the present expenditure of Rs. 239-3-6.

for orders.

*List of persons who were granted interviews with Mr. M. K Gandhi  
during the period of fast.*

Date.	Names.
16-2-43	Mr. Shantikumar Narotam.
17-2-43	Lady Thakersey.
17-2-43	Miss Amtus Salam.
17-2-43	Mr. Thakkar.
18-2-43	Mrs. Lilawati Munshi.
18-2-43	Mrs. Krishna Hathising.
18-2-43	Mrs. Gosiben Captain.
19-2-43	Mr. Ramdas Gandhi, wife and 2 children.
19-2-43	Mr. Vaikunth Mehta.
19-2-43	Mr. J. J. Jerajani.
20-2-43	Mr. Devdas Gandhi.
20-2-43	Mr. H. Bajaj, mother and sisters.
20-2-43	Mr. S. A. Brelvi.
20-2-43	Swami Anand.
20-2-43	Rani Rajawade.
20-2-43	Mr. K. M. Gandhi.
20-2-43	Radha Gandhi.
20-2-43	Manu Gandhi.
20-2-43	Mr. Mohanlal Nayar and Tarabai Nayar.
21-2-43	Mr. R. D. Birla.
21-2-43	Madam Wadia.

List of persons—*Contd.*

Date	Names
21-2-43	Mr. Shankarlal Banker.
21-2-43	Mr. B. F. Bharucha.
21-2-43	Miss Ansuaben Sarabhai.
21-2-43	Mr. Samaldas Gandhi, wife and son.
21-2-43	Bajaj family.
21-2-43	Mr. Ramdas Gandhi, wife and children.
21-2-43	Mr. Devdas Gandhi.
21-2-43	Tarabai Nayar.
22-2-43	Swami Anand.
22-2-43	Bajaj Family.
22-2-43	Miss Amtus Salam.
22-2-43	Tarabai Nayar.
22-2-43	Mrs. Kusum Desai.
22-2-43	Mr. Mathuradas Tricumji.
23-2-43	Mr. Mathuradas Tricumji.
23-2-43	Mr. Shantikumar Morarji and Mrs. Shantikumar Morarji.
23-2-43	Mr. Alexander Horace.
23-2-43	Mr. Kantilal Gandhi.
23-2-43	Mr. and Mrs. Surendra Masruwala.
23-2-43	Mr. Kuverji Parekh.
23-2-43	Hansaben Mehta.
23-2-43	Mrs. Jaisri Raiji.
23-2-43	Mrs. Maniben Nanawati.
24-2-43	Mrs. Gokiben, K. Bajaj and family.
24-2-43	Mr. and Mrs. H. N. Khira.
24-2-43	Mr. Pratap Dialdas.
24-2-43	Mrs. Maganlal Gandhi.
24-2-43	Bindumati Gandhi.
24-2-43	Rukhiben Gandhi, husband and child.
24-2-43	Mrs. Aryanaz Kan.
24-2-43	Jaisukhlal Gandhi, Dhiru Gandhi, Jayaben Gandhi.
24-2-43	Mohan Parikh.
24-2-43	Amritlal Nanawati.
24-2-43	Mrs. Mashruwala.
24-2-43	Lilavati Asar.
24-2-43	Mr. Madhavdas Kapadia.

List of persons—*Contd.*

Date	Name.
24-2-43	Mrs. Ruia.
24-2-43	Mr. Natwarlal Jasani
24-2-43	Kamalnain Bajaj, mother and sisters.
25-2-43	Gokiben.
25-2-43	Taraben Nayar.
25-2-43	Swami Anand.
25-2-43	P. Subrayan.
25-2-43	K. Shriniwasan.
25-2-43	Mrs. Puspa Masruwala.
25-2-43	Fram Pocha.
25-2-43	Jerbai Pocha.
25-2-43	Mrs. Byram Khambata.
25-2-43	Pesi Pocha.
25-2-43	Dorabji Pocha.
25-2-43	Shirin Pocha.
25-2-43	Mrs. Sachitadevi Kriplani.
25-2-43	Mrs. Jamnadas Dwarkadas.
25-2-43	Mr. G. L. Mehta.
25-2-43	Mrs. Bhanumati Dayabhai.
25-2-43	Mrs. Gangaben Patel.
25-2-43	Mr. K. Bajaj and family.
25-2-43	Mrs. Birla.
26-2-43	Mr. K. M. Munshi.
26-2-43	Urmiladevi Sen.
26-2-43	Mr. Bhulabhai Desai.
26-2-43	Rajgopal Chariar.
26-2-43	Dadubhai P. Desai.
26-2-43	Mrs. Kantilal Mohanlal.
26-2-43	Mrs. Madhuribai Kara.
26-2-43	Mr. Shantikumar Morarji.
26-2-43	Mr. Walchand Hirachand.
26-2-43	Mrs. Survatadevi Ramnarayan.
26-2-43	Mr. A. Subbaya.
26-2-43	Mr. Manilal Ravishankar.
26-2-43	Ratilal Desai, Mr. K. Bajaj and family.
26-2-43	Miss Ansuya Sarabhai.
26-2-43	Mr. Shankarlal Banker.

List of persons—*Contd.*

Date	Name
26-2-43	Mrs. Gokiben and Taraben Nayar.
26-2-43	Swami Anand.
27-2-43	Mr. K. M. Munshi.
27-2-43	Mr. M. S. Ane.
27-2-43	Ramabai Kamdar.
27-2-43	Mr. and Mrs. R. N. Tagore.
27-2-43	Mrs. Gomtiben Masruwala.
27-2-43	Mrs. Lilavati Asar.
27-2-43	Mr. K. Bajaj and family
27-2-43	Mrs. Birla.
27-2-43	Urmiladevi Sen.
27-2-43	Kamuben Vora.
27-2-43	Swami Anand.
27-2-43	Taraben Nayar.
28-2-43	P. Subarayan.
28-2-43	Mrs. Sarla J. Seth.
28-2-43	Miss Usha Munshi.
28-2-43	Miss Kalpalata Munshi.
28-2-43	Mr. Jaichandra Seth.
28-2-43	Mr. Gajanan Desai, wife and daughter.
28-2-43	Piroja Appu.
28-2-43	Dhanbai Chhapgar.
28-2-43	Pesi Pocha and Gita Pocha.
28-2-43	Mr. and Mrs. Parmanand Kapadia and daughter.
28-2-43	Gitanjali.
28-2-43	Ranchoddas Gokaldas.
28-2-43	Mohanlal Parikh.
28-2-43	Mrs. Champaben Mohanlal.
28-2-43	Mrs. Kusum Desai and son.
28-2-43	Mr. Jiwandas Sampat.
28-2-43	Mrs. Jiwandas Sampat
28-2-43	Sister Maniben and 4 children.
28-2-43	Mr. M. A. Bari.
28-2-43	Dr. A. C. Das.
28-2-43	Mr. Ramdas Gandhi.
28-2-43	Mr. Devdas Gandhi.
28-2-43	Vijayalaxmi Nanabhai Masruwala.
28-2-43	Mrs. Laxmiben Khare.
28-2-43	Mrs. Anandiben Huch.
28-2-43	Miss. Vanmala Parikh.
28-2-43	Miss Veena Chaterji.
28-2-43	Miss Abha Chaterji.
28-2-43	Mr. Amratlal Chaterji.
28-2-43	Mr. Manubhai Trivedi.



List of persons- *Contd.*

Date	Name
28-2-43	Mrs. Tanuben Trivedi.
28-2-43	Mr. Sevak Bhojraj.
28-2-43	Mr. Valji Govindji.
28-2-43	Mr. G. D. Birla.
28-2-43	Mr. R. D. Birla.
28-2-43	Maniben Parikh.
28-2-43	Miss Amtus Salam.
28-2-43	Mrs. Masruwala.
28-2-43	Mrs. Lilavati Asar.
28-2-43	Mr. K. Bajaj and family.
28-2-43	Mr. B. F. Bharucha.
28-2-43	Miss Ansuaben Sarabhai.
28-2-43	Mr. Shankarlal Banker.
28-2-43	Mr. Shantikumar Morarji.
28-2-43	Swami Anand.
28-2-43	Taraben Nayar.
28-2-43	Mr. Rajgopalachari.
28-2-43	Urmila Devi.
28-2-43	Sarladevi.
1-3-43	Swami Anand.
1-3-43	Ramdas Gandhi.
1-3-43	Ansuaben Sarabhai.
1-3-43	Mrs. Kusum Desai.
1-3-43	Mohanlal Parikh.
1-3-43	Mrs. Mohanlal Parikh.
1-3-43	Mr. Shankarlal Banker.
1-3-43	Mr. Amritlal Nanavati.
1-3-43	Mr. K. Bajaj and family.
1-3-43	Mr. Narendra Pragji Nathwani.
1-3-43	Mrs. Narendra Pragji Nathwani.
1-3-43	Miss Bharti Nathwani.
1-3-43	Mr. G. D. Birla.
1-3-43	Mr. R. D. Birla.
1-3-43	Lady Thakersey.
1-3-43	Mr. Rajgopal Chariar.
1-3-43	Mr. Jayanand Narsidas Khira.
1-3-43	Mrs. Jayanand Narsidas Khira.
1-3-43	Mr. Amratlal Narsidas Khira.
1-3-43	Maneklal Mehta and 7 members of family.
1-3-43	Mr. Devdas Gandhi.
2-3-43	Urmiladevi.
2-3-43	Sarladevi.
2-3-43	Lady Thakersey.
2-3-43	Mr. Shantikumar Narotam.

List of persons—*Contd.*

Date	Name
2-3-43	Mr. Ramdas Gandhi.
2-3-43	Mr. G. D. Birla.
2-3-43	Mr. R. D. Birla.
2-3-43	Prof. Tanyushen and wife.
2-3-43	Dr. V. V. Gokhale.
2-3-43	Miss Amtus Salam.
2-3-43	Mr. G. Ramchandra Rao.
2-3-43	Mr. A. V. Thakkar.
2-3-43	Mr. Chandrashankar P. Sukla.
2-3-43	Miss Gladys Owen.
2-3-43	Rev. Father Lash.
2-3-43	Mrs. Shantikumar Morarji, her 2 daughters.
2-3-43	Mr. K. M. Gandhi.
2-3-43	Bindumati Gandhi.
2-3-43	Dr. Miss R. M. Gandhi.
2-3-43	Rukmanidevi Bajaj.
2-3-43	Banarasilal Bajaj.
2-3-43	Mr. Navin Gandhi.
2-3-43	Mr. Damodar Javeri.
2-3-43	Mrs. Taraben Javeri.
2-3-43	Mr. Dwarkadas Javeri.
2-3-43	Mrs. Lilawati Munshi, her son Jagdish.
2-3-43	Mrs. Maniben Nanawati and 3 daughters.
2-3-43	Mr. Dilkush B. H. Diwanji.
2-3-43	Mr. Hemendra B. Diwanji
2-3-43	Mrs. Harshad Diwanji.
2-3-43	Mr. Abhimanyu Diwanji.
2-3-43	Hansaben Kataria.
2-3-43	Mr. Kuverji V. Mehta.
2-3-43	Mr. Premabhai V. Mehta.
2-3-43	Mr. Keshavbhai G. Patel.
2-3-43	Bhailal J. Patel.
2-3-43	Mr. Ramjibhai M. Patel.
2-3-43	Miss. Jayabai A. Gandhi.
2-3-43	Mr. Jayasukhlal A. Gandhi.
2-3-43	Mr. Budhsen Darbar.
2-3-43	Mr. Rameshwar P. Nanawati.
2-3-43	Mr. Pralhadrai Poddar.
2-3-43	Mrs. Nirmalaben Bakubhai.
2-3-43	Mrs. Chimanlal Nagindas.
2-3-43	Mr. Dalipkumar Rathi.
2-3-43	Mr. Manbhai Dave.
2-3-43	Vijiaben Manubhai.
2-3-43	Mr. G. Valunjkar and wife.

List of persons—*Contd.*

Date	Names
2-3-43	Laxmiben Khare.
2-3-43	Ramanlal Desai.
2-3-43	Permanand Desai.
2-3-43	Mr. Jethalal Gandhi and son.
2-3-43	Mr. Dalip Kumar.
2-3-43	Mr. Budhsen.
2-3-43	Mrs. Umia Gandhi, her husband.
2-3-43	Mr. Balwantsingji.
2-3-43	Sushila Pai.
2-3-43	Sumitra Kerkar.
2-3-43	Ansuaben Sarabhai.
2-3-43	Mr. Mohanlal Parikh.
2-3-43	Mrs. Mohanlal Parikh.
5-3-43	Mrs. Kusum Desai.
2-3-43	Mrs. Shankarlal Banker.
2-3-43	Mrs. B. N. Tagore.
2-3-43	Mrs. R. N. Tagore and daughter.
2-3-43	Vanmala Parikh.
2-3-43	Maniben Parikh.
2-3-43	Anandi Booch.
2-3-43	Maniben Asar and Laxmiben Asar and children.
2-3-43	Swami Anand.
2-3-43	Ashadevi.
2-3-43	Gomtiben Masruwala.
2-3-43	Vijiaben Masruwala.
2-3-43	Mrs. Khatan.
2-3-43	Mr. Prabodh Bhatia.
2-3-43	Mr. Sevak Bhojraj.
2-3-43	Mr. Anand Hingorani.
2-3-43	Mr. Jiwandas Sampat.
2-3-43	Amritlal Chaterji, Bina Chaterji, Abha Chaterji.
2-3-43	Mr. Ramdas Gandhi and Devdas Gandhi.
2-3-43	Mr. K. Bajaj and family.
2-3-43	Mr. Nanawati Amritlal.
2-3-43	Mr. B. F. Bharucha.
3-3-43	Mr. Devdas and Ramdas Gandhi.
4-3-43	Mr. Devdas and Ramdas Gandhi.
2-3-43	Mr. Devdas Gandhi.
6-3-43	Mr. Devdas and Ramdas Gandhi.

(Sd.) A. E. KATELY.

**MOST SECRET**

D. O. No.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS:  
Poona, the 9th March 1944.

Reference your D. O. No. S.D.V/4889, dated 7th March 1944.

It would be possible to accommodate about 6 to 8 relatives without pitching tents. Satisfactory cooking arrangements can also be made. Convict Cook will be sent.

Of course if the number of relatives is much larger, tents will have to be pitched. This can also be easily arranged. But I presume this number will not exceed.

(Sd.) M. G. B.

To

H. V. R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S., J.P.,  
Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

**SECRET**

D. O. No. 1866.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS:  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:  
Poona, the 11th March 1944.

Reference.—Your D. O., dated 1st March 1944.

I think the police bandobast should be based on the assumption that such news will be issued as early as possible as ordinarily there would be no justification for withholding it from the public. Besides another point which has to be borne in mind is that in spite of all precautions the news may leak out in some unauthorised manner. The police should be ready for such an eventuality and therefore, make arrangements as early as possible.

As regards visitors etc., the police was informed within ½ hour on my receiving orders from Government and long before the friends and relations actually received information from Mr. Devdas to attend the funeral

You have referred in your D. O. that you would not like the "precedent to be followed". I am afraid this is not clear to me.

Are you referring to the procedure followed by me and which you would not like me to follow, or are you taking exception to the orders issued by Government ? As far as I am concerned I will do what I consider best taking into consideration the circumstances without worrying about the precedent. If you are referring to Government orders, in that case I suggest that you should refer the matter to Government.

Please do give me a ring on your return to Head Quarters so that we might discuss the matter.

(Sd.) M. G. B.

To

W. G. Hulland, Esquire, B.A. (Oxon.), I.C.S.,  
Collector and District Magistrate,  
Poona.

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790, Sadashiv Peth,  
Poona No. 2, 14th March 1944.

Dear Mahatmaji,

A meeting of the women of Poona was held in Poona on Sunday the 5th March 1944, under my Presidentship to express publicly their deep sorrow at the sad demise of your beloved wife, Mrs. Kasturba. The accompanying resolution was unanimously passed at the meeting. The English version of the resolution is given below for your information.

" This public meeting of the women of Poona records with heartfelt grief the sad death of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, the wife of your great National leader, Mahatma Gandhi. Mrs. Kasturba has placed a high ideal of Indian womanhood before us. It is regretted therefore, that the death of such a great woman should occur in prison. We are proud, however, that Mrs. Kasturba had a noble death. This meeting strongly hopes that her memory will ever cherish in the hearts of women only if every one of us will try to achieve and realise the ideal for which she has sacrificed her life. "

May Almighty give eternal peace to the deceased soul.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) JANKIBAI BHATT,  
President,  
Public Meeting of the Women of Poona.

---

790, Sadashiv Peth,  
Poona No. 2, 14th March 1944.

To

The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison,  
Poona-6.

Sir,

I request that you will kindly hand over the accompanying letter to Mahatma Gandhi.  
Thanking you.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) JANKIBAI BHATT.  
President, Public Meeting  
of the Women of Poona.,

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 662 of 1944.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:

Yeravda, the 20th March 1944.

Forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona for favour of disposal.

(Sd.) R. T. ADVANI,

Lt.-Col., I. M. S.,

Superintendent,

Yeravda Central Prison.

Inward No. 3159.

Dated 22nd March 1944.

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*LETTER*

No. 1972 of 1944.

Poona, 16th March 1944.

To

The Manager,

Hindustan Standard,

30, Burman Street, Calcutta.

Reference.—Your letter No. H/S/102/44, dated 26-2-1944.

Dear Sir,

I have to state that the amount of Rs. 24 in payment of your bill No. 2306, dated 22nd February 1944, is remitted to you by money order today.

2. As regards payment of Rs. 40 for supply of paper from 1st January 1943 to 31st December 1943, further communication will be made to you.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X

Lt.Col., I. M. S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

For information and orders.

The amount of Rs. 24-0-0 has been remitted to the Manager, Hindusthan Standard", vide flag—D (for supply of paper from 31st January 1944 to 30th July 1944).

It will be seen that Rs. 40-0-0 for supply of paper from 1st January 1943 to 31st December 1943 are still to be paid as only Rs. 10-7-0 were paid on 1st October 1942 for the supply of paper for the period prior to 1st January 1943.

We asked K. B. Kately to state whether there was any period from 1st January 1943 up to date during which copies of paper were not received. K. B. has informed us that the information will be supplied when received from the inmates. It is for orders whether we should ask K. B. to send Rs. 40-0-0 + Re. 0-8-0 money-order charges for being remitted to the Manager Hindusthan Standard or won't till we hear about the information asked by this office.

(Sd.) X X X

**SECRET**

No. of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, March 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments with a request to send Rs. 24-0-0 plus Re. 0-6-0 as commission charges for being sent to the Manager, "Hindusthan Standard".

2. The Manager has stated that the sum of Rs. 40 is still outstanding in respect of supply of paper from 1st January 1943 to 31st December 1943, please state whether the amount is to be paid and the date from which the payment is to be made may please be verified.

3. This office may also be informed whether there was any period from 1st January 1943 up to date during which copies of the newspapers were not received.

(Sd.) X X X

Lt.-Col., I. M. S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

For information and orders.

Manager, "Hindusthan Standard", has sent a bill for Rs. 24-0-0 from 31st January 1944 to 30th July 1944. Our usual practice is to pay the bill for 3 months but in this case he has calculated the amount for 6 months, i.e., from 31st January 1944 to 30th July 1944. It is for orders whether we should return this bill and ask for a fresh one only for the period from 31st January 1944 to 31st March 1944.

He further adds that Rs. 40 are still to be paid by this office for the period from 1st January 1943 to 31st December 1943. Before making payment we will ascertain from K. B. Kately whether he has read all

copies of newspapers during the above period as the newspaper was not received for some time past.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

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Below No. 1743, dated 7th March 1944, from the Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

No. 196 of 1944.

Yeravda, the 16th March 1944.

Returned with compliments.

2. The amount of Rs. 24-6-0 is sent herewith.

3. The last subscription for Hindustan Standard was sent to Head Office on 5th October 1942, vide H. O. No. 16831, dated 1st October 1942. Since then subscription for this paper has not been paid.

4. The information asked in para 4, will be supplied when received from the prisoners.

(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,

Officer I/c, Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

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DETENTION CAMP:

The 16th March 1944.

Dear Khan Bahadur,

You have given me the following memorandum:—

" Mr. Gandhi may reply to messages from his relative and Government will, if he so wishes, inform other correspondents that their messages have been delivered to him."

In reply I beg to say that unless I can write to senders of condolences irrespective of relatives I would not care to exercise the facility Government have been pleased to give me. As to the other messages, I have no wish in the matter beyond what I have said above. From the newspaper notices of the messages sent to me I observe that all the messages sent to me have not yet been handed to me. From the Memorandum I infer that they will be handed to me in due course. I should perhaps mention that the messages received and given to me during my son, Devdas's presence were handed by me to him.

Yours, etc.,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Khan Bahadur Kately,

Superintendent Detention Camp.



Yeravda, the 16th March 1944.

Below letter, dated 16th March, from Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

No. 199 of 1944.

Yeravda, the 16th March 1944.

Forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,

Officer-in-charge,  
Aga Khan's Palace.

Inward No. 2786.

Dt. 16-3-44.

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**SECRET**

No. 1968 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 16th March 1944. To

To

The Secretary to Government,

Home Department (Special), Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of disposal.

(Sd.) M. G. B.,

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

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No. T.S. of 1944.  
KING EDWARD VII TECHNICAL SCHOOL:  
Dhulia, dated the 18th March 1944.

From

Baburao Balappa, Esquire,

Chairman, King Edward VII Technical School

Committee, Dhulia, W.K.

To

Mahatma Gandhi.

Respected Sir,

I write to let you know that the meeting of the King Edward VII Technical School Committee was postponed in memory of the sad demise of the late Saubhagyavati Kasturbai Gandhi, to-day.

The copy of the Resolution passed unanimously by the Committee, in this respect is herewith enclosed.

The Committee expresses its deep sorrow for the most venerable deceased soul and prays God to give peace and happiness to the deceased soul.

I remain,  
Your obedient servant,  
(Sd.) BABURAO BALAPPA,  
Chairman,  
King Edward VII Technical School  
Committee, Dhulia, W.K.

Inward No. 3244.

Dt. 24-3-1944.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 2344 of 1944.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 27th March 1944

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) M. G. B.,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

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DETENTION CAMP:  
20th March 1944.

Sir,

I have read with painful interest the answer given on behalf of the Government in the Central Assembly about the facilities, medical and otherwise, given to my deceased wife. I had hope for a better response to my letter of 4th March 1944, assuming that it was in Government's hands when the answer was given. Beyond the admission that the deceased was never offered release, the statement makes no amends for this misrepresentation pointed out in that letter. On the contrary it adds one more by stating that "trained nurses were made available". No trained nurse was asked for or supplied. An Aya, however, was sent in the place of Shri Prabhavati Devi and Shri Kanu Gandhi for whom my wife had asked. The Aya left in less than a week because she found herself illfitted for the work entrusted to her. Only then and after some

further delay and repeated requests about Shri Kanu Gandhi were the two allowed to come. The facilities have been recited as if they had been granted promptly and willingly. The fact is that most of them when not refused were granted as if grudgingly and when it was almost too late.

My object in writing this letter is not to make the complaint (though quite legitimate) that the facilities came too late. My complaint is that in spite of my representation of 4th instant the Government instead of giving the naked truth have seen fit to give a varnished version.

I am,

Yours etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, New Delhi.

(True Copy)

*for* Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay,

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No. 1117/43-M.S.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT:  
New Delhi, the 21st March 1944.

From

The Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire,

Sir,

In reply to your letter of 4th March regarding Mr. Butler's reply to a question in the House of Commons on the 2nd March 1944, I am directed to say that the Government of India regret that you should feel that they were unreasonable or obstructive about the calling in of special medical attendants. The Government of India were always ready to allow any extra medical aid or consultation which the Government doctors considered necessary, and they do not think that there was any delay in summoning outside aid when the Government doctors decided that it was needed. It was on January 28th that they were first informed that Mrs. Gandhi had asked for the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta; and it was not until January 31st that they were told that Dr. Gilder had asked for consultation with certain other doctors. On February 1st the Bombay Government were explicitly informed that any extramedical aid or consultation might be allowed which the Government doctors considered necessary or useful. If Dr. Dinshaw Mehta was not called in earlier, it was due to the view originally expressed by both Col. Bhandari and Dr. Gilder that his services could not be of any use. but he was summoned as soon as the Government doctors revised that opinion. Your letter of January 27th, which did not reach the Government of India until February 1st, made some reference to your wife's wish to see an Ayurvedic physician, but no name was mentioned and it was not until

February 9th that a definite request for the services of Vaidraj Sharma was received. The request was then granted within 24 hours and as soon as the Government of India were made aware of difficulties resulting from his not being accommodated inside the Palace, the necessary permission was given for him to reside there. In the circumstances the Government of India feel that they did everything possible to ensure that your wife received all the treatment that you wished during her illness,

2. As the question of release, the Government of India still feel that the course they adopted was the best and kindest. It was reported to them that on January 24th that your son, Devadas Gandhi, had asked his mother whether she would like to be released on parole and she had replied that she would not like to leave the Palace without her husband. Government have made no use of this report, since it was the record of a private conversation\*; but it confirmed them in the view expressed above. The misunderstanding about the statement in America quite wrongly attributed to Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai has been cleared up by answers to questions in the Legislative Assembly which you have doubtless seen.

3. The arrangements for the funeral were understood here to be in accordance with your wishes. The Government made enquiries on the point and were informed that you had no special preference between the first two alternatives mentioned in your letter.

4. In these circumstances, the Government of India do not think that Mr. Butler's reply to the Parliamentary question was incorrect in substance.

I have the honour to be  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM,  
Addl. Secy, to the Govt, of India.

Received on 27-3-44.

**Very Urgent.**

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*LETTER*

No. POL-2481.  
Poona, the 20th March 1944.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Province, Poona.

I have the honour to forward herewith for disposal the condolence resolution in original passed by the District Local Board and the Poona City Municipality at the death of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi.

(Sd.) W. G. HULLAND,  
District Magistrate, Poona.

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\* K. B. Katelty thinks that they support that he reported this conversation to Government and therefore they appear to be careful in his presence. They appear to be annoyed at this information being conveyed to Government.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 2256 of 1944.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 24th March 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel,   
Officer-in-Charge,   
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,   
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) M. G. B.,   
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,   
Inspector-General of Prisons,   
Province of Bombay,

**Extract from the proceedings of the General Board of the Poona City Municipality held on 29th February 1944.**

Resolution No. 522.

Item—Urgent.

"This meeting mourns the sad death of Revered Kasturba Gandhi, which it regards as a national loss and deeply sympathises with Mahatma Gandhi and his family in their saddest bereavement."

(True Copy)

(Sd.) S. N. SANAS.   
President, P. C. Municipality.

No. 7/1649 of 1944.   
Jalgaon, the 20th March 1944.

From

The Chairman,   
East Khandesh District Board of Supervising   
Unions, Ltd.

To

Mahatma M. K. Gandhi,   
H. H. Aga Khan's Palace, Poona.

Respected Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of the Resolution passed by the Supervision Committee of my Board on 11th March 1944 conveying you their heartfelt condolences on the death of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi.

Your obedient servant,   
(Sd.) X X X   
Chairman,   
East Khandesh District Board   
of Supervising Unions, Ltd., Jalgaon.

Through—

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Government,  
Poona with a request to forward the same to Mahatmaji.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 2214 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 23rd March 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel,   
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) M. G. B.,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 674 of 1943.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, the 22nd March 1944.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Reference our verbal conversation today, regarding the supply of trained nurses at the Aga Khan's Palace, I have to state that it was suggested by me to them to have a trained nurse if they so desired. First I was informed that a trained nurse was not necessary for Mrs. Gandhi but a trained Ayah would be useful to keep awake at night and press her body, etc. So I employed an Ayah but she left the job after a week's stay there. I was also told that if Mrs. Jai Prakash Narayan is sent for, she would be all right and serve the purpose of nursing Mrs. Gandhi, so I arranged and sent for her. Everything was done according to their wishes in this matter.

(Sd.) x x x  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

I have seen the above and the facts are as stated above. They were satisfied with the Ayah but she did not stay. They told Col. Advani that if Mrs. Jai Prakash Narayan came that would be quite satisfactory.

(Sd.) B. Z. SHAH,  
Lt.-Col.. I.M.S.

[H]

The responsibility for bringing in non-allopathic assistance would be wholly mine and the Government shall stand absolved from responsibility for any unfavourable result following such treatment. I am not sure that I shall accept the advice that such Vaidas or Hakims may give but if I do and if the prescription is ineffective I would like to reserve the right to revert to the present treatment.

11th February 1944.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

**SECRET**

No. C/2/711.

OFFICE OF THE DIST. SUPTD. OF POLICE:  
Poona, the 22nd March 1944.

Dear Colonel.

It is essential that the D. M. and myself should be in Poona in the event of Mr. Gandhi being ill. I would, therefore, request you if such a contingency arose to summon either the S.D.O., City Sub-Division (telephone: 659 residence, 455 office) or the Home Deputy Supdt. of Police (telephone: 536 residence, 362 office) preferably the former and give him details so that he can arrange for the D. M. and myself to be informed immediately wherever we may happen to be touring.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. M. MAXWELL.

Lt.-Col., M. G. Bhandari,  
C.I.E., M.B.,B.S. (Ph.), D.T.M. &  
H., I.M.S..  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
B.P., Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 2329 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona. the 27th March 1944.

To

The Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel.  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda,

Copy forwarded with compliments for information and guidance.

2. The information about Mr. Gandhi's serious illness should be sent to both to District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police.

(Sd.) M. G. B.,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

Below No. 662, dated 20th March 1944, from the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 2209 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 23rd March 1944,

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katelty,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace.  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) M. G. B.,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

**SECRET No. 223**

Yeravda, the 27th March.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

Sir,

In continuation of my No. 196, dated the 15th instant, I have the honour to state that the copies of the Hindustan Standard have not been received from 4th January 1944 to 5th February 1944.

I have the honour to be

Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,  
Officer I/C, Aga Khan Palace.



**SECRET**

D.O. No. 2348.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:  
Poona, the 27th March 1944.

Dear Mr. Maxwell Gumbleton.

Reference.—Your secret D.O. No. C/2/711, dated 22nd March 1944.

I have instructed Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately to inform the Officers mentioned by you in the event of Mr. Gandhi's illness.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

To

J. G. Maxwell Gumbleton, Esquire, I.P.,  
District Superintendent of Police,  
Poona.

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DETENTION CAMP:  
The 31st March 1944.

Sir,

Your letter of the 21st March to Mahatma Gandhi contains the statement:

"It was on January 28th that they were first informed that Mrs. Gandhi had asked for the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta..... If Dr. Dinshaw Mehta was not called in earlier, it was due to the view originally expressed by both Col. Bhandari and Dr. Gilder that his services would not be of any use, but he was summoned as soon as the Government doctors revised that opinion."

Surely, coupling of my name with that of Col. Bhandari is a mistake! The Government doctors in attendance were Col. Bhandari and Col. Shah. As far as I am concerned, sometime in December last, at one of Col. Advani's evening visits (when he was officiating for Col. Bhandari) Smt. Kasturba Gandhi asked him to allow Dr. Dinshaw Mehta to come in and Col. Advani was good enough to ask my opinion on the advisability of Dr. Dinshaw's coming. As I had not talked over the matter with my colleague Dr. Sushila Nayar, nor with the patient or her husband, I told Col. Advani I would give him a reply later. At his visit the next morning, I told him my considered opinion that Dr. Dinshaw's presence would be a great help.

When the whole of January had passed and permission for Dr. Dinshaw Mehta had not come Dr. Nayar and myself sent a gentle reminder in our letter of 31st January. A copy is hereto appended.

I might state that though in that letter we had asked for a consultation with Dr. B. C. Roy, no notice seems to have been taken of it or of verbal reminders.

You will permit me to draw your attention to another inaccuracy viz. about the employment of trained nurses. No trained nurse ever came inside this camp. Before the arrival of Smt. Prabhavati Jaiprakash Narayan and Shri Kanu Gandhi when nursing was becoming difficult we were given the services of a woman who had acted as a *badli ayah* at the mental hospital. She struck work inside of a week and asked the Superintendent for her discharge.

I have etc.,  
(Sd.) M. D. D. GILDER.

The Additional Secretary to the  
Government of India (H.D.),  
New Delhi.

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DETENTION CAMP:  
The 1st April 1944.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge your letter of 21st March handed to me on the 27th.

As to extra medical aid I wish to state that the first request for the services of Dr. Dinshah Mehta was made by the deceased verbally to Col. Advani sometimes in December last. When repeated verbal requests met with little or no response I had to make a written request addressed to the Government of India dated 27th January 1944. On the 31st January I sent a reminder to the Government of Bombay (App. A), and so did Drs. Nayar and Gilder in a letter addressed to the Inspector-General of Prisons (App. B). I wrote again on the 3rd February to the Government of Bombay (App. C), who sent a reply (App. D) which resulted in Dr. Dinshah being brought in on the 5th February last, i.e., after an interval of over six weeks from the date of the first request. And even when permission was granted, restrictions were placed upon the number of his visits and the time he was to take in administering treatment. It was not without difficulty that these restrictions were later relaxed and then removed.

As to the reference in the letter under reply to Dr. Gilder, I showed it to him. The result was the attached letter addressed by him to the Government which he asked me to forward (App. E). While it shows that Dr. Gilder never expressed the opinion attributed to him, it does not alter the tragic fact that Dr. Dinshah's services were held up for over six weeks.

The question of calling in a non-allopath was definitely and formally raised before the Inspector-General of Prisons by my son after his visit to this Camp early in December last. On Col. Bhandari mentioning to

me my son's request to him I told him that if my son thought that non-allopathic treatment should be tried, the Government should permit it. While the consideration of my son's request was on the anvil, the patient's condition began to worsen and she herself pressed for the services of an Ayurvedic physician. She spoke to both the Inspector-General of Prisons and Col. Shah several times, again with no result. In despair I wrote to the Government of India on 27th January 1944. On the 31st of January the Superintendent of this camp enquired on behalf of the Government, among other things, whether the deceased had any particular Ayurvedic physician in mind to which I replied in writing, it being my silence day (App. F.) As no relief was forthcoming as a result and the patient's condition admitted of no delay, I sent an urgent letter to the Government of Bombay on the 3rd February (App. C). It was on the 11th of February that a local Vaidya was sent and on the 12th that Vaidyaraj Sharma was brought in. Thus there was an interval of more than eight weeks between the first request for non-allopathic aid and of actual bringing in of that aid.

Before Vaidyaraj Sharma came I had been asked to give a written undertaking (which I gladly did) that I absolved the Government of all responsibility about the result of his treatment (App. H). The Vaidyaraj was thus in sole charge of the case for the time being. One would have thought that a physician in sole charge of a patient would have all such facilities of visiting and watching the patient as he considered necessary. And yet there was no end to the difficulties in getting these facilities for him. These have been alluded to in the enclosure to my letter of 4th March 1944 and in Appendix G.

All this time the patient was passing through great suffering and her condition was deteriorating so rapidly that every delay weighed against chances of her recovery.

Whether the delays and difficulties experienced by the patient and me were caused by one department of the Government or another, or even by the Government doctors, the responsibility surely rests with the Central Government.

I note that the Government have maintained complete silence over the written request (which was reinforced by subsequent verbal reminders) of Drs. Nayar and Gilder to call Dr. B. C. Roy in consultation and have not even condescended to give their reasons for not granting the request.

Similarly the letter under reply is silent about the discrepancy, pointed out by me in my letter dated 20th March 1944 in the Hon. the Home Member's statement in the Assembly that trained nurses were in attendance. The fact is that they never were. Let me add here that nurses of the deceased's choice who were permitted were brought after considerable delay especially Shri Kanu Gandhi.

I hope after a calm perusal of this bare recital of facts and of the relevant copies of correspondence attached hereto, it will be conceded that the claim of the Government of India that "they did everything possible" to ensure that the deceased received all the treatment that I *wished* during her illness is not justified. Much less can Mr. Butler's claim be justified. For, he went further when he said, "she was receiving all possible medical care and attention, not only from her regular attendants, but from those *desired by* her family". Does not the statement of the Government of Bombay (App. D), "Government have decided that no outside doctors should be allowed unless the *Government medical officer* considers it is absolutely necessary for medical reasons", contradict the above claims ?

On the question of release, and the report received by the Government of India of a "private conversation" my son had with his mother in this connection, a prisoner can have no "private" conversation with anybody from outside. Therefore so far as I am concerned the Government are free to make use of the conversation after verification (usual and obligatory in such cases) by my son. In any case the Government would have been absolved from all blame if they had made an offer of release and laid on me the burden of deciding what was "best and kindest" for her.

As for the arrangements for the funeral my letter to the Government dated 4th March 1944 embodying my actual request, which the Inspector-General of Prisons took down in writing from dictation, speaks for itself. It therefore astonishes me that the Government were "informed" that I had "no special preference between the first two alternatives" mentioned in my letter. The information given to the Government is wholly wrong. It is inconceivable that given the freedom of choice I could ever be reconciled to the cremation of a dear one being performed in a jail compound (which this camp is today) instead of the consecrated cremation ground.

It is not pleasant or easy for me to write about such personal matters to the Government. But I do so in this case for the sake of the memory of one who was my faithful partner for over sixty-two years. I leave it to the Government to consider what could be the fate of other prisoners not so circumstanced as Smt. Kasturba was.

I am,  
Yours etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Additional Secretary to the  
Government of India (Home Department),  
New Delhi.  
Enclosure (A to H).

DETENTION CAMP:

The 2nd April 1944.

Sir,

This is in continuation of my letter of yesterdays date to the Government of India, for, after handing the letter to the Superintendent of the camp on looking at the papers, I came upon the following startling statement in the 'Hindustan Times' of 30th March 1944:—

"NEW DELHI, Wednesday—Today in the Council of State. Lala Ramsarandas asked whether and when Mahatma Gandhi had asked Government to permit the eminent Ayurvedic physician Pandit Shiv Sharma to take up the treatment of Mrs. Gandhi.

The Home Secretary Mr. Conran Smith, replying said the first definite request for Pandit Sharma's services was made to the Government of India on February 9th and was granted on February 10. He understood that Pandit Sharma paid his first visit a day or two later. A.P.I."

The fact is that Vaidyaraj Shiv Sharma's name was first submitted to the Government on 31st January 1944 and not on the 9th of February. But my letter of yesterday will show further that the first request for a non-allopathic physician was made early in December 1943. May I look for a correction of the statement referred to?

I am,

Yours etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
New Delhi.

DETENTION CAMP:

The 2nd April 1944.

Dear Col. Bhandari,

In the Government of India's letter to me dated March 31st, 1944 there occur these two passages:—

"It was on January 28th that they were first informed that Mrs. Gandhi had asked for the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta..... If Dr. Dinshaw Mehta was not called in earlier, it was due to the view originally expressed by both Col. Bhandari and Dr. Gilder that his services would not be of any use, but he was summoned as soon as the Government doctors revised that opinion."

"The arrangements for the funeral were understood here to be in accordance with your wishes. The Government made enquiries on the point and were informed that you had no special preference between the first two alternatives mentioned in your letter. "

Dr. Gilder has no recollection of his having given the opinion attributed to him. I have never expressed indifference as to whether the deceased was cremated in the consecrated public cremation ground or in the jail compound which this camp is. Can you please throw light on the discrepancies ?

Yours etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

---

*LETTER*

No. 2594 of 1944.

Poona, the 4th April 1944.

To

The Manager,  
"Hindustan Standard",  
3C, Burman Street, Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

Reference.—This office letter No. 1972, dated 16th March 1944.

I have the honour to state that copies of Hindustan Standard have not been received from 4th January 1944 to 5th. February 1944. Kindly arrange to send the copies of newspaper for the above period to this Office. The amount of Rs. 40 will be sent to you on hearing further from you.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Lt.-Col., I. M. S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

*List of Newspapers sent to Aga. Khan's Palace.*

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE.

Sr. No.	Name of the newspaper	Period.	The date on which subscription falls due.	The date when amount was paid by this office	Amount	Remarks
					Rs.	
1	The Hindu	Quarterly.	24-4-1944	17-4-1944	12	
2	The Dawn	Do.	21-4-1944	12-4-1944	14	
3	The Vandemataram	Do.	5-5-1944	3-5-1944	17	
4	The Hindustan Standard	31-1-1944 to 30-7-1944.	--	16-3-1944	24	The Manager of Hindustan Standard informed that subscription from 1-1-43 to 31-12-43 amounting to Rs. 40-00 still remains <i>unpaid</i> . In this connection please see this office letter No. 2594 dated 4-4-44. Copies of newspaper from 4-1-44 to 5-2-44 were not received and requested for supply of the same. No reply has been received from him.
5	The Statesman	Quarterly. 28-4-1944 to 27-7-1944.	28-4-1944	21-4-1944	13	

**SECRET**INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona. the 5th April 1944.

Dear K. B.

Please send tomorrow Rs. 14-0-0+0-4-0 moneyorder commission= Rs. 14-4-0 being the quarterly subscription for "Dawn" daily.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) x x x

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

**SECRET**

D. O. No. 2656  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS:  
Poona, the 6th April 1944.

My dear Iengar,

I herewith enclose a copy of a letter from Mr. Gandhi addressed to me and the reply that I propose to send him. Kindly let me know if I am correct in my remarks and my interpretation of Government of India's letter.

Reply will be despatched on hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. G. B.

To

H. V. R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.E., I.C.S.. JP..  
Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

**SECRET**

No. S.D.VI/7283.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, the 6th April 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS Regr. No. 3889 Date 8-4-44
---

My dear Bhandari,

On the 28th January this year you telephoned to me from Poona regarding Dr. Dinshah Mehta and immediately thereafter I sent to the Government of India a telegram, of which I enclose a copy. On the



basis evidently of this telegram, the Government of India in a recent communication to Mr. Gandhi stated that Colonel Bhandari and Dr. Gilder did not think that Dr. Dinshah Mehta's services would be of use to Mrs. Gandhi.

2. Mr. Gandhi has now forwarded to the Government of India a letter from Dr. Gilder, of which also I enclose a copy. This letter states that Dr. Gilder informed Colonel Advani that Dr. Dinshah Mehta's presence would be of great help to Mrs. Gandhi. There is no record in my files of this having been communicated to Government.

3. I am writing this letter to enquire (1) whether you can ascertain why Colonel Advani's conversation with Dr. Gilder about Dr. Dinshah Mehta was not communicated to Government and (2) whether there is any possibility of your having misunderstood Dr. Gilder on the 28th January ?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) **H. V. R. IENGAR.**

Lieut.-Colonel M. G. Bhandari, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

---

Dear Mr. Gandhi.

The way I was asked that Dr. Mehta should be called in gave me the impression that he was to visit as a consultant. This was not possible as Dr. Mehta is not a qualified person and it would have been just as embarrassing for Dr. Gilder as for Government Medical Officers to even suggest his name as such. It was only when I asked you as to what Dr. Mehta will do and you explained that he will be useful as a masseur and to give enemas, etc., and that he will work under instructions of the Medical Officer that I at once agreed to admit him to the Palace with sanction of Government.

As regards arrangements for the funeral, I took down your request in writing and repeated it to Government of Bombay.

I think Government of India's remark that Dr. Mehta's services were allowed as soon as Government Medical Officers revised their opinion refers to the fact that we were not prepared to allow him to come in as a consultant but later on when you explained to me that he was required as a masseur, I agreed to the proposal and obtained necessary permission. Unfortunately some time elapsed before this point was made clear.

(Sd.) **M. G. B.**

"THE STATESMAN"  
Statesman House, Calcutta.

Date: 10th April 1944.

*EXPIRY NOTICE*

The Manager of The Statesman presents his compliments and intimates that your current period of Subscription is due to expire with the issue dated 20th April 1944.

He trusts he will be favoured with your renewal instructions on the attached form.

14666 Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona
--

Date

The Manager of the Statesman is hereby instructed to renew my/our Subscription to The Statesman and The Sunday Statesman for the further period of \_\_\_\_\_ months.

A remittance for Rs. \_\_\_\_\_ is enclosed/sent by M. O. Cheques should be crossed and made payable to The Statesman Ltd. Please consider me a Category "A" Subscriber.

Paper to

Ref K/21.

Signature.

\_\_\_\_\_  
"THE HINDU"  
MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS.  
(*Proprs.*: Kasturi & Sons. Ltd.)

10th April 1944.

Please quote

Account No. 541/D.I.

Dear Sir,

We beg to advise that your subscription to "The Hindu" Daily Edition expires with the issue date 24th April 1944 and that the renewal will fall due on that date. As the subscriptions are strictly payable in advance we request you to favour us with your renewal order accompanied by a remittance to avoid interruption in the supply of the paper.

Trusting this will have your prompt attention.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) x x x  
Joint Manager.

---

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

D. O.  
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON:  
Poona, the 11th April 1944.

My dear Bhandari,

Reference our conversation regarding the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta for Mrs. Gandhi, during the time I officiated in your absence on leave I have to state as under:—

(I) Dr. Gilder did have a talk with me about Dr. Mehta—As far as I remember he said that they (i.e., the others of the Aga Khan Palace wanted Dr. Mehta). He himself did not show any necessity for it.

(II) Col. Shah and I did not see necessity for him at that time. In spite of that if Dr. Gilder had expressed to me that it was necessary to send for Dr. Mehta in the interests of Mrs. Gandhi's health, I would certainly have made necessary arrangements, as was done by me for them in other matters during that short period.

I also informed Secretary H. D. Bombay on the telephone about the substance of what I have written above.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) x x x

---

**SECRET**

D. O. No. 2742.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS,

PROVINCE OF BOMBAY:

Poona, the 11th April 1944,

My dear Iengar,

Reference.—Your letter No. S.D.VI/7283, dated 6th April 1944.

I herewith enclose copy of a letter from Col. Advani.

I did not misunderstand Dr. Gilder. Dr. Gilder and myself agreed on the point that Dr. Mehta's treatment could not do any good to the patient.

Later on some time in February, when Mrs. Gandhi asked me for Dr. Mehta, I discussed this matter with Mr. Gandhi and asked him what could Mehta do in a case of heart disease ? On this he said that he will be able to give relief by giving massage and enemas etc., and that he would work under instructions of the Medical Officers. Dr. Gilder, Col. Shah and myself considered that there was no harm in trying that and hence my telephone message to you to that effect.

Dr. Nayar and others at the Aga Khan's Palace were trying to get inside the Palace as many people as possible on some pretext or others and I had to be very careful and try to resist this tendency as far as possible.

Dr. Gilder now says that he does not recollect the above discussion between us.

In this connection I would like to draw your attention to a statement made by Dr. Gilder in his letter to Government. He says that Col. Advani discussed the matter with him and he offered to give his opinion later on as he had not consulted Dr. Nayar and others.

I am of opinion that the question of consulting his colleagues and the patient and her relatives did not arise. He could have at once given his opinion whether Mehta's visits were necessary or not. Advani could

have consulted the patient and her relations. I am inclined to believe that at that time also Dr. Gilder did not like the idea of Mehta being admitted to the Palace and if he did say that Mehta would be of any help it was out of regard for the wishes of the patient and her relations.

Yours sincerely,

**(Sd.) M. G. B.**

To,

H. V. R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S., J.P.,  
Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL) (3)

*Page 5.*

Resubmitted with reference to secretary's note on page 3 *ante*.

2. Requests for the production of security prisoners in court in connection with habeas-corpus application filed by them are made under section 37 of the Prisoners Act, 1900. The R.L.A. in 1930 held that this Act applies to the prisoners confined by order of a court and that a person who was detained by the Governor in Council under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 was outside the scope of sections 37 and 42 of the Prisoners Act, because the Governor in Council, while acting under the Regulation does not act judicially and is not a court of justice. Please see in this connection the R.L.A.'s opinion at page 75 of file 750 (5)B. The position under the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944, is identical with that under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 in so far as His Excellency the Governor, when acting under section 3 (1) (B) of the Ordinance, does not act judicially and is not a court of justice. The result is that no court of law has power to order the production before it of a person who is detained under the ordinance, unless the consent of the detaining authority is obtained. In actual practice however the High Court freely issues orders for the production of detenues before it and though we do not quarrel with it on this point, it is clear that no jail officer, including the I.G. of Prisons, is competent to comply with such orders without the prior approval of the detaining authority.

(Sd.) X X X 25-10-45.

(Sd.) x x x 25-10-45.

Secy./ (Sd) G.G.D. 25-10-45.

I. G. OF PRISONS

Seen and returned.

U.O.R. No. 3925 of 1945.

Poona, 14th November 1945.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON:

the 11th April 1944.

My dear Bhandari,

Reference our conversation regarding the services of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta for Mrs. Gandhi, during the time I officiated in your absence on leave I have to state as under:—

(I) Dr. Gilder did have a talk with me about Dr. Mehta. As far as I remember he said that they (i.e. the others of the Aga Khan Palace wanted Dr. Mehta). He himself did not show any necessity for it.

(II) Col. Shah and I did not see necessity for him at that time. In spite of that if Dr. Gilder had expressed to me that it was necessary to send for Dr. Mehta in the interests of Mrs. Gandhi's health, I would certainly have made necessary arrangements, as was done by me for them in other matters during that short period.

I also informed Secretary, H. D. Bombay on the telephone about the substance of what I have written above.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) X X X

**SECRET**

D.O. No. 2969

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, the 14th April 1944.

Dear K. B.

Please send Rs. 12-0-0+0-4-0 money-order commission=Rs. 12-4-0 being the quarterly subscription for "Hindu" daily which falls due on 4th April 1944.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) x x x

Khan Bahadur A. E. Katelty,

Officer-in-Charge,

H.H. the Aga Khan's Palace, Yeravada.

THE UNIVERSITY UNION, MYSORE:

Dated, 15th April 1944.

From

Professor V. L. D'Souza.

President, University Union,  
Mysore.

To

The Police Superintendent,  
Prisoners' Camp, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward through you to Mr. M. K. Gandhi the following resolution passed by the members of the Mysore University Union, Mysore on 2nd March 1944:—

"The Mysore University Union, Mysore records its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi and offers its respectful condolences to Mahatma Gandhi and the bereaved family".

I shall be thankful if you would kindly do the needful.

Yours sincerely,  
**(Sd.) V. L. D'SOUZA.**

---

No. C/8/345 of 1944.

Poona, the 20th April 1944.

Forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Province, Poona, to whom it is apparently intended.

(Sd.) x x x  
*for* District Superintendent of Police,  
Poona.

---

Below No. 6/8-345, dated 20th April 1944 from the District Superintendent of Police, Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 3190 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 22nd April 1944.

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H. H. the Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. This should be withheld.

(Sd.) **M. G. B.,**  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

**SECRET**

D.O. No. 3072.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

The 17th April 1944.

Please send Rs. 13 + 0-4-0 money-order commission = Rs. 13-4-0 being the quarterly subscription for "Statesman" daily which falls due on 25th April 1944.

(Sd.) x x x

To

Khan Bahadur A. E. Kately,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H.H. the Aga Khan's Palace, Yeravda.

---

*"THE STATESMAN"*

STATESMAN HOUSE CALCUTTA

Dated 17th April 1944.

14666 Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona.
---

*EXPIRY OF SUBSCRIPTION*

The Manager of "The Statesman" regrets that he has not received your instructions to renew your subscription, which as intimated in the expiry notice sent one week ago, is due to expire with the issue dated 25th April 1944.

Instructions will be appreciated but, should they have already been despatched, this notice may kindly be disregarded.

Paper to—

*NOTICE*

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"THE STATESMAN"  
STATESMAN HOUSE, CALCUTTA

No. 2175.

The 26th April 1944.

Received from Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona, the sum of Rupees Thirteen only in payment of SUBSCRIPTION to THE STATESMAN and THE SUNDAY STATESMAN from 28th April to 27th July 1944 as per Bill No. 44/X-4333. Rs. 13.

for The Statesman,

(Sd.) x x x  
Subscription Department.

**SECRET**

D.O. No. S.D.-VI-1110 (62).  
 HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
 Bombay, the 27th April 1944.

Dear Hulland,

Please refer to your secret D.O. No. PER/68, dated the 22nd instant. When the question was discussed during the fast, Government adopted the following formula, viz., that subject to the prevention of public disorder there should be the minimum of interference with the funeral itself and any demonstrations that may take place immediately thereafter. We must settle our details within the framework of the above formula.

You will recall that during the fast the Adviser was asked by His Excellency the Governor to go round and advise on the most appropriate cremation grounds. I have unfortunately no record of what precisely was decided, but my recollection is that he decided on the City cremation ground. I do not remember the name of this ground, but it is close to the City and involves the funeral procession passing through the City.

Perhaps you could tell us which ground this was. I distinctly remember its having been decided that the Police and troops should not be in evidence except to prevent the crowds from filtering towards the Cantonment.

The possibility that the members of the family might ask for a funeral on a private spot was also considered. The ground that we thought was most likely to be chosen was Parnakuti Hill. The decision of this Government, concurred in by the Government of India, was that we should raise no objection to such a request if made.

You will see, therefore, that we must be prepared, if unfortunately Gandhi should die, for a funeral either in a recognised cremation ground or in a private spot. If the request for Shanwar Wada, though possibly objectionable, is not outrageous, then we must be prepared for the request being granted. I shall put this point up for orders as soon as Mr. Bristow comes back.

Yours sincerely,  
 (Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

W. G. Hulland, Esquire, I.C.S.,  
 District Magistrate, Poona.

**SECRET**

The 29th April 1944.

Dear K. B. Kately,

Please arrange to send Rs. 17-0-04-0-4-0 money-order charges= Rs. 17-4-0 on account of subscription of newspaper "Vandemataram" which falls due on 5th May 1944.

Yours sincerely,  
 (Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

To

K. B. Kately.

**MOST SECRET**

No. D.O. S.D.-VI-1110 (76).  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, the 1st May 1944.

Dear Hulland,

Please refer to my demi-official letter No. S.D.VI-1110 (62), dated the 27th April. In view of the sudden deterioration in Gandhi's health, I had to take up the question referred to in the last paragraph earlier than I had expected. Government concurs in what is stated in that paragraph, *viz.*, that a funeral on a private ground if asked for must be allowed unless the particular ground chosen is seriously objectionable from the Government point of view. The fact that the ground is near the Congress House and is likely to become a place of pilgrimage is not considered a serious objection.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR,

W. G. Hulland, Esquire, I.C.S.,  
District Magistrate, Poona.

**MOST SECRET  
DEMI-OFFICIAL**

No. S.D.-VII-1110 (76).  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay Castle, the 1st May 1944.

Copies, with copies of Demi-official letter to Mr. W. G. Hulland No. S.D.-VI-1110 (62), dated the 27th April 1944, forwarded with compliments for information and guidance to:—

The Inspector-General of Police, Province of Bombay.  
The Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay.  
The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., Poona.  
The District Superintendent of Police, Poona.  
Khan Bahadur A. E. Katel.

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR,  
Secy, to the Govt, of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**SECRET**

No. 304.  
Yeravda, the 1st May 1944.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to state that more than thousand condolence messages have been received through Government for Mr. Gandhi and they have been delivered to him. Among these messages many are from

Municipalities, Unions, Associations, etc. Similar messages received here have been withheld by me, as per instructions given in the D.O. letter No. S.D.-VI-3565, dated 23rd February 1944 from Government addressed to you. Orders are therefore solicited whether they may be sent to Government for orders.

Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) A. E. KATELY,  
Officer-in-Charge,  
H.H. the Aga Khan's Palace, Yeravda.

Inward No. 5033.

Dated 1st May 1944.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 3494 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, the 3rd May 1944.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department (Political),  
Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.

Number of similar messages have been withheld by this Office.

(Sd.) X X X  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

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**MOST SECRET**

No. S.D.-VI-1110 (76).

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):

Bombay, the 2nd May 1944.

My dear Hulland,

This is just to remind you of what I stated yesterday, viz., that in the unfortunate event of Gandhi dying you should immediately close down all trunk calls and telegrams (except official) from Poona and the neighbourhood for a period of two hours in order to enable me to inform other Governments in India and the Secretary of State before a public announcement is made by the Bombay Government. In order that you should be in a position to do this, it is necessary that either

Colonel Bhandari or Khan Bahadur Kately should let you know immediately of the event. I am sending a copy of this letter to Colonel Bhandari.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR,

W. G. Hulland, Esq., I.C.S.,  
District Magistrate,  
Poona.

**MOST SECRET**

No. S.D.-VI-1110 (76).

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, the 2nd May 1944.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona.

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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Disposal of Telegrams received for Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Sr. No. (1)	From whom received (2)	Disposal (3)
1	Surendra Mehd, Johannesburg	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
2	Kanti J. Mehta, Delhi	Do.
3	Ramanand, Delhi	Do.
4	Subbiah, Kandy	Do.
5	Manilal Revashankar, Bombay	Do.
6	Maharani Chimanabai Gaekwar, Bombay	Do.
7	Prithvichandra, Adampur Doaba	Do.
8	Barrettook, Nagpur	Do.
9	Padminikumari Maharani, Rajpipla, Bombay	Do.
10	Sampurnanand, Banares	Do.
11	Dr. Sathaye, Bombay	Do.
12	Vijaya, Banares	Do.
13	Mrs. Sundardas Morarji, Bombay	Do.

Sr. No. (1)	From whom received (2)	Disposal (3)
14	Nandkorben, Porbandar	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
15	Reverend Asalamkhan, Chamba	Do.
16	Inamdar, Mr. Army's Secretary, Poona	Do.
17	Lallubhai Zaveri, Bombay	Referred to Government.
18	Ramanath Aggarwal, Moga	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
19	Girdhari, Peshawar	Do.
20	Muthuswami, Amba Samuram	Do.
21	Ishwarlal, Porbandar	Do.
22	Savarkar, Bombay	Do.
23	Aryakanya Mahavidyalaya, Baroda	Referred to Government.
24	Name of the sender not mentioned, Mirpurkhas	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
25	Shantisaran Dhonchek, Bareilly	Do.
26	Vishnu Deo, Suva	Referred to Government.
27	Raghubar Dayal Bhatt, Cawnpore	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
28	Begum Shahnawaz, New Delhi	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
29	Girdharilal, Bombay	Do.
30	Kikiben, Bombay	Do.
31	Santaram, Lahore	Do.
32	Lilavati Munshi and Sarala, Bombay	Do.
33	Narasaravanji Matafalia Kharas Hormusji, Nawasari	Do.
34	Rameshwardas Birla, Bombay	Do.
35	Pannalal Bansilal, Hyderabad Residency	Do.
36	Vijayalaxmi Mashuruvala, Akola	Do.
37	Uma Nehru, Lucknow	Do.
38	Govindram Seksaria, Bombay	Do.
39	Girijaprasad Chinubhai Madhavlal, Ahmedabad	Do.
40	Jamshed Mehta, Bombay	Do.

Sr. No.	From whom received	Disposal
(1)	(2)	(3)
41	Karandikar, Nagpur	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
42	Nalini Sen Gupta, Barrackpore	Do.
43	Chinnappa Dabhadi, Banhatti, Rabkavi	Do.
44	Rishtriya Sevalal, Chanda City	Do.
45	Jawaharlal Rohatgi, Cawnpore	Referred to Government.
46	Anasuya, Baroda	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
47	Amrutlal Batra, Meghlone	Do.
48	Y. A. Dikshit, Ballarampur	Do.
49	Sabavala, Bombay	Do.
50	Akarte, Bassien.	Do.
51	Ramesh Chauhan, Sowa	Do.
52	Sir Shiva Swami Ayer, Bangalore	Do.
53	Kallenbagh, Johannesburg	Do.
54	Brijmohan Birla, Calcutta	Do.
55	Prem Datta, Wazirabad	Do.
56	Ghanshamdas, Calcutta	Do.
57	Humayun Kabir, Bombay	Do.
58	Kanji Dwarkadas, Bombay	Do.
59	Ramaswami, Udamalpet	Do.
60	Hammalsele Lazar, Johannesburg	Do.
61	Karsandas, Bombay	Do.
62	Nanji Kalidas Mehta, Bombay	Do.
63	Dr. and Mrs. Khan, Peshawar	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
64	Bhagatram, M.L.A., Dharamshala	Do.
65	Chimanlal Setalwad, Bombay	Do.
66	Gangaben Patel, Santa Cruz	Referred to Government.
67	Basantlal Muraka, Calcutta	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
68	Hahjag, Bombay	Do.

Sr. No. (1)	From whom received (2)	Disposal (3)
69	Khabardar, Bombay	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
70	Girdharilal, Nakodar	Do.
71	Ambalal, Nadi	Referred to Government.
72	Ratindranath, Shantiniketan	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
73	Venkatram Shastri, Madras	Do.
74	Natesan, Madras	Do.
75	Gomati, Wardha Ganj	Do.
76	Raksha Nandan, Delhi	Do.
77	Major Banji, Bombay	Do.
78	Memobai, Lahore	Do.
79	Tarasing Master, Amritsar	Do.
80	Mrs. Kachalia and Fam., Johannesburg	Do.
81	Asabhai and Co., Johannesburg	Allowed.
82	Moga Public, Moga	Withheld.
83	President, Scindia Labour Union, Gandhigram, Vizagapatam.	Do.
84	The Trichi Tilak League, Main Road, Palakrai, Trichi.	Do.
85	Kotadu Public, Kotadu.	Do.
86	Cloth Merchants Association, Limbdi	Do.
87	Residents, Inmate Hwett Hostel, Lucknow	Do.
88	Hindu Community, Salisbury	Referred to Government.
89	People of Lakhtar	Withheld.
90	President, Baroda State Hindu Sabha, Baroda	Do.
91	Congress Group, Delhi Municipality	Do.
92	Marwadi Students Union, Bombay	Do.
93	Radhakrishnan, Staff and Students, Benares	Do.
94	Wadia, President, Freedom Group, Bombay	Do.
95	Bharadwaji Hindustan Times Workers Union, New Delhi.	Do.
96	Christian College School, Madras	Do.



Sr. No. (1)	From whom received (2)	Disposal (3)
97	Secretary, Hindustan, Cawnpore	Withheld
98	Kharek Bazar, Mewa Merchants Association, Victoriaa.	Do.
99	President, Traders Association, Sangli	Do.
100	Bhavnagar Iron Merchants Association, Bhav-nagar.	Do.
101	Students, Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad	Do.
102	President, Maskati Cloth Market Association, Ahmedabad.	Do.
103	Students Ninth Sanatandharma College, Cawnpore.	Do.
104	Sahni Kohli, Delhi	Allowed.
105	Khan, Santa Cruz Branch, All India Womens Conference, Khar, Bombay.	Withheld.
106	Pupils, Girls High School, Dharwar	Do.
107	Germiston Indian Community, Germiston	Do.
108	Students Erics English School, Surat	Do.
109	President, Chamber of Commerce, Sangli	Do.
110	President, Progressive Party in the Council of State (Hridaynath Kunzru, Chairman), Delhi.	Referred to Government.
111	Datta for Bengal Congress, Calcutta	Withheld.
112	Pratima Tagore on behalf of Shantiniketan Party in Bombay.	Allowed.
113	Engineering Students of Government School of Technology, Madras.	Withheld.
114	Bajarang Bali Vyayam Shala, Kalol	Do.
115	Secretary, All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Bombay.	Do.
116	Transwal Prajapati Association, Johannesburg	Do.
117	Students and Staff of Sohanlal Training College and School, Lahore.	Do.
118	Azad Mandal, Vetel Peth, Poona.	Do.
119	Maharashtra Bhagini Mandal, Poona	Do.
120	Umreth Kapad Association, Umreth	Do.

Sr.No. (1)	From whom received (2)	Disposal (3)
121	Secretary, Undarsingh Sagar Association, Lahore	Withheld
122	Students, National College, Nagpur	Do.
123	Students, Mahila Ayurvedic College, Lahore	Do.
124	Jabbulpore Bar Association	Do.
125	Akola Students	Do.
126	Baroda College Union, Sayaji Ganj	Do.
127	Secretary, Parties Association, Simla	Do.
128	Secretary, Bombay	Referred to Government.
129	Secretary, Local and Gujarat Provincial Hindu Sabha, Ahmedabad.	Withheld.
130	Staff of C.A. Galia Kotwala Co. Ltd., Bombay	Do.
131	Sangli High School	Do.
132	Transval Indian Hawker Association, Cape Town.	Do.
133	Jayant Tilak, Ceylon Representative, Calcutta Allowed. Great Eastern Hotel, Calcutta.	
134	Sheth Harkisandas Lukhamidas Staff Union, Bombay.	Withheld.
135	Bezwada Cloth Merchants Association Andhra, Bombay.	Do.
136	Indian Community Nigel, Nigel	Do.
137	Kanara Chamber of Commerce, Mangalore	Do.
138	Umkomas Indian Community	Do.
139	Young Aryan Social Club, Johannesburg	Do.
140	Chairman, Chandausi	Do.
141	Inmates Shanthybhanwan Hostel, Bangalore	Do.
142	Secretary, Bombay Committee Communist Party	Do.
143	Secretary, Maharashtra Hindu Sabha, Poona City.	Do.
144	Maharashtra Parishad, Nanded	Do.
145	President, Muslim Majlis, Calcutta	Do.
146	Retail Cloth Association, Cambelpore	Do.
147	General Merchants Association, Cambelpore	Do.
148	Shri Darbar Saheb Committee	Do.
149	Makanji Bethal Hindu Community, Bethal	Do.
150	Civil Liberties Unity, Bangalore	Do.
151	Hindi Seva Samaj Roodepoort	Do.
152	Gandhi Yuvak Bhajan Mandal, Johannesburg	Do.
153	President, Provincial Hindustan Scout Association, Delhi.	Do
154	Hansraj and Lal Devi of Jullunder	Delivered to Mr. Gandhi.
155	Khadi Prachar Sangh, Hyderabad Residency	Withheld.
156	Iron Merchants, New Delhi.	Do.

Sr. No.	From whom received	Disposal
(1)	(2)	(3)
157	President, Metal Exchange Association, Bombay ..	With held
158	Vaz Forum Colombo, Y.M.C.A. Colombo	Allowed.
159	Students and staff of Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore.	Withheld.
160	President, Goan Association, Bombay	Do.
161	All India Rajput Pratihara Patharea Maha Sabha, Farukhabad.	Do.
162	United Jain Students Home, Bombay	Do.
163	Secretary Beopar Sudharik Sabha, Simla	Do.
164	Mysore Chamber, Bangalore	Referred to Government.
165	Milapore Ladies Club, Madras	Withheld.
166	Citizens of Okara	Do.
167	Indian Christian Council of Action, Madras	Do.
168	Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras	Do.
169	Omarvaish Navayug Sangh, Cawnpore	Do.
170	Staff, Bharat English Construction Co., Cawnpore	Do.
171	Mysore Congress, Bangalore	Do.
172	President, Bareilly Kapra Committee	Do.
173	Students and Staff, St. Josefs College, Bangalore.	Do.
174	Karachi Sadar Grain Merchants Association	Do.
175	Amalner Vidyapith Sangh	Do.
176	President, Bombay Suburban Grain Dealers Association, Bombay.	Do.
177	Grain Merchants Association, Ahmedabad	Do.
178	Kodand Rao and many, Nagpur	Allowed.
179	Farukhabad Citizens, Farukhabad	Withheld.
180	M/s. Rajab Alii Patel and Sons, Bombay	Allowed.
181	British Indian Association, Oudh, Lucknow, New-Delhi.	Withheld.
182	Secretary, Bar Association, Ujjaini	Do.
183	Bengal Provincial Hindu Maha Sabha, Calcutta	Do.
184	Rawalpindi Congress Workers, Rawalpindi	Do.
185	Secretary, Arya Swami, Bombay	Do.
186	Young Korari Muslim Society of Capetown	Do.
187	President, Shrimat Sanatan Dharma Pracharini Sabha, Port Louis (Mauritius).	Do.
188	President, Jain Tarun Samaj, Delhi	Do.
189	Merchants Association, Lyallapur	Do.
190	Principal, Pamnas High School, Delhi (Staff and Students).	Do.
191	Cawnpore Students Federation Association	Do.
192	Indian Citizens of Aden	Do.
193	Staff Students Lawhall, Delhi	Do.

File No. 1.

**SECRET**

No. S.D.VI/51  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, the 3rd May 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

I enclose a copy of Dr. Roy's final opinion on Mr. Gandhi which was received late last night.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR.

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of India,  
Home Department.

**SECRET**

No. S.D.VI/51  
HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL):  
Bombay, the 3rd May 1944.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona.

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR,  
Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay,  
Home Department.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS

Regr. No. 5326.

Date: 6-5-44.

I enclose a copy of Dr. Roy's final opinion on Mr. Gandhi which was chemistry examination of Mahatmaji. This 2nd report confirms the previous findings in two respects:—

(1) The anaemia is progressive and is assuming a hyperchromatic type; that is anisoeytosis: there is a further fall in the red blood cell count within the last 4 days; the colour index has a tendency to rise, there is a distinct tendency for the r.b.c to become macrocytic. The whole picture of blood count shows a falling off of the blood condition.

(2) The uric acid content of the blood, and the phosphates are higher than the average, as shown in the present report; the previous report showed increase of creatinine content. The urea clearance test has been done again and shows a very low percentage. All these findings indicate a lowered kidney function.

I am informed that the B. P. has still a tendency to fall towards the evening, e.g., yesterday in the morning it was 160/80, in the evening. I am informed, it fell to 134/80 or thereabouts. This fall towards the

evenings is unusual in blood pressure cases and can only suggest myocardial mischief. The macrocytic condition of the blood, the progressive anaemia, and the lowering of B. P. have all a tendency to produce coronary thrombosis,

I said before and I repeat again, Mahatmaji should not be allowed to have a relapse or a recurrence of the malarial infection, seeing that all these deficiencies have appeared after the first attack, even though they may not all be traced to the attack of malaria.

2nd May 1944.

(Sd.) B. C. ROY.

INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

EYE CENTRE,  
I. M. H., POONA.

*OPHTHALMIC REPORT ON MR. M. K. GANDHI, EXAMINED  
ON 3rd MAY 1944 AT 17-00 HRS.*

(a) EXTERNAL:—

Ocular movements— Normal.  
Lids, Conjunctive, sacs, Corneae, AC. and Pupils—Normal.

(b) INTERNAL:—

Lens—Cataractous change  
(Right more than Left).  
Disc—Normal.  
No exudates or haemorrhages seen  
L.E.—Media clearer than Right  
Disc—Normal.  
Blood Vessels—Arteries attenuated.  
Gunn's Sign—Present.  
Few silver wire arteries.

DIAGNOSIS — ARTERIOSCLEROSIS.

*N. B.*—Last refraction done more than four years ago. It is indicated again.

Dated 5th May 1944.

(Sd.) S. PRAKASH,  
Major, I.A.M.C.,  
Specialist in Ophthalmology.

INSPECTOR- GENERAL OF PRISONS

Regr. No. 5372.

Date 8-5-44:

This will be filed.

*List of persons who desire interview with Mr. Gandhi.*

1. Lilavati Munshi, Bombay\*.
2. V. D. Nagarkar, Poona.
3. S. K. Vaidya, Bombay.
4. Miss Amtus Salam, Bombay\*.
5. Lady Premlila Vithaldas Thackersey, Poona\*.
6. Mrs. Krishna Hutheesingh, Bombay\*.
7. Shantikumar N. Morarjee, Bombay\*.
8. Mrs. Gosiben Captain\*.
9. Dr. K. V. Thakkar, Poona\*.
10. Mr. A. V.' Thakkar, Poona\*.
11. Narayanswami Homoeopath Tippirajapuram, Kumbakonam.
12. Mathooradas Tricumjee, Wanlesswadi\*.
13. Dr. Krishna Varma, Malad.
14. Pashabhai Patel, Bombay\*.
15. Bhanumati Patel, Bombay\*.
16. Vaikunth L. Mehta, Bombay\*.
17. Chamanlal, Delhi.
18. Dr. H. M. Desai, Ahmedabad.
19. V. V. Jerajani, Bombay\*.
20. G. D. Birla, Bombay\*.
21. Horace G. Alexander, Poona\*.
23. Suryprakash, Advocate, Bareilly" (to S. G. Bom.).
24. Kantilal H. Gandhi\*.
24. Kantilal H. Gandhi\*
25. Mr. Surendra Mashruwala\*.
26. Mrs. Surendra Mashruwala\*.
27. Mrv Kuverji. Parekh\*.
28. Mr. Madhavdas Kapadia\*.
29. Mr. Samaldas Gandhi, wife and three children\*.
30. Mr. Nanji K. Mehta, Poona\*.
31. Mrs. Maniben C. Nanavati and Son (Jagdish)\*.
32. Mr. B. F. Bharucha, Poona\*.

33. Mrs. Laxmibai Vaidya, Poona\*,
34. Mrs. Jayashri Raiji\*.
35. Mr. Kamalesh\*.
36. Mr. Richard.Symon, Poona\*.
37. Mrs. Sumati Shantikumar Morarjee\*.
38. Mrs. Mathuradas Tricamjee, Wanlesswadi\*.
39. Mr. Keshav Gandhi's wife and his mother\*.
40. Mrs. Sucheta Devi Kripalani, Bombay\*.
41. Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mrs. Sarala Devi Chaudhary\*.
42. Mrs. Gokiben, Rajkot, Mr. Gandhi's sister\*.
43. Shrimati Kusumbehn H. Desai, Bombay\*.
44. Mr. Shrinivasan, Editor, The Hindu, Bombay\*.
45. Mrs. Pushpa Mashruwalla, Bombay\*.
46. Mr. Himmatlal N. Khira and Mrs. Jayabai Himmatlal Khira\*.
47. Mr. Pratap Dialdas, Bombay\*.
48. Mr. Mohan Parikh\*.
49. Mr. P. Subbarayan, Bombay\*.
50. Mrs. Nirmalaben Bakubhai and her mother Mrs. Chimanlal Nagindas\*.
51. Mrs. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Bombay\*.
52. Mrs. Fram Pocha, Jerabai Pocha, Mrs. Byram Khambata Pesi Pocha, Dorabji Pocha and Shirin Pocha\*.
53. Shantikumar Narottam Morarjee, Bombay—for repeated interview\*.
54. Miss Anasuya Sarabhai, Poona—for repeated interview\*.
55. Mr. Shankarlal G. Banker, Poona—for repeated interview\*.
56. Mr. Manilal Revashankar Jagjivan, Bombay\*.
57. Mrs. Gomatibehn Mashruwala & Mrs. Lilavati Asar, Poona\*.
58. Mrs. Suvratadevi Ramnarain, Bombay\*.
59. Mr. A. Subbiah, Matunga\*.
60. Mrs. Nila Kantilal (nee Durga Dalbahadur Giri of Nepal)\*.
61. Mr. Walchand Hirachand. Bombay\*.

62. Mrs. Madhuribai Kara, Bombay\*.
63. Mr. Dadubhau P. Desai, Bombay\*.
64. Mrs. Subbarayan, Mrs. Ambujammal and Mrs. Janammal, Bombay\*.
65. Mr. and Mrs. G. L. Mehta Andheri\*.
66. Messrs. R. D. Birla, G. D. Birla and family members, Bombay\*.
67. Ratilal Desai, Bombay\*.
68. Mr. B. F. Bharucha, Bombay—for repeated interview\*.
69. Mrs. Ramiben Morarjee Kamdar, Bombay\*.
70. Mr. Mohanlal A. Parikh and Mrs. Champabehn Mohanlal Parikh\*.
71. Dr. A. C. Das, Bombay\*.
72. Mr. Narendra P. Nathwani, his wife Bhanumati N. Nathwani and his sister-in-law Bharti Nathwani\*.
73. Mr. and Mrs. Ratindranath Tagore\*.
74. Mr. M. A. Fari, Bombay\*.
75. Mrs. Vasantibea Patel and Chandrakant Patel\*.
76. Mrs. Taraben Jhaveri and Dwarkadas Jhaveri—for repeated interview.
77. Mr. Jaychandra Sheth\*.
78. Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, her daughters Mrs. Sarala J. Seth, Miss Usha Munshi and Miss Kalpalata Munshi\*.
79. Mr. Jivandas G. Sampat, his wife Laxmibai and her sister Maniben and his four children\*.
80. Mr. Kanti Gandhi's maternal aunt and her three boys\*.
81. Mr. Ranchhoddas Goculdas and Dr. Pooneey Hirji Meisheri\*.
82. Mr. Dilkhush B. Diwanji\*.
83. Miss Jayabai A. Gandhi and Mr. Jaisukhlal A. Gandhi\*.
84. Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Nanabhai Mashruwala\*.
85. Mr. G. Ramchandra Rao\*.
86. Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Poona—for more interviews\*.
87. Mr. Jayanand N. Khira, his wife Hemkunwar J. Khira and his youngest brother Amritlal N. Khira\*.
88. Mr. Parmanand K. Kapadia, his wife and his youngest daughter Gitanjali\*.
89. Aruna, Bindu and Kanta 3 daughters of Mrs. Maniben C. Nanavati\*.
90. Mr. Gajanan Desai and others\*.
91. Mr. Anand T. Hingorani and 14 persons referred to in the margin\*.
92. Mr. Kunverji V. Mehta and the other persons (4) mentioned in the margin\*.
93. Mr. Maneklal A. Mehta and his 7 family members\*.



94. Sri. Bindumati Gandhi, Dr. Miss T. M. Gandhi, Sri. Rukminidevi Bazaz, Sri. Benerasilal Bazaz\*.
95. Mrs. Nandini Khatau, Poona\*.
96. Miss Gladys Owen, Bombay\*.
97. Reverend Father Lash, Bombay\*.
98. Professor Tan Yu Shan, Poona\*.
99. Mrs. Sunderbai Hansaraj Pragji Thackersey, Mrs. Premaben P. Asher and Lilabai Lalji\*.
100. Mrs. Umea Gandhi, her husband and her three children\*.
101. Mrs. Morarjee and her two daughters\*.
102. Mr. Rameshwarprasad Nevatia and Mr. Prahladrai Poddar.
103. Mr. Chandrashankar P. Shukla, Bombay\*.
104. Mr. Buddhsen Darbar, Poona\*.
105. Mr. Dilipkumar Rathi, Poona\*.
106. Mrs. Lilavati Munshi's son Jagdish\*.
107. Mr. Hemendra B. Divanji, Mrs. Harshada Divanji, Mr. Abhimanyu H. Diwanji and Hansa Kataria.

\*Have been granted interviews by Government.

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INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS:  
Poona, the 9th May 1944.

Dear,

Please send tomorrow Rs. 40-0-0+0-8-0 money-order commission= Rs. 40-8-0 being the subscription for supply of newspaper Hindustan Standard for the period from 1st January 1943 to 31st December 1943.

Yours,  
(Sd.) X X X

To

Khan Bahadur A.E. Kately,  
Officer I/C, H. H. Aga Khan's Palace,  
Yeravda.

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For information.

The amount of Rs. 40 is still to be paid for supply of newspapers from 1st January 1943 to 31st December 1943. As we have not received the paper from 4th January 1944 to 5th February 1944, the Manager was informed to send the copies from 4th January 1944 to 5th February 1944 and the amount of Rs. 40 will be sent to him.

The amount of Rs. 24 for supply of paper from 31st January 1944 to 30th July 1944 has been paid.

(Sd.) X X X

**CONFIDENTIAL***LETTER*

No. S.D.-VI-S. 10 (1).  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL):  
Bombay, the 10th May 1944.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

Reference your endorsement No. 3494, dated the 3rd May 1944. The condolence messages referred to by K. B. Katel were released according to revised instructions in the matter. Please forward to Government all the condolence messages withheld by you and K. B. Katel.

(Sd.) X X X

for Deputy Secretary to the Government of  
Bombay, Home Department.

No. 5556.

Date.: 13th May 1944.

**URGENT***LETTER*

No. 4222 of 1944, Poona.  
Date: 16th May 1944.

To

The Manager,  
"Hindustan Standard",  
3C, Burman Street,  
Calcutta.

Reference—Your letter No. S/S/119/44, dated 24th May 1944.

Dear Sir,

I have to state that Rs. 24 being the subscription from 31st January to 30th July 1944 as per your bill No. S.S.-2306, dated 22nd February 1944 were sent by money-order on 16th March 1944. I intend to stop the paper from 15th June. Kindly let me know whether refund for the remaining period will be given and if so, how much.

Please also let me know how much amount should be deducted as the paper was not received from 4th January to 5th February 1944.

On hearing further from you, the remaining amount will be sent. An early reply is requested.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X

Lt. Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

*For Orders.*

Rs. 40 (Subscription from 1st January to 31st December 1943) were not paid as no copies were sent by him from 4th January to 5th February 1944. The payment was therefore withheld vide flags.

The Manager, states that copies for the above period are very few and cannot be spared.

It is for orders whether the withstanding amount of Rs. 40-0-0+0-8-0 money-order charges are to be paid from the money received from K. B. Kately.

---

"Hindusthan Standard".  
A Nationalist English Daily.

H/S/119/44.

3C, BURMAN STREET:  
Calcutta, the 24th May 1944.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona.

Reference—Your office letter No. 1972, dated 16th March 1944.

Dear Sir,

There being left very few surplus copies of our publication from the 4th January to 15th February 1944, and those again being purely reserved for our office record, it is quite hopeless for us to think of being able to spare any copy of them for you.

Again, payment of the amount (Rs. 40 only) in respect of supply from 1st January to 31st December 1943 is long overdue and we shall be greatly obliged if you kindly see your way to send the same now as per your above letter and also to settle our Bill No. H.S.-2306, dated 22nd February 1944 for Rs. 24 only.

With thanks,  
Yours faithfully,  
"Hindusthan Standard"  
(Sd.) X X X  
Manager.

*LETTER*

From

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

To

The Manager,  
Hindustan Standard,  
3C, Burman Street, Calcutta.

No. \_\_\_\_\_ of 1944. Poona, May 1944.

Reference—This office letter No. 2594, dated 4th April 1944.

Dear Sir,

I have not heard anything from you about the supply of copies of Hindustan Standard from 4th January to 5th February 1944. Will you please look into this and send a reply at an early date.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X Lt. Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

\_\_\_\_\_  
No. 4405.

Dated 14th June 1944

To

The Manager,  
Hindustan Standard,  
3C, Burman Street,  
Calcutta.

Reference—This office letter No. 4222, dated 1st June 1944.

Dear Sir,

I have not heard anything from you since the above quoted letter. Will you please look into the matter and send a reply at an early date.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X

\_\_\_\_\_  
For information.

The Manager has not sent any reply to our letter No. 4222, dated 1st June 1944 and subsequent reminder No. 4405, dated 14th June 1944, should we send one more reminder ?

The advance received from K. B. Katel cannot be paid into treasury unless the payment to the newspaper is made.

Send another reminder and tell him that the claim will not be considered if no reply is received within a fortnight.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

Sir,

This will be kept pending for some days more.

\_\_\_\_\_  
"DAWN"

P.O. Box 103.

Subs. No. 1170-Q.

Delhi, the 19th June 1944.

#### NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

Dear Sir,

This is to inform you that your subscription for DAWN Daily falls due on 21st July 1944.

Please send the same before the date mentioned above so that the paper may continue to be sent to you without break otherwise your supply will be stopped.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X  
Sales Manager.

DAILY.				Rs.	. a.	p.
Yearly.	..	..	..	51	0	0
Half-yearly.	..	..	..	26	0	0
Quarterly.	..	..	..	14	0	0
LOCAL.						
Yearly.	..	..	..	45	0	0
Half-yearly.	..	..	..	23	0	0
Quarterly.	..	..	..	12	0	0
WEEKLY.						
Yearly.	..	..	..	8	0	0
Half-yearly.	..	..	..	4	0	0

**ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA LTD.**

1, Burman Street,  
Calcutta, the 26th June 1944.

Reference No. Ag/3450.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 4405, dated 14th June 1944, we regret to inform you that your original letter No. 4222, dated 1st June 1944 as referred to, did not at all reach us which might have missed in course of transit.

We shall feel obliged if you be pleased to furnish us with a copy of the letter in question.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Circulation Manager.

---

No. 4737.

Dated 4th July 1944.

To

The Circulation Manager.  
Ananda Bazar Patrika Ltd.,  
1 Burman Street, Calcutta.

Reference—Your letter No. AG/3450, dated 26th June 1944.

Dear Sir,

As desired a copy of this office letter No. 4222, dated 1st June 1944 as enclosed. An early reply is requested.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X

**"THE HINDU"**

Mount Road,  
Madras, the 6th July 1944.

Please quote.  
Account No. 541/DI.

Dear Sir,

We beg to advise that your subscription to "The Hindu" Daily Edition expires with the issue, dated 24th July 1944 and that the renewal will fall due on that date. As the subscriptions are strictly payable in advance we request you to favour us with your renewal order accompanied by a remittance to avoid interruption in the supply of the paper.

Trusting this will have your prompt attention.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Jt. Manager.

"THE HINDU"  
All issues including  
The Illustrated Sunday Edition.

				Madras. City.		Inland Post.	
				Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
Monthly	..	..	..	3	14	4	2
Quarterly	..	..	..	11	4	12	0
Half-yearly	..	..	..	22	8	24	0
Yearly	..	..	..	45	0	48	0

Single Copy: ON ALL DAYS As. 2.

Foreign Countries.

Annual Subscription.

Sunday Edition only.

City and Mofussil.

Quarterly Rs. 2. Annual Rs. 2.

Foreign Countries.

Annual Rs. 16.

Subscriptions for the Sunday Edition are not accepted for less than 3 months.

"Hindustan Standard".  
A Nationalist English Daily

3C, Burman Street.  
Calcutta, the 11th July 1944.

Reference—H/S/131/44.

The Inspector-General of  
Prisons, Province of Bombay, Poona.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 4222, dated 1st June 1944, we regret to tell you that the subscription to our paper, once deposited, cannot be refunded. However, we may deduct Rs. 4-8-0 only as the paper was not received by you from 4th January to 5th February 1944 against the sum of Rs. 40 only already due from you in respect of supply from 1st January to 31st December 1943. And the remaining sum of Rs. 35-8-0 only may kindly be sent by you at an early date thus arranging for a settlement of your account with us.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,  
"Hindusthan Standard",  
(Sd.) x x x  
Manager.

\_\_\_\_\_  
"The Statesman"  
Statesman House, Calcutta.

Dated 12th July 1944.

*EXPIRY NOTICE*

The Manager of "The Statesman" presents his compliments and intimates that your current period of subscription is due to expire with the issue, dated 24th July 1944.

He trusts he will be favoured with your renewal instruction on the attached form.

14666 Inspector-General of Prisons. Province of Bombay, Poona.
---

Date.

The Manager of the Statesman is hereby instructed to renew my/our Subscription to The Statesman and The Sunday Statesman for the further period of \_\_\_\_\_ months.

A remittance for Rs. \_\_\_\_\_ is enclosed/sent by M.O./Cheques should be crossed and made payable to The Statesman Ltd.



\*Please consider me a Category " A " Subscriber.

Paper to:

Ref. K/21.

(Sd.) X X X

Signature.

---

" Hindustan Standard ".

3C, Burman Street, Calcutta.

SUBSCRIBER No. 3486.

Dated 17th July 1944.

It is imperative for the subscribers to quote their subscriber number in all correspondence.

Dear Sir,

Your subscription to the HINDUSTHAN STANDARD expires on 30th July 1944. We hope you would renew the subscription and we would appreciate your remittance in time so that the supply may not be interrupted. If desired, the paper may be sent by V.P. Post, but it means additional expense and delay. We would, therefore, request you to remit the subscription by Money Order. If, however, you were not willing to renew the subscription please advise us accordingly. The rates of subscription had to be increased according to the Government's latest Newspaper Control Order under the Defence of India Rules by which the price and the number of pages are fixed.

RATES OF SUBSCRIPTION:

Mofussil (with postage) Annual Rs. 48.

Half-yearly Rs. 24. Quarterly Rs. 12-8-0.

"Town: Annual Rs. 45. Half yearly Rs. 23. Quarterly Rs. 12.

Yours faithfully,

PRAFULLA KUMAR SARKAR,  
Manager.

---

No. 4977.

Dated 18th July 1944.

To

The Manager,  
Hindustan Standard,  
3C, Burman Street, Calcutta.

*Reference*—Your letter No. 4/S/133/44, dated 11th July 1944.

Dear Sir,

I have to inform you that Rs. 35-8-0 are sent separately by Money Order as desired.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

### NOTICE

Subscribers to "The Statesman" are of two classes, Category "A" and Category "B".

*Category "A" Subscribers* are those who give instructions for the continuance of their paper until countermanded, on the understanding that they will be sent a bill by V. P. post quarterly, half-yearly or yearly as they may elect. A postal intimation precedes the despatch of such bills.

In the event of a V.P. Bill being returned by the Post Office as unclaimed or refused, it is assumed that the paper is no longer required and supplies cease forthwith.

*Category "B" subscribers* are those who do not specifically ask to be considered in the foregoing category.

In this class, the paper is considered to have been ordered for a definite period after which, if no renewal instructions are received supplies cease. A notice is issued to the subscriber fifteen days before the expiry of his subscription to avoid possible inconvenience.

Subscription Rates to All Issues of "The Statesman".

	Rs.	a.	P.
Mofussil (Inclusive of postage).			
Yearly	...	50	0 0
Half-yearly	...	26	0 0
Quarterly	...	13	0 0
Shorter Periods <i>pro rata</i> to	...	4	8 0 per month.
Town (Inclusive of delivery charges)			
Yearly	...	45	0 0
Half-yearly	...	23	0 0
Quarterly	...	12	0 0

SUBSCRIPTION RATES ARE PAYABLE IN ADVANCE

"THE STATESMAN"

Statesman House, Calcutta.

14666

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay,  
Poona.

### EXPIRY OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The Manager of "The Statesman" regrets that he has not received your instructions to renew your subscription, which, as intimated in the expiry notice sent one week ago, is due to expire with the issue dated 27th July 1944.

Instructions will be appreciated but, should they have already been despatched, this notice may kindly be disregarded.

Paper to

Ref. K/21.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

### NOTICE

Subscribers to "the Statesman" are of two classes, Category "A" and Category "B".

*Category "A" Subscribers* are those who give instructions for the continuance of their paper until countermanded, on the understanding that they will be sent a bill by V. P. post quarterly, half-yearly as they may elect. A postal intimation precedes the despatch of such bills.

In the event of a V. P. Bill being returned by the Post Office as unclaimed or refused, it is assumed that the paper is no longer required and supplies cease forthwith.

*Category " B " Subscribers* are those who do not specifically ask to be considered in the foregoing category.

In this class, the paper is considered to have been ordered for a definite period after which, if no renewal instructions are received supplies cease. A notice is issued to the subscriber fifteen days before the expiry of his subscription to avoid possible inconvenience.

Subscription rates to All Issues of "The Statesman".

	Rs.	a.
Mofussil (Inclusive of postage).		
Yearly.. .. .	50	0
Half yearly.. .. .	26	0
Quarterly.. .. .	13	0
Shorter Periods <i>pro rata</i> to.. .. .	4	8 per month.
Town (Inclusive of delivery charges)		
Yearly.. .. .	45	0
Half-yearly.. .. .	23	0
Quarterly.. .. .	12	0

SUBSCRIPTION RATES ARE PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

For orders.

Subscription to the newspapers below named expires on the dates mentioned against each:—

	Date.
Hindusthan Standard.. ..	30-7-44
Vandemataram.. ..	5-8-44
Statesman.. ..	27-7-44
Hindu.. ..	24-7-42
Dawn.. ..	21-7-44

We have not sent any reply to the newspapers and instructed that the paper may be stopped from the date of expiry. Perhaps the Manager of the newspapers might continue to send the papers under the impression that the subscription will be paid later on.

It is for orders whether we should instruct the newspapers to discontinue the supply.

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.

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*LETTER*

No. 10407 of 1944.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF  
PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 28th July 1944.

To

- (1)The Manager,  
Hindusthan Standard,  
3C, Burman Street,  
Calcutta.
- (2)The Manager,  
Vandemataram,  
Nasik Chambers, Freer Road,  
Fort, Bombay.
- (3)The Manager,  
The Statesman, Statesman  
House, Calcutta.
- (4)The Joint Manager,  
the Hindu, Mount Road,  
Madras.

(5) The Sales Manager,  
Dawn. Delhi.

Reference.—Your postcard dated 17-7-44/20-7-44/19-7-44/6-7-44/ 18-6-44.

Dear Sir,

Please discontinue to send the newspaper after the subscription expires.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

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THE HINDU

Kasturi Building,  
Mount Road, Madras.

(Proprs.—Kasturi & Sons Ltd.,)

31st July 1944.

Dept: Cir.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

Ref—Your letter No. 10407 of 1944, dated 28-7-1944.

Dear Sir,

As advised we have discontinued the supply of THE HINDU to you from the issue dated 1st August 1944. A sum of As. 12, is due for the supply up to that date. We shall be obliged if you will remit this sum early to enable us to close the account.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X  
Jt. Manager.

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LETTER

No. 5184 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF  
PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 2nd August 1944.

To

The Manager,  
The " Social Welfare ",  
Lalgir Chambers, Tamarind Lane, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

Please discontinue to send Weekly Social Welfare after the subscription which expired by the end of July 1944.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X

Col., I. M. S., inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

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*LETTER*

No. 5185 of 1944.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF  
PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, the 2nd August 1944

To

The Sales Manager,  
"Dawn",  
Daryaganj, Delhi.

Dear Sir,

Please refer to this office letter No. 10407, dated 28th July 1944 and discontinue to send the newspaper " Dawn " as mentioned therein.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) X X X

Personal Assistant,  
for Inspector-General of Prisons.

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DAWN

Founded by Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Telegrams "Dawn".

P. O. Box 103.

Delhi, 2nd August 1944.

Ref. 11913.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Province,  
Poona.

Dear Sir,

The daily Dawn has been discontinued with effect from 1st August 1944, desired vide your letter No. 10407, dated 28th July, Bill No. 535 for Rs. 1-12-0 to cover the subscription for 12 days with effect from 21st July 1944 is enclosed herewith for favour of an early payment.

Yours faithfully,

for Dawn,  
(Sd.) X X X

Sales Manager.

Encl. Bill No. 535.

No. 11957.

DAWN" Delhi.

Reference.—Your letter No. 5185, dated 2nd August 1944.

Dear Sir,

On receipt of your letter No. 10407, dated 28th July 1944, the supply of the Dawn was discontinued with effect from 1st August. Could you please refer in this connection to our letter No. 11913, dated 2nd August 1944, with which we forwarded our bill No. 535 for Rs. 1-12-0. May we expect an early payment?

Yours faithfully,

For Dawn,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Sales Manager.

5th August 1944.

P. O. Box No. 103.

Delhi, the 7th August 1944.

No. 535.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

DAWN.

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Please make out your cheques payable to "Dawn" Delhi.

---

Particulars.		Amount.	
		Rs.	as.
Subs. No. 1178 Q	To		
Supply to :— Subscription towards one copy of DAWN including Sunday Edition for a period of 12 days, 21-7-1944 to 1-8-1944.		1	12
Total Rs. .. .. .		1	12

Rupee one and annas twelve.

(Sd.) X X X  
for DAWN.

*LETTER*

No. 5229 of 1944.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF  
PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, the 8th August 1944.

To

The Sales Manager,  
"Dawn",  
Daryaganj, Delhi.

Reference.—Your letter No. 11913, dated 2nd August 1944.

Dear Sir,

Please refer to your letter, dated 18th June 1944 in which you have stated that supply will be stopped if subscription is not sent before the due date. The paper should have been discontinued from the date of expiry of subscription. I regret nothing can be done in the matter.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) M. G. BHANDARI.  
Lt.-Col., I. M. S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Province of Bombay.

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No. 3828 of 1945.  
the 6th October 1945.

Page 7.

Ref.—Govt. H.D. (Pol.) Confl. No. S.D.III/S.21(22), dated

I mentioned this case to you when I saw you in your Office in Bombay on 29th October 1945. My impression is that you were of opinion that security prisoners required by High Court should be produced without any reference to the detaining authority. This may please be confirmed.

2. It is possible that if production orders from High Court are not complied with at once, the Court may take exception to it and threaten to run in jail officials for contempt of Court. The procedure of obtaining orders from the detaining authority as laid down in Govt. H.D.(Pol.) Confl. No. S.D.III/S.21(22), dated 28th September 1945, is likely to take some time and it may not be possible to produce the prisoner in Court on due date.

M. G. B.

To

G. G. Drew, Esqr., O.B.E., I.C.S.,  
Secy., Home Department, Bombay.  
Home Department (Special) (3).



The I. G. of Prisons, may be shown U. O. the Office note of the 25th October 1945 at pp. 5-6-ante.

(Sd.) X X X ,7-11-45.

(Sd.) X X X ,7-11-45.

Secy., G. G. D. (8-11-45).

U. O. to I. G. of Prisons. No. S.D.III/S.21(22), dated 8th November 1945.

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Birla House,  
Bombay.

I have this day examined Mahatma Gandhi at the Aga Khan Palace, Poona, and I am sending this an interim report to Government regarding his health.

On the 14th of April last he had an attack of malarial fever with rigor. One or two days previous to the date he has had feverishness and felt out of sorts. He suffered from fever for four days and has been febrile since. But the doctors in attendance, Drs. Gilder and Nair, and Col. Bhandari had noticed the following changes as a result or associated with the febrile attack:

(i) General weakness and lethargy which persists in spite of his taking a fair amount of nourishment.

(ii) Progressive Anaemia.

(iii) With the on set of fever, the blood pressure, both systolic and diastolic, began to fall, until it was 126/73 or so, five days ago.

(iv) During the attack of fever he was noticed losing memory—even for a short while—of recent events.

My findings—

(a)BP-160/90 in the morning. Col. Bhandari informed me that the BP is lower in the evenings.

(b)General nourishment fair—tongue clean—liver not enlarged.

(c)Heart Dilated and Hypertrophied pulse tension moderate.

(d)No edema anywhere.

(e)Electrocardiogram tracing shows progressive myocardosis during the last 12 months.

(f) Dr. Gujjar's report shows marked failing in the function of the kidneys.

(g) There was some amount of anaemia present.

From the above, I conclude that during this attack of fever, Mahatmaji had myocardial affection; possibly the coronary supply was interfered with either due to spasm or blockage of coronary circulation. His brain also suffered from bad nourishment, resulting in temporary defective

cerberal circulation. His kidneys show signs of deterioration; the extent to which the kidneys are so deteriorated can only be determined after further biochemical tests. I understand they will be done tomorrow. I will defer my final report till then. Meanwhile I have no doubt whatever that supreme efforts should be made to prevent a relapse or recurrence of material attacks.

(Sd.) B. C. ROY,

M.D. (Cal.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.),.

F.R.C.S. (Eng.).

1st May 1944.



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**BOMBAY POLICE COMMISSIONER'S FILE  
COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, BOMBAY STATE  
FILE No. 3001/H/34-35.**

**SUBJECT:**

**MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI**

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001/H/34-35.*

P. 43.

ATTEMPT ON LIFE OF MR. GANDHI AT POONA  
BOMB OUTRAGE AT MUNICIPAL HALL

Congress Leader's Escape: Several Persons Injured.

Several persons were seriously injured in a bomb explosion which occurred at the porch of the Poona City Municipal Hall on Monday evening, a few minutes before the arrival of Mr. Gandhi to receive an address from the Municipality.

Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, a member of the Municipality, who arrived at the Hall a few yards ahead of Mr. Gandhi, was injured and his car was damaged. A man's nose was blown off while a police constable who was injured is in hospital in a dangerous condition.

*(From our own correspondent).*

Poona, June 25.

While a big crowd was waiting to greet Mr. Gandhi at the Poona City Municipal Hall this evening, a terrific bomb explosion occurred just as the car of Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar drew up at the porch. Presumably the bomb was thrown from above, but owing to rain, it could not be ascertained where it fell. Mr. Gandhi's car arrived three minutes after the explosion.

A police constable, who was on duty at the porch and four other persons were injured. They were taken to the Sassoon Hospital. The policeman was seriously injured and is said to be in a precarious condition. The other four received injuries on their legs and one had his nose blown off. Mr. Bhopatkar was slightly injured, some flying pellets striking him on the leg and ear.

The District Superintendent of Police, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Kotahwalla and other officers arrived on the search near the main entrance, recovered some nails, washers and screws scattered about the place.

MR. GANDHI'S ESCAPE  
MUNICIPAL CHIEF OFFICER INJURED

An Associated Press message says:

On the occasion of the presentation of the Municipal address to Mr. Gandhi, a bomb was thrown at the car which, it is believed, the assailant thought carried Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi was not in the car. Seven persons were injured.

Mr. Gandhi was due at the Municipal building at 7-30 p.m. At 7-23 p.m. a car drew up in front of the building and the boy scouts, thinking that it was Mr. Gandhi's car started playing the band. Almost simultaneously there was a loud explosion. People who had gathered there thought it was a cracker. They however realised their mistake when it became known that seven persons including Mr. Bhagavat, the Chief Officer of the Municipality, were injured. The injured people were immediately sent to hospital.

At 7-30 p.m. Mr. Gandhi arrived. He was then informed of the incident. He however agreed to the suggestion that the programme should be carried out. Accordingly the address was presented and Mr. Gandhi left the Municipal Hall at 8-30 p.m.

The police have arrested five persons.

#### MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT

In a statement about the incident Mr. Gandhi says.

" I have had so many narrow escapes in my life that this newest one does not surprise me. God be thanked that no one was fatally injured by the bomb and I hope that those who were more or less seriously injured will be soon discharged from the hospital.

" I cannot believe that any sane Sanatanist could ever encourage the insane act that was perpetrated this evening; but I would like Sanatanist friends to control the language that is being used by speakers and writers claiming to speak on their behalf. The sorrowful incident has undoubtedly advanced the Harijan cause.

" It is easy to see that causes proper by the martyrdom of those who stand for them. I am not aching for martyrdom but if it comes my way in the prosecution of what I consider to be a supreme duty in defence of the faith that I hold in common with millions of Hindus, I shall have well earned it and it will be possible for the historian of the future to say that the vow I had taken before the Harijans that I would, if need be, die in the attempt to remove untouchability was literally fulfilled.

#### PITY FOR THE THROWER

"Let those who grudge me what yet remains to me of this earthly existence know that it is the easiest thing to do away with my body. Why then put in jeopardy many innocent lives in order to take mine which they hold to be sinful ?

"What would the world have said of us if the bomb had dropped on me and my party, which included my wife and three girls who are as dear to me as daughters and have been entrusted to me by their parents ? I am sure that no harm to them could have been intended by the bomb thrower.

" I have nothing but deep pity for the unknown thrower of the bomb. If I had my way and if the bomb thrower was known I should certainly ask for his discharge even as I did in South Africa in the case of those who had successfully assaulted me.

"Let the reformers not be incensed against the bomb thrower or those who may be behind him. What I should like them to do is to redouble their effort to rid the country of the deadly evil of untouchability".

#### MUNICIPAL DECISION

An earlier message from our correspondent stated:—

A special meeting of the Poona City Municipality was held this morning at 8-30. Sanatanists and Congressmen were present in the hall along with the Municipal Councillors. Mr. V. A. Gadkari moved a resolution for presenting a civic address to Mr. Gandhi for the Harijan campaign which he had been carrying on.

Mr. G. M. Nalavade moved an amendment to omit the reference to Harijan work.

Pandit Patwardhan raised a point of order saying that as the matter contained in the resolution was sub-judice, the resolution could not be brought forward. The point of order was, however, disallowed.

Another motion was moved for postponing the resolution and adjourning the meeting to 5 o'clock in the evening on the ground that another application for injunction would be presented.

Opposing this motion, Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar said that even if an injunction were granted, it should be disobeyed and the consequences of disobedience, whether fine or imprisonment, should be undergone cheerfully.

Eventually, the motion for adjournment was withdrawn and the original proposition and another resolution sanctioning Rs. 500 for the address were carried by 36 votes to 2.

#### MR. GANDHI AND SANATANISTS

At a mass meeting held yesterday Bhau Saheb Lavate, a Sanatanist, objected to the methods employed by Mr. Gandhi, in carrying on the Harijan campaign. He said the Sanatanists objected to any social reform being thrust on them with the help of Government.

Mr. Gandhi, replying, said that if the Hindu majority in the Legislative Assembly voted against the Untouchability Bill, it would not get through. He himself was a Sanatanist as he was honestly abiding by the rules laid down in the Vedas. Vedas, Mr. Gandhi said, had no sanction for untouchability as it was existing now. What he wanted was a change of heart and not any coercion.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said that, whenever he had any occasion to open temples, he had first ascertained for himself that a large majority of Hindus, who would visit the temples were in favour of the reform. Otherwise, he had persistently refused to open the temples. Mr. Gandhi further said that Sanatanists in Maharashtra, while showing their opposition, had behaved very politely throughout.



P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

**SECRET**

By Air Mail

S. B. Date—23rd September 1935.

Sender's name and address—Bapu (M. K. Gandhi), Wardha.

Date of letter—22nd September 1935.

Address—Jawaharlal Nehru, Hems Waldeck, Badenweiler, Baden,  
 Germany.

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Contents

Copy of a hand written letter.

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My dear Jawaharlal,

Your three welcome letters give us all accurate news about Kamala. For the time being I expect you to follow up the practice. I had telegraphed for daily wires because of the public demand, but you were right in not sending any when there was no change. You were right also in omitting the sender's name. Your presence there is a source of great satisfaction to your friends here as it is a question of life to Kamala. I am not writing to her separately this air mail.

I am going to take up your manuscript presently. I have no difficulty in agreeing with you in the enunciation of principles. But when we descend to the concrete, we generally use the language I have used. In the huge organisation the Congress has become, no one man can hope to run the show. But some one has to shoulder the burden. And people want some guidance. Hence my enquiry. If you are elected, you will be elected for the policy and principles you stand for. I would like you therefore to tell me whether you will allow your name to be proposed for the crown of thorns.

I suppose India will now wait till Kamala's condition is better known.

I am sending the Congress constitution. If you can concentrate your attention on it, I would like you to send me your considered criticism on it,

---

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

As to the present policy of the Congress, whilst I can in no way be responsible for the detailed working of it, it is in the main of my shaping. It is not one of drift. It is founded upon one central idea that of consolidating the power of the people with a view to peaceful action. But in your absence, we have been literally tacking. Now that you are free you have to give the guidance and take with you such old colleagues as would

go with you whole-heartedly. So far as I know they will not resist you, even more they may not be able to follow you. I must not weary you with more of this kind of thing whilst you are there nursing Kamala.

Love,  
(Sd.) BAPU.

22-9-35. Wardha.

Copy of accompaniment:—

Dear Jawaharlalji,

It was too late to get enough stamps for posting the Constitution. It will follow by the next air mail.

Love,  
(Sd.) MAHADEV.

The original has been allowed to go on without being photographed.

---

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*  
Copy of an English letter.

"Maganwadi" (Wardha),  
Dated the 19th October 1935.

My dear Malkani,

There is no such good news for you or me, I do not stir out of Wardha till the end of the year, January has been mortgaged to Gujrat and February will probably be given to Delhi.

The Sangh Council will meet here in November, I expect. But don't expect me to go either to Calcutta or to Bangalore next year. I don't want to devote the whole year to travelling.

There is much work to be done here. It is with the utmost reluctance that I have undertaken to go to Gujrat—one month to Delhi, I will have to give.

You may expect no congratulations but you will certainly deserve them for having built at such a reasonable cost and from the details you have sent, I see that everything was worked out most thoughtfully. You won't have Amtul Salam before next year and you might not have Viyogi Hari either.

With love.

Yours, (Sd.)  
BAPU.

COMMISSIONER OF POLICE  
BOMBAY STATE  
FILE No. 3001/H/II  
1945

*Subject.*—MAHADEV HARIBHAI DESAI.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/II.*

**VERY SECRET**

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT

(The secrecy of this interception may kindly be maintained ..... Intercepted by the  
Inland Mail of Delhi ..... on ..... the ..... 28<sup>th</sup> ..... of ..... October, ..... 1935.

From: Mahadeo, Wardha .....

To: Sjt. N. R. Malkani, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Kingsway, Civil Lines, Delhi.

Language of letter—English .....

Post Office of Interception—General Post Office, Delhi.

Date of letter—25-10-35.

Name of officer who can prove the interception S. I. Sh. — Siraj-ul-Haq.

Whether photographed or not—No.

Whether withheld or delivered—Passed.

If delivered whether copy kept or not—Copy taken and herewith attached.

No. 2939.

Dated the 28th October 1935.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

(P. 63)

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.*

Copy of an English letter.

Wardha, 25th October 1935.

My dear Malkani,

Thakkar Bapa writes to say that 15th November does not suit him as he will have hardly finished Assam by then, and that unless Ghanshyamdasji wants that date and any other date is unsuitable to him, the date may be changed to 22nd, in order that he may have enough time in Assam and three or four days in Calcutta. He, however, says that if no other date suits Ghanshyamdasji, you should telegraph to him accordingly. Please consult Ghanshyamdasji and fix the final date and inform Thakkar Bapa and Bapu of your final decision.

I may add that 22nd will suit Bapu as well as the 15th.

Yours,  
(Sd.) MAHADEO.

To

Sjt. N. R. Malkani,  
Harijan Sevak Sangh,  
Kingsway, Civil Lines, Delhi.

COMMISSIONER OF POLICE

BOMBAY STATE

FILE No. 3001/H/36-37/IV-1.

1936

MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.

\_\_\_\_\_  
P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/36-37/IV-1*

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 264-H.

HEAD POLICE OFFICE:

Bombay, the 17th January 1936.

My dear Mr. Knight,

I write to inform you that M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Mahadev Desai and Dr. Jivraj Mehta, arrived in Bombay from Wardha this morning. Arrangements were made by his friends at the Dadar Railway Station, where he alighted, to take him in an ambulance car, but he walked from the train to the car and went to reside with Bhulabhai J. Desai at Warden Road. He would be here for a couple of days for medical treatment.

Yours Sincerely,

(Sd.) X X X

To

H. F. Knight, Esquire, I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

\_\_\_\_\_  
P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001 /H/ 36-37 / IV.1*

**EXPRESS LETTER**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 326/H, the 22nd January 1936.

From:

Bospel,  
Bombay.

To

Superintendent of Police,  
Ahmedabad.

M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Patel, Mahadeo Desai and Maniben Patel left for yours by the Gujarat Mail on the night of the 21st January 1936.

(Sd.) X X X

D.C.P.. S.B.

Sir,

The party was first to leave from Dadar, but ultimately left from B. C. There were about 200 persons present on and near the platform. The following were present to see Mr. Gandhi off:—

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, K. M. Munshi, Mrs. Munshi, K. F. Nariman, Bhulabhai J. Desai, Nagindas T. Master, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Ganpatishanker N. Desai, Mathuradas Trikamji, I. S. Patel, Dr. Bhasker Patel, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Manilal Revashanker Javeri.

(Sd.) x x x

22-1.

We informed Secretary, Home Department, when he arrived. We must inform the Secretary of his departure. Send copy of this to the Secretary in continuation of our last.

(Sd.) x x x 22-1.

---

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.*

S. B. Sind, C. I. D., Karachi, 27th January 1936. It is learnt that Mahadeo Desai has informed Miss Agatha Harrison of London that—

(1) Gandhi will be able, in two or three weeks, partly to resume his usual activities.

(2) C. F. Andrews is sailing for Australia, New Zealand and Fiji, and might revisit India some time during the year.

(3) Gandhi sent a condolence message to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, on the death of His Gracious Majesty King George the V. He has received a telegraphic reply that the message has been conveyed to His Majesty the King.

Gandhi has sent a message of condolence to Mrs. Saklatwala, on the death of her husband, through Miss Harrison.

**SECRET**

No. S. B. 395 of 1936.

SIND C. I. D. OFFICE;  
Karachi, the 27th January 1936.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the—  
Commissioner in Sind.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Special), Bombay.

Assistant to the D.I.G. of Police,  
C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Deputy Commissioner of Police,  
Special Branch, Bombay.

for information,

(Sd.) x x x

Superintendent of Police, Sind, C.I.D.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H.*

**SECRET**

Bombay S. B. 4th May 1936.

Date of letter—30th April 1936.

From

Bapu (Mr. Gandhi), Wardha.

To

Miss Agatha Harrison,

2, Cranbourne Court, Albert Bridge Road.

S. W., 11.

By Air Mail.

*Copy of a handwritten letter.*

Not revised

My dear Agatha,

I have your letter of 17th inst. Nothing less was to be expected of Jawaharlal. His address is a confession of his faith. You see from the formation of his cabinet, that he has chosen a majority of those who represent the traditional view i.e., from 1920. Of course the majority represent my view. I would love to kill the New Constitution today if I can. There is hardly anything in it I like. But Jawaharlal's way is not my way. I accept his ideal about land etc. But I do not accept practically any of his methods. I would strain every nerve to prevent a class war. So would he, I expect. But he does not believe it to be possible to avoid it. I believe it to be perfectly possible especially if my method is accepted. But though Jawaharlal is extreme in his presentation of his methods, he is sober in action. So far as I know him, he will not precipitate conflict nor will he shirk it if it is forced on him. But there perhaps the whole Congress is not of one mind. A difference there certainly is. My method is designed to avoid conflict. His is not, so designed. My own feeling is that Jawaharlal will accept the decisions of the majority of his colleagues. For a man of his temperament, this is most difficult. He is finding it so already. Whatever he does, he will do it nobly. Though the gulf between us as to the outlook upon life has undoubtedly widened, we have never been so near each other in hearts as we perhaps are today.

This is not for public use but you are at liberty to show it to friends. I do not suppose you want anything more in answer to your question.

The rest from Mahadeo.

30-4-36.

Love,  
 (Sd.) BAPU.

P.C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H /36-37 /IV-1.*

14th June 1937.

Dated 9-6-1937.

From

M. K. Gandhi, (Bulsar).

To

J. B. Kirpalani,  
 (Allahabad).

"Sardar has handed me your letter of 31st ultimo for reply. I entirely agree with you that the Congress has to think out a policy and give the lead on the reported kidnappings. We must first of all be sure of the facts and therefore have an impartial inquiry. The burden must be thrown on the Frontier Congressmen of tracing out and bringing back, by such influence as they may possess on tribesmen, the kidnapped girls. If the kidnappings are purely political, why do they kidnap only girls ? If they are instigated by the Government we must have some proof for the statement.

"Whilst we may have resolutions on the Government, Frontier Police, we must express our disapproval of the kidnappings and appeal to the tribesmen and enunciate our policy for the guidance of the Congressmen generally and of Frontier Congressmen in particular. "

N. G./C. 10. A-1.

14th June 1937.

Copy F. W. C. to—

1. A. D., I.B., Simla.
2. A. D. I.. G. P. C. I.D.S.B..  
Nagpur.
3. D.C.P.S.B., Bombay.

(Sd.) X X X

For A. to D.I.G.. C.I.D., S.B., U. P.  
 Lucknow.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H /II.*

**SECRET**

SPECIAL BRANCH, C. P.;

In reply, please quote

Nagpur, the 15th January 1937.

#### INTERCEPTION REPORT

(The secrecy of interception may kindly be safeguarded.)

No. S. B./56.

- |    |                              |       |                     |
|----|------------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| 1. | Post Office of interception: | .. .. | Wardha.             |
| 2. | Date of censorship:          | .. .. | 7-1-37.             |
| 3. | Sender's name and address:   | .. .. | N. Barlett, Bombay. |

4. Date of letter: ... 6-1-37.
5. Language of letter: ... English.
6. Addressee's name and address: ... Mahadeo Desai, C/o  
Mahatma Gandhi, Wardha.
7. Whether withheld or delivered: ... Delivered.
8. If delivered, copy kept or not: ... Copy kept.
9. Name of censoring officer: ... S. I. K. M. Nimonkar, Wardha.
10. Additional information and remarks:

### CONTENTS

We are Australian journalists touring in India with a view to study the political condition of the country. We are at present staying with Mr. S. A. Waiz, Indian Citizenship, 235 Hornby Road, Bombay.

C. F. Andrews while in Australia gave us an account of the village life in India. He also told us that the only way to approach Mahatma Gandhi is through you. We wish to pass some days in the village Wardha so as to get exact idea of the Indian village life. We are interested in India—a country whose struggles are near our heart. Kindly let us know whether it will be possible for us to live in village Wardha with the Mahatma for a couple of days. We are leaving for Agra and shall be back to Bombay in the next week. Please send your reply to Mr. Waiz.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/36-37/IV-1.*

Dated 27th July 1937.

"The Bombay Chronicle "

### MAHATMA REFUTES KELKAR'S CHARGE

Explain why he did not sign Savarkar Release Memorial.

Charges him with " Cruel Misinterpretation " of his motives and Attitude.

Poona: July 1925.

Mr. S. D. Deo, President, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, writes:—

When the working Committee meeting held at Wardha decided to sanction the acceptance of offices by the Congress, the Democratic Swaraj Party at Poona publicly congratulated Syt. Tatyasahib Kelkar. On that occasion, the latter made a speech which is reported in the " Dnyan-prakash" of the 10th July 1937. Following is a translation of portion of that speech relating to Mahatma Gandhi:—

"People made an application that this Bard of Freedom (Bar. Savarkar), who was rotting in jail for twelve years, should be released from custody; but on this application for the release of Bar. Savarkar, Mahatma Gandhi refused to give his signature. (Shame! Shame!).



Don't say 'Shame, Shame'. It is merely a word of two syllables. This shows what feelings Mahatma Gandhi has about Maharashtra. Nobody recollects what Maharashtra did in the Non-Co-operation movement. Gandhiji mentions the name of Tilak from time to time, but then that is only to deceive Maharashtra by empty phrases."

These words are unjust to Mahatma Gandhi, and are calculated to prejudice the mind of the Maharashtra public about that great man. It is derogatory to the prestige of Maharashtra that such words should be uttered by a responsible Maharashtrian. Hence I entered into a correspondence with both Syt. Tatyasaheb Kelkar and Mahatma Gandhi in this connection. I am now releasing the whole correspondence for publication and am sure the Maharashtra public will come to a just and proper conclusion in the matter.

### LETTER TO MAHATMA

Poona, the 14th July 1937.

Dear Mahatmaji,

Herewith is attached a cutting from a speech made by Mr. N. C. Kelkar delivered in Poona regarding the recent Congress decision to accept offices. I have a faint impression that you had given a public reply to the charge some years back. Anyhow, I think it necessary that you should once more express your feelings against this false perverted charge, and clear any possibility of misunderstanding in public mind. If you write to me about that, I will do the needful in the matter. I have written to Mr. N. C. Kelkar today about this. It is not only unfortunate but painful, that after all these years' experience, the same old poison should be injected by such responsible persons.

Waiting for a reply.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) S. D. DEO.

(Mahatmaji's Reply)

(Segaon Wardha):  
July 15th, 1937.

My dear Deo,

I have your letter enclosing a newspaper cutting. I have forwarded the cutting to Mr. Kelkar for confirmation. As soon as I receive his reply, you will hear further from me.

I hope your progress towards complete recovery is continuing.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) BAPU.

(Mahatmaji's Second Letter)

Segaon (Wardha):

July 20th, 1937.

My dear Deo,

I have now heard from Shri Kelkar. He has forgotten to return the cutting which I had sent him. I, therefore, send my reply from memory.

About Shri Savarkar, I did refuse to sign the memorial, for, as I told those who came to me, it was wholly unnecessary as Shri Savarkar was bound to be released after the coming into force of the new Act; no matter who the Ministers were. And that is what has happened. The Savarkar Brothers at least, know that whatever the differences between us as to certain fundamentals, I could never contemplate with equanimity their incarceration.

Perhaps, Dr. Savarkar will bear me out when I say, that I did whatever was in my power, after my own way, to secure their release. And the barrister will perhaps, recall the pleasant relations that existed between us when we met, for the first time in London and how, when nobody was forthcoming, I presided at the meeting that was held in his honour in London.

#### RELATIONS WITH TILAK.

As to my relations with the late Lokamanya Tilak, our differences were well-known and yet we were on the friendliest terms. After all, you, Gangadharrao Deshpande and others, who know me, would perhaps testify that I yield to no one in my regard to Lokamanya for his burning patriotism, his fearlessness, his magnetic personality and his great learning.

As to office acceptance, I have not retraced my steps. I have no repentance for the advice I gave in 1920 to boycott the legislatures. I have not a shadow of a doubt that the abstention of the Congress deprived them of the false halo of glory which they had acquired. In now strongly advising the Congress to send its representatives to the Legislatures and even to accept office I have responded to the wholly new circumstances that have since come into being. I have never made a fetish of foolish consistency.

Whilst you are at liberty to publish this letter, my personal inclination is that I should suffer in silence the cruel misinterpretation that Shri Kelkar has given of my motives and attitude.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

---

(Letter of Syt. Deo To Syt. Kelkar)

291, Shanwar Peth,

Poona, 14th July 1937.

Dear Mr. Kelkar,

At Yeola, on my way back from Wardha, I happened to read the "Dnyanprakash" of the 10th inst., and saw therein a report of a speech delivered by you in the tilak Smarak Mandir. You say therein that what

Gandhiji feels about Maharashtra can be inferred from the fact that he refused to put his signature on the application for the release of Bar. Savarkar.

Further, it is clearly suggested therein that Mahatma Gandhi harbours feelings of hatred about Maharashtra and about Bar. Savarkar. One of the many headlines given by the "Dnyanprakash" itself to this report, viz., "Mahatma Gandhi's hatred for Maharashtra," bears out the above view. Needless to say, I was hurt and greatly pained to see a responsible person like you with your balanced and justice-loving temperament make such charges against Mahatma Gandhi. To me it does not seem likely that you have sufficient material to justify this prejudicing the minds of the public of Maharashtra about Mahatma Gandhi. If you have any such material, please do show it to me, so that I may change my opinion about Mahatmaji. I do think that, knowingly or unknowingly, you are doing injustice to Mahatmaji. I hope you will give such explanation of the matter as you think proper.

Secondly, whenever, you speak of Maharashtra, what do you take to be the extent of the representative character of your statement? I will be obliged if you let me know your idea of the matter. I wish humbly to point out that it is not consistent with truth for you to say that your own opinions and beliefs are those of the whole of Maharashtra, or to do any thing which may give that impression to the public. You must admit that a large section of Maharashtra does not share your opinions. In view of the history of the last fifteen years and the events that have taken place in Maharashtra during that period. I think it is necessary that you observe proper restraint and take care that no misunderstanding about Maharashtra is unnecessarily created. I will be obliged if you offer some explanation in this matter also.

I am not writing this letter out of any personal consideration or prejudices. I make bold to address this letter to you with the only desire that no injustice should be done to anybody by our Province. Kindly reply.

Yours, etc.,  
(Sd.) S. D. DEO,

---

(Kelkar's Reply To Deo)

Poona, the 16th July 1937.

To

Shankarrao Deo,

Received your letter. I, however, do not wish to pursue or develop this controversy by correspondence.

(Sd.) N. C. KELKAR.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

**SECRET**

Bombay, S. B., 30th July 1937

Date of letter 27th July 1937.

From

M. K. Gandhi, Segaon, Wardha.

To

Shri M. N. Roy,  
 "Independent India".  
 Bombay 4

*Copy of a handwritten letter.*

Dear Friend,

I entirely agree with you that every Congressman should fearlessly express the opinion he holds after due deliberation. You ask me how you can best serve the Congress. Since you are new to the organisation, I should say you would serve it best by mute service.

Segaon, Wardha.

The 27th July 1937.

Yours sincerely,  
 (Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The original has been allowed to go on without being photographed.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H III.*

Copy of a letter written by Mahadeo Desai from Juhu addressed to Sarat Chandra Bose, 1, Woodburn Park, Calcutta, intercepted at Elgin Road P. O. at 4/30 a.m. on 21st December 1937 (bearing postal seal of Bombay, G. P. O., dated 19th December 1937, 3-15 p.m.).

Janki Kutir,

Juhu, the 18th December 1937.

My dear Sarat Babu,

I have your kind letter of the 15th instant. Bapu is very happy over all that is happening there. He wants you to win over Dr. Bidhan with your sweet reasonableness and he expects Ghanashyamdas to be of real help in this respect. I suppose the next time I hear from you I will have a full report of all that has happened between you and Dr. Bidhan.

I wish I could give you an encouraging report of Bapu's health. I am sorry there has been a slight set back. The thing is that no one has yet been able to lay down the real line of treatment that is suitable in his case. After all, all doctors are empirical. They try various hypothesis and the poor patient becomes the victim of their conjectures and experiments. This is not to disparage the present doctors who are devoting all their love and attention to him. But the present medical science is such.

I do not mind your having sent extracts from my letter to those in charge of the Hindusthan Standard. I am sorry. I have never met the two gentlemen you named and they are not likely to take criticism in good part. However, I do not mind their knowing what I feel about the general tone of their writings.

Bapu would surely love you to go to Juhu during the X mas holidays but I do not know what the doctors would say. I shall speak to them and as soon as I have ascertained their wishes, I shall let you have a telegram.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) MAHADEV.

I am sending no telegram. I happened to have a talk with Birlaji on the phone and I have asked him to convey to you my message.

---

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.*

**VERY SECRET**

Special Branch Office,

14th, Lord Sinha Road,

Calcutta, the 4th January 1938

Memo No. 47760/F. 6006-III-C/Inter.

(Interception by the Inland/Memo of the 21st of December 1937.)

From

Mahadeo Desai,  
Janki Kutir, Juhu,  
Bombay.

To

Sarat Chandra Bose,  
1, Woodburn Park, Calcutta.

Language, of letter—English.

Post office of interception—Elgin Road.

Date of letter —18th Decernber 1937.

Name of officer who can prove the interception—Inspr. P. Sen.  
 Whether photographed or not —Not photographed.  
 Whether withheld or delivered—Delivered.  
 If delivered, whether copy kept or not—Copy kept.  
 Interception authorised, *vide* Government Order No. 4354-PS.,  
 dated 15th December 1937.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H / 36-37 /IV-1*

28th April 1938.

GANDHI M. K.

28-4-38.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Wardha on the morning of April 28th and drove to the bungalow of Jamnalal Bajaj at Juhu. In the afternoon he had a private discussion with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, at the latter's residence, on the question of Hindu-Muslim Unity. No one else was present.

The discussion will be resumed on Mr. Gandhi's return from his Frontier Visit, on May 11th.

(Sd.) X X X

Supdt. S. B., C. I. D.

---

P. C.'s. Office; Bombay,

*Extract from File No. 3001 \H \ 36-37/ IV-1*

Bombay, 28th April 1938.

Sir,

Mr. M. K. Gandhi arrived from Wardha at 8-30 a.m. today by the Calcutta Mail and alighted at the Dadar Railway Station of the G. I. P. Railway. He was accompanied by his two Secretaries Mahadeo Desai and Pyarelal. He was received by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj, the Honourable Mr. Munshi, Mrs. Munshi, S. K. Patil, Nagindas Master and a dozen other Congressmen. Mr. Gandhi drove to Juhu.

Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by Mahadeo Desai went to the residence of Mr. M. A. Jinnah at Little Gibb's Road, Malabar Hill, at 11-30 a.m. and had conversation with Mr. Jinnah for about 3 hours. He left at about 2-30 p.m. for Juhu. It is learnt that they reviewed the Hindu-Muslim formula decided upon between Mr. Jinnah and Babu Rajendra Prasad in 1935 and both seemed to be in favour of that formula. Today's talk was only a formal and preliminary one and the conversation will be continued tomorrow and even after Mr. Gandhi's return from the N. W. F. tour. The talk between Messrs. Jinnah and Gandhi will be the ground on which the Congress and Muslim League Officials will consider the question of the Hindu-Muslim Unity.

After today's conversation was over, a joint statement was issued to the press as follows:—

"We had three hours' friendly conversation over Hindu-Muslim question and matter will be pursued further. Public will be informed in due course its developments."

(Sd.) x x x

28-4.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/36-37/IV-1*

Bombay, 29th April 1938.

Following the Gandhi-Jinnah talks yesterday informal discussions were going on between Congress leaders in one hand League circles on the other.

The real object of the meeting it is definitely understood to arrange a Round Table Conference of Muslim leaders and members of the working committee, about the middle of May when the working committee meets in Bombay. It is reliably learnt Gandhi has given full assurance to Jinnah that he would advise the Congress to get his majority of the points accepted.

The Joint Conference will last for days together and it is expected a definite and lasting formula will be evolved. Besides Muslim leaders of Praja and Unionist Party are expected to be present.

Gandhiji leaving for Peshawar at 9-30 p.m. by Frontier Mail and returning back on 10th May. Subhash Bose is also expected to come on that day.

## COMMISSIONER OF POLICE

## BOMBAY STATE

FILE No. 3001/H/IV-8/38.

SUBJECT:—MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001/H/IV-8/38.*

(P. 35)

**" THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE "**

Dated, the 2nd July 1938.

Mahatma's letter to Jinnah

Allahabad, July 1.

Along with the correspondence between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Nawab Ismail, the General Secretary, A.I.C.C. has also released to the press the first letter Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Mr. Jinnah from Tithal (Gujarat) on 22nd May 1937 in response to a special message sent to him by Mr. M. A. Jinnah through Mr. B. G. Kher and he has also released the telegram from Gandhi to Mr. Jinnah from Calcutta on 9th April 1938.

## Mahatma's letter

Mahatma Gandhi's letter reads.

" Mr. Kher has given me your message. I wish I could do something, but I am utterly helpless. My faith in unity is as bright as ever; only I see no daylight out of the impenetrable darkness and in such distress, I cry out to God for light. "

## Mahatma's telegram

Gandhiji's telegram is to the effect: "I am likely to be in Delhi about 12th. If at all possible, I should like to meet you there instead of in Bombay in order to save time and energy. If agreeable, Moulana will accompany me."

The A.I.C.C. will shortly release in pamphlet form all the correspondence that has passed between Gandhiji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and Nawab Ismail.—A.P.

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 P. C.'s Office, Bombay.
*Extract from file No. 3001/H/IV-8/38.***"THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"**

dated the 21st July 1938.

Mahatma Dictates Letter to Jinnah.

**" A UNITED PRESS "**

Telegram says:—

Mahatma Gandhi had a full three hours discussion with that members of the Working Committee and left for Shegaon at 5-45 p.m. He will come again tomorrow, as the C. P. question could not be finally decided to-day.



The Congress President told the waiting journalists that the Working Committee meeting would continue till tomorrow evening.

On being pressed to indicate the subjects discussed with Gandhiji today. Mr. Bose remarked: " Having got Mahatmaji in our midst, we tried to cover as much ground as possible ".

Mahatma's Draft.

It is gathered that Gandhiji dictated a letter that is to be forwarded to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, about the communal problem. The letter, it is understood, delivered that the Congress is unable to accept the claim put forward by Mr. Jinnah that the All India Muslim League should be recognised as the sole representative organisation and mouthpiece of the entire Muslim Population of India.

After having said this, the letter is concluded in such terms as may not be construed as indicating a desire on the part of the Working Committee to bang the door against continuance of further negotiations for Hindu-Muslim settlement if Mr. Jinnah deems it necessary. United Press.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from file No. 3001/H/IV-8/38.*

Government of India.  
Intelligence Bureau,  
Home Department.

**EXPRESS LETTER**

The Assistant Director (P), Intelligence Bureau  
(Home Department), Government of India,  
New Delhi.

To

1. The Assistant to D.I.G. of Police,  
C.I.D., Special Branch, Punjab, Lahore.
2. The Deputy Commissioner of Police,  
Special Branch, Bombay.

No. 8/P.F./39-II.  
Dated 8th April 1939.

Has Gandhi ever applied for a passport to your Government ? If so, did he claim to be a Rajkot subject ? Have you information of his place of birth ?

(Sd.) X X X  
Assistant Director (P).

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from file No. 3001/H/IV-8/38.*

(P 263)

Bombay, the 9th April 1939.

D.C.P., S. B.

Sir,

The attached papers are submitted under instructions from Superintendent, S. B. The original passport application is available at the Passport Office, Secretariat.

Inspector S. B.  
The 10th April 1939

The Assistant to D. I. G., C. I. D., sent an express D. O. letter of Poona 11 p.m. 8th April 1939 with a special messages, requesting to be informed if Mr. M. K. Gandhi ever applied for a passport in this province and whether he claimed to be a Rajkot subject.

A D. O. reply has been sent for the messenger, enclosing copy of the passport application of 28th August 1931 and adding that we have no other such application on our file though possibly Mr. Gandhi may have made an application years before, while going to South Africa or England, but as the passport office was closed it was not possible to obtain any further information. As requested by Mr. Hotson his original D. O. has been returned to him.

(Sd.) x x x

9-4-39.

We may reply on the lines of my note. Mr. Joshi the Union Secretary H. D. informed me on phone this afternoon that they had not been able to find out any other application than the 1931 one. When he might have gone in 1895 he may have applied but the records may have been destroyed. Still a search is being made. No passports were required before and he did not go between 1915 and 1931 from this country if I am right.

(Sd.) X X X

10-4

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001 \H\IV-8 \38.*

**SECRET**

Head Police Office,  
Bombay, the 12th April 1939.

No. 1936-H/3001.

My dear Johnston,

Please refer your Express Letter No. 8/P. F./39-II, dated the 8th April 1939.

I enclose herewith a copy of Mr. Gandhi's passport application dated 28th August 1931 as well as a copy of the telegram dated 27th August 1931, from Home, Simla, to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay advising the latter to arrange for one for him as he had none. This was in connection with his visit to England for the Round Table Conference. His place of birth was then given as Porbunder. It is known here that he was born at Porbunder and educated at Rajkot.

We have no particulars of any other passport which he may have taken out for his visit to South Africa or other countries.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) X X X

11-4.

To

M. K. Johnston, Esquire, I.P.  
Assistant Director, Intelligence Bureau,  
Home Department, Government of India,  
New Delhi.

COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,  
BOMBAY STATE  
FILE No. 3001/H/V.B.  
1939.

MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001/H/V.*

("The Bombay Chronicle ", dated 9-6-39.)

SELF-SACRIFICE ALWAYS CARRIES PUBLIC SUPPORT

Gandhiji's Advice To Kolhapur State Leaders

Bombay, Thursday.

A deputation of the Kolhapur State Praja Parishad headed by Mr. Ratnappa Dharmappa Kumbhar waited on Mahatma Gandhi on Tuesday. It consisted of Messrs Kumbhar, Jagdale, Ghugre, Ladage and Kodolikor.

The following are, in effect, some of the questions and answers between Gandhiji and the Deputation:—

Deputation:—Even in spite of the fact that at present the Kolhapur State authorities are not in a mood to negotiate with the Parishad workers in view of your latest statement on the Travancore State, should negotiations be started with the State authorities?

Mahatma Gandhi:—My statement is meant only for the Travancore State. I know more than any one that the State authorities in any State are never willing to have negotiations with their people. This I have realised much more from the talks I had with Mr. Virawalla in Rajkot. Negotiations should always be started in an honourable way and as such for negotiations there should be a suitable and proper atmosphere. If that is not possible in your State it is far better for you not to start negotiation at an immature time. I found that opportunity in Travancore and I have issued that statement concerning Travancore only.

Notice served

Deputation:—What should those workers do on whom notices have been served by the Durbar directing them to present themselves before the Court on pain of losing their properties through confiscation

Mahatma Gandhi:—There is nothing objectionable for the workers to present themselves before the Court. If by disobeying such orders the properties were confiscated, it would be noble to remain outside the State and to work for their ideals like Garibaldi, Mazzini etc. It is a sin even to hold properties in a State where no law prevails. Here you

may think that the people would think a different way about your staying outside the State and get demoralised. But if you really lose your property and if the people are convinced that you work sincerely for them, you need not fear demoralisation of any kind in them. You should always be sure that self-sacrifice carries public support.

During his talk with the deputations Mahatmaji often pointed out that he would not object to taking direct steps of civil resistance if really any State people were ready for it and added that he always recommended it. But he would not be willing to allow any State people to launch Satyagraha unless he was satisfied that they were fully prepared for it.

Gandhiji advised the Deputationists to wait on Pandit Jawaharlal also, they are meeting him tomorrow. United Press.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001/H/V.*

(THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE Dated 11th June 1939.)

Leaders Are Free To Choose Their Course.

Gandhiji Denies Stopping C. D. Movement In States.

Mahatma Gandhi writes in the current issue of "Harijan".

A Cutch worker came in and said " some leaders in Cutch are telling the people there that but for your stopping civil disobedience they would today be enjoying responsible government or something near it."

I must deny having stopped civil disobedience in Cutch or for that matter elsewhere. All I gave was my opinion. I had told Shri Mulraj who had come to consult me that the workers should weight my opinion in the light of their own personal experience of things and adopt it only if it coincided with their own experience. It should be noted that my opinion was not given publicly.

If it was not acceptable to the local leaders, it need never have been published. Even now in Cutch as elsewhere responsible leaders are free to act according to their own judgment.

We should never develop the requisite qualities of leadership, unless leaders shoulder responsibility and even dare to commit mistakes in acting contrary to the advice of persons like me. Here there would be no question of indiscipline, for I am not in active command anywhere. I give advice as an expert when reference is made to me.

Those who seek my advice will wrong themselves and those whom lead, if they will suppress their own judgment when it seems contrary to mine especially when mine is not based on direct local knowledge.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001/H/V.*

(THE TIMES OF INDIA, dated 26-6-1939.)

"ENDING IMPOSSIBLE SITUATION IN INDIA"

Need of Active Form Of Satyagraha.

MR. GANDHI ON HIS STATEMENTS ABOUT STATES.

"India is facing an impossible situation, and I feel within me that some active form of satyagraha, not necessarily civil disobedience, must be available in order to end an impossible situation.

"There must be either effective non-violent action or violence and anarchy within a measurable distance of time. "

This statement is made by Mr. Gandhi in the course of an article in Saturday's Harijan.

Under the caption " Its Implications," Mr. Gandhi writes:—

I am sorry that my recent statements about States have perplexed even those who have hitherto had no difficulty in understanding my writings or my actions.

But the Rajkot statements, my actions in Rajkot, and the statement on Travancore have made 'confusion worse confounded.' Pyarelal and laterly Mahadev have been manfully trying to interpret for the readers of Harijan both my writings and doings.

I know that they somewhat helped to clear misunderstandings. But I observe that something is required from me directly. I must, therefore, try to give the implications as I understand them of my recent writings and actions.

I had better first say what they do not imply; Thus my ideas on civil disobedience—individual, group or mass—have not changed, nor have my view about the relations between the Congress and the Princes and the people changed. Nor has my view undergone any change that it is essential for the Paramount Power to do its duty towards the people of the States, a duty which it has woefully neglected all these years.

" Act of Violence "

My recantation had reference only to my distrust in God in whose name the fast was undertaken and my seeking to supplement His work by Viceregal intervention. For me to rely upon the viceroy, instead of God or in addition to God, to act upon the Thakore Saheb, was an act of pure violence which the fast was never conceived to imply or use in the remotest degree.

The positive implication of the Rajkot chapter in my life is the discovery that the non-violence claimed for the movement since 1920, marvellous though it was not unadulterated. The results though brilliant would have been far richer if our non-violence had been complete.

A non-violent action accompanied by non-violence in thought and word should never produce enduring violent reaction upon the opponent. But I have observed that the movement in the States has produced violent reaction on the princes and their advisers. They are filled with distrust of the Congress. They do not want what they call interference from it. In some cases the very name 'Congress' is anathema. This should not have been the case.

The value of the discovery lies in its reaction upon me. I have definitely stiffened in my demands upon would be Satyagrahis. If my stiffness reduces the number to an insignificant figure, I should not mind. If Satyagraha is a universal principle of universal application, I must find an effective method of action even though a handful.

### NEW LIGHT

And when I say, I see the new light only dimly, I mean that I have not yet found with certainty how a handful can act effectively. It may be, as has happened throughout my life, that I shall know the next step only after the first has been taken. I have faith that when the time for action has arrived, the plan will be found ready.

But the impatient critic will say, 'The time has always been there for action; only you have been found unready!' I cannot plead guilty, I know, to the contrary. I have been for some years saying that here is no warrant for resumption of Satyagraha.

The reasons are plain.

The Congress has ceased to be an effective vehicle for launching nationwide Satyagraha. It has become unwieldy, it has corruption in it, there is indiscipline among Congressmen, and rival groups have come into being which would radically change the Congress programme if they could secure a majority.

That they have failed hitherto to secure it is no comfort to me. The majority has no living faith in its own programme. In any case Satyagraha through a majority is not a feasible proposition. The whole weight of the Congress should be behind any nation-wide Satyagraha.

When there is the evergrowing communal tension. Final Satyagraha is inconceivable without an honourable peace between the several communities composing the Indian nation.

### PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

Lastly, there is the provincial autonomy. I adhere to my belief that we have not done anything like justice to the task undertaken by the Congress in connection with it.

It must be confessed that the Governors have on the whole played the game. There has been very little interference on their part with the ministerial actions. But the interference, sometimes irritating, has come from Congressmen and Congress Organisations. Popular violence there should not have been whilst the Congressmen were in office.

Much of the ministerial energy has been devoted to dealing with the demands and opposition of Congressmen. If the ministers are unpopular, they can and should be dismissed. Instead they have been allowed to function without the active co-operation of many Congressmen.

It will be contrary to every canon of Satyagraha to launch upon the extreme step till every other is exhausted. Such haste will itself constitute violence.

It may be said in reply with some justification that if all the conditions I have mentioned are insisted upon civil disobedience may be well-nigh impossible. Is that a valid objection ? Every measure carries with it conditions for its adoption. Satyagraha is no exception.

But I feel within me that some active form of Satyagraha, not necessarily civil disobedience, must be available in order to end an impossible situation. India is facing an impossible situation. There must be either effective non-violent action or violence and anarchy within a measurable distance of time. I must examine this position on a future occasion.

#### DEMAND OF STATES' PEOPLE

Mr. Gandhi's Advice.

Writing in Saturday's Harijan under the caption " How Far" Mr. Gandhi says: —

With reference to my advice to the States' people to lower their demands if necessary, a correspondent asks, How are the people to go and what reduction, if any, is suggested or contemplated, for instance, in the Jaipur demand which has been practically framed by you ?

This question would never have arisen if my language had been properly attended to. In the first place. I have added the proviso if 'necessary.' This must be clearly proved and each committee should judge the necessity and the extent of the reduction.

In the second place, there can be no question of reduction where the people are ready for the exercise of the powers demanded and for the sacrifice involved in the development and the consolidation of the strength to enforce the demand.

Take the case of Rajkot itself. Award or no award, if the people in general had the capacity for the required measure of sacrifice and if they had been ready for swaraj, nothing would have kept them from their prize.

#### MISTAKE ADMITTED

" It would be wrong to say or believe that but for my mistake the people of Rajkot would have got what they wanted. My mistake has been admitted. But it must not be held responsible for the failure of the famous notification.

The talk of demoralisation resulting from' my 'bad handling' of the situation is nonsensical. In satyagraha there is no such thing as demoralisation.

Those who are truthful, non-violent and brave do not cease, to be so because of the stupidity of their leader. Of course, here would be demoralisation or rather exposure if the three virtues were put on for the occasion and were to fail on the real test being applied. People who are strong by nature displace weak leaders and go about their business as if they never needed a leader. If they needed one, they would soon elect a better one.

"Workers in the States should try to understand the Rajkot case, if they will profit by it. If it is too complicated for them, they should leave it alone and go forward as if it had not happened.

Nothing will be more misleading than to think that before my so-called mishandling of the Rajkot case, the Princes were so trembling in their shoes that they were about to abdicate their powers in favour of their people.

What they were doing before I even went to Rajkot was to confer among themselves as to the ways and means of meeting the menace, as they thought it to be to their very existence.

#### "UNHOLY COMBINATION"

We know what Limbdi did. The talk of combining with the Muslims the Girasias and even the depressed classes against the Congress workers was in the air. My action has resulted in the discovery of the unholy combination. A true diagnosis is three-fourths the remedy.

The workers are today in a position to devise remedies to combat the combination. It simply resolves itself into the necessity of Congressmen or satyagrahis gaining control over the forces arrayed against them.

They are as much out to gain liberty for the Muslims, Girasias, depressed classes and even the Princes as for themselves. The satyagrahis have to show by cold reasoning and their conduct that the Princes cannot remain autocrats for all time and that it is to their interest to become trustees of their people instead of remaining their masters.

In other words, what I have done by correcting myself in Rajkot is to show the true way to satyagrahis. In following it, they may find it necessary to lower their immediate demands but only so as to really hasten their progress to their goal.

Therefore, there can be no lowering out of weakness. Every lowering must be out of a due appreciation of the local situation and the capacity of the workers to cope with it.

#### NO ROOM FOR ROUT

"Here there is no room for demoralisation and a rout. In cases like Jaipur, of course, there can be no question of lowering. The demand itself is the lowest pitch. There is no room in it for lowering anything. In essence, it is one for civil liberty.

Civil liberty consistent with the observance of non-violence is the first step towards Swaraj. It is the breath of political and social life. It is the foundation of freedom. There is no room there for dilution or compromise. It is the water of life. I have never heard of water being diluted.



Another question has been raised by another correspondent. He says, 'You expect us to work by negotiation. But if there is no wish on the other side and the only wish is to humiliate the party of freedom, what is to be done?'

Of course, nothing is to be done except waiting and preparing for suffering and promotion of constructive work.

The absence of wish for negotiation by authority may mean despise or distrust of the party of freedom in either case silent work is the remedy. Negotiation has been mentioned as a substitute for the ignoring of, i.e., the despite of, the constituted authority whether it is the Dewan or any other. And what I have pleaded for is desire and readiness for negotiation. It is not inconceivable that the stage of negotiation may never be reached. If it is not, it must be for the fault of the satyagrahis.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001 /H/V.*

Bombay, the 6th July 1939.

Sir,

Mr. M. K. Gandhi accompanied by his Secretary Mahadeobhai Desai left for Taxila by the Frontier Mail holding Inter Class Ticket Nos. 30172 and 30173 last night. The following were present at the platform to see him off:—

(About 30 persons were there.)

1. Vallabhbhai Patel,
2. Nagindas T. Master,
3. R. D. Birla,
4. The Hon. Mr. K. M. Munshi,
5. Jairamdas Daulatram.
6. S. K. Patil; Tricumji,
7. Mathuradas Tricumji,
8. Dahyabhai Patel,
9. Miss Maniben Patel,
10. Surji Vallabhdas,
11. Devidas Gandhi, and
12. Two Chinese Monks.

Reported by P. C. Tanaji.

COMMISSIONER OF POLICE

BOMBAY STATE

FILE No. 3001/H/VI.

1940

SUBJECT:

MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001/H/VI.*

(The Bombay Chronicle, dated the 29th February 1940.)

SHOE HURLED AT GANDHIJI

Patna, February 28.

A shoe is stated to have been hurled at Gandhiji at Liloah Station, a few miles from Calcutta, last night, by an unknown person when Gandhiji left for Patna. The shoe, however, missed Gandhiji but struck Mr. Mahadev Desai, his secretary, who has kept it with him.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001 /H/VI.*

Copy/26-8-40.

NLT OL 1 WARDHAGANJ 26 IRC 65

NLT CARLHEATH FRIENDSHOUSE EUSTONROAD LONDON SITUATION SERIOUS CONGRESSMEN FEEL GOVERNMENT REPRESSION AIMED AT CONGRESS STOP THIS WILL MAKE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE INEVITABLE THOUGH TRYING AVERT CRISIS MYSELF MAY BE INVOLVED STOP POLICY NONEMBRASSMENT ADOPTED MY INITIATIVE STOP IT MAY NOT BE ALLOWED TO BE USED TO CRUSH CONGRESS STOP WILL DO NOTHING WITHOUT TRYING SEE VICEROY STOP FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONGRESS AND ME BEING ELIMINATED.

GANDHI

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001 /H/VI.*

Bombay, 12th September 1940.

Sir,

I beg to report that Mr. M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Kasturbai, Mahadeo Desai and Abdul Ghaffar Khan arrived at Dadar Railway Station G.I.P. Rly. from Wardha by the Calcutta Mail via Nagpur at about 8-42 a.m. on 12th September 1940.

About 100 persons were present at the platform to receive the party, including the following.

1. Vallabhbhai Patel,
2. Bhulabhai J. Desai,
3. K. M. Munshi.
4. B. G Kher,
5. Mathuradas Tricumji,
6. Dr. Jivraj N. M. Mehta.
7. Nagindas T. Master,
8. S. K. Patil.
9. Dr. Vaidya,
10. Sunderdas Morarji,
11. Dayabhai V. Patel,
12. Bimal Sharma,
13. B. N. Maheshwari,
14. Miss Maniben Patel.
15. Mrs. Lilawati Munshi.

The party then drove to the residence of Mr. G. D. Birla at Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay.  
Nothing untoward happened.

(Sd.) X X X  
12-9-40.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001/H/VI.*

BE FULLY NATIONALIST OR FRANKLY COMMUNAL

Gandhiji's Advice to Master Tara Singh.

" You have nothing in common with Congress "

Correspondence Released.

LAHORE, Sept. 13.

Full and free recruitment of the Sikh to the Indian Army is advocated in the course of a letter written last month to the Congress President and Mahatma Gandhi by Master Tara Singh, a well-known Akali leader and President of the Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee who has resigned from the Congress following differences with Congress leaders.

With the permission of Mahatma Gandhi, Master Tara Singh has released for publication the correspondence which recently passed between the two.

### MASTER TARASINGH'S LETTER

Master Tara Singh in his letter dated August 9, 1940, said, "It is my considered opinion that even if the Congress is compelled to have recourse to Civil Disobedience to exert moral pressure on the Government, it should do nothing to prevent recruitment to the army, but confine its activities to spheres which do not infringe the morals of our troops or dissipate our powers of defence."

"I am writing preoccupation of wresting power from Britain we must not close our eyes to dangers internal and external, to which our country would be exposed, if England fails in the war".

### POSITION OF SIKHS

" I am writing to you " added Master Tara Singh, to make the position of my community and that of my own clear. I am definitely of opinion that Sikhs should join the army in as large numbers as possible in the interest of their motherland and their own. They can only then maintain their position in any Government. I cannot be a party to anything which is likely to weaken the position of my community. To be strong is the essence of independence.

### FULL RECRUITMENT ADVOCATED.

' In my anxiety to help the Congress and remove the last obstacle in the path of recruitment to the army, I made a conditional offer to provide a hundred thousand recruits in case a Congress Government agreement was reached. The chances of such an agreement appear to be far from encouraging, while the world situation is worsening. I, therefore, see no alternative but to support full and free recruitment of the Sikhs to the army.'

### GANDHIJI'S REPLY

While no reply was received from the Congress President, Mahatma Gandhi in a letter dated Sewagram (Wardha C. P.) 15th August, wrote to Master Tara Singh as follows:

"Dear Sardarji.

I am glad you have sent me a copy of your letter to Maulana Sahib.

### NOTHING IN COMMON WITH CONGRESS

As I have told you, you have nothing in common with the Congress, nor Congress with you. You believe in the rule of the sword: The Congress does not.

You have all the time 'my community' in mind. The Congress have no community but the whole nation. Your civil disobedience is purely a branch of violence.

..... I am quite clear in my mind that being in the Congress you.....weaken 'your community' and weaken the Congress with your mentality.

### LOOKING UP TO BRITISH

You have to offer your services to the British Government unconditionally and look to it for protection of the rights of 'your community'. You do not suppose for one moment that the British will take your recruits on your conditions. They will commit suicide if they did.

### NO MIDDLE COURSE

You have to be either fully Nationalist or frankly Communal, and therefore depend upon the British or other foreign power.

" This is the considered opinion of one, who loves you and the Sikhs as he loves himself and in reality more, for I have ceased to love myself."

Yours Sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI.

### PREPARE TO MAINTAIN INDEPENDENCE

In the course of his letter dated 9th August Master Tarasingh says:

'As we claim to be arbiters of our own future, we must do all we can to help the mobilisation of our man power and our resources with one object only that whatever the result of war, we may be able to attain and maintain independence.

'I am, therefore of opinion that we should not only do nothing to prevent recruitment but demand that India should be in a position to produce the modern armament in factories under Indian control only to leave the responsibility of defence to Britain is to accept continuances of dependence.

### INDIA'S OPPORTUNITY

It is Britain's interest at the moment, continues Master Tarasingh to prepare India for her own defence. England is no more in a position to spare any force for Indian defence. It is a rare opportunity for us to raise India from a position of helplessness to a position to be able to help herself. It is the interest of England to defeat her enemies by raising India to a position which England could never have contemplated before.

It is in the interest of India to make the most of the opportunity which circumstances have created'.

### SAME VIEWS AS IN 1939.

In a second letter sent to Mahatma Gandhi yesterday Master Tara Singh says:

' You say that I have to be either fully Nationalist or frankly Communal. I do not mind any epithet you choose for me. I am frankly what I was in 1939 when you recognised the Sikh community and assured the Sikhs that no communal settlement would be agreed to by the Congress which does not give full satisfaction ' inter alia ' to the Sikhs. If you have changed your position it cannot affect my frankness. I am as good a Nationalist ask a Congressman as I was in 1939.'

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/ VI.*

(The Bombay Chronicle, dated 6-10-40)

Mahatma Unburdens His Soul

Immediate Issue Not Independence But Right to Exist

CONGRESS CONTENT TO REMAIN IN OPPOSITION

British Disinclination To Do Right Thing, Bar to Freedom

Divergence In Simla Talks Wholly Avoidable

WARDHAGANJ, Oct. 5.

Mahatma Gandhi has issued the following statement to the press:

" In the correspondence between H. E. the Viceroy and myself announcing the breakdown in the talk I have said in my letter that I would make a public statement covering matters not referred to in my letter".

"BEFORE I DO SO I THINK IT IS NECESSARY FOR MY PURPOSE TO SAY A FEW WORDS REGARDING LORD LINLITHGOW. HE IS STRAIGHT IN HIS TALK AND ALWAYS DELIBERATE AND ECONOMICAL IN HIS LANGUAGE. HE IS NEVER EQUIVOCAL, NEVER LEAVES YOU IN DOUBT AS TO HIS MEANING. HE CONVEYS THE MOST UNPALATABLE DECISION WITH A CALMNESS AND COURTESY WHICH FOR THE MOMENT MAKE YOU THINK THAT YOU HAVE HEARD NO HARSH OR HARD DECISION. HE LISTENS TO YOUR ARGUMENT WITH A PATIENCE AND ATTENTION I HAVE NEVER KNOWN ANY OTHER VICEROY OR HIGH FUNCTIONARY TO SHOW IN AN EQUAL MEASURE. HE IS NEVER RUFFLED, NEVER DISCOURTEOUS. "

With all this, however, he is not to be easily moved from his position. He meets you with his decision on the matter under discussion already made. He takes care not to let you think that it is so. There is no doubt about it that his decision is unchangeable. He is not receptive. He has amazing confidence in the correctness of his judgment. He does not believe in a gentleman's or any other agreement. I have always felt that after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact British satraps decided that there should be no such Pacts. Whatever they wanted to do they should do independently. It shows either a high sense of justice or boundless self-assurance. I think it is the latter. He and I have become friends never to be parted, be the differences between us as great as they can be.

"DIVERGENCE WHOLLY AVOIDABLE"

"Holding such an opinion about the Viceroy it pains me to have to relate, what I must, my impression of the talks which have ended in a divergence which, in my opinion, was wholly avoidable; and acceptance of my proposal would have been no less beneficial to England than to India ".

" I went to Simla in the capacity of a representative and as a friend. As friend I presented him with my doubts as to certain acts of the British Government. To have them dissolved was necessary to enable me to determine my mental attitude which to me is more than any visible act.

I felt that the putting up by the Viceroy and then the Secretary of State of want of agreement by the Congress with the Princes, the Muslim League and even the Scheduled Classes as a barrier to the British recognition of India's right to freedom was more than unjust to the Congress and the Indian people.

#### CLAIM OF CONGRESS

I told the Viceroy that these three represented class or communal interests, where as the Congress represented no particular class. It was a purely national organisation striving to represent India as a whole. And, therefore, the Congress had always maintained that it would abide by the verdict of a National Assembly elected on the basis of the broadest franchise. It had further declared its intention to abide by the vote of the separate Muslim electorate so far as special Muslim rights were concerned. Therefore, it was wrong to speak as if Muslim rights needed special safeguards as against the Congress. The same thing applied to the Sikhs. The Princes of the present day were a creation of the British Government to subserve British interest. As against the plea that the British were bound by special treaty obligations. I contended that the Congress did not ask the British Government to disregard them. Only they could not be used to bar Indian progress, and it was wholly wrong to expect the Congress to produce an agreement with them. The Princes were not like other parties free to conclude any agreement with the Congress even if they wished. Moreover the Treaties, if they oblige the British Government to protect the Princes equally compel them to protect the rights of the people.

#### PRINCES' NEGLIGENCE OF DUTY

But it has been abundantly proved that the British had rarely interfered with the Princes purely on behalf of the people. If they had been as careful of the people's right as they were bound by Treaties to be, the people's condition would not have been as miserable as it is today. Had they been true to the Treaties of their own making, the people of States India should be more advanced than those of British India. I cited some telling illustrations of this neglect of duty. The introduction of the Scheduled Classes in the controversy has made the unreality of the case of the British Government doubly unreal. They know that these are the special care of the Congress and that the Congress is infinitely more capable of guarding their interests than the British Government. Moreover, the Scheduled Classes are divided into as many castes as the caste Hindu society. No single Scheduled Class member could possibly and truthfully represent the innumerable castes among them.

#### NO SATISFACTION ON POINTS RAISED

I had sought the interview with the Viceroy to see if my interpretation of the British argument had any flaw. I failed to get any satisfaction on the points raised. The Viceroy would not be drawn into a discussion.

I can have no grievance about his disinclination to enter into any argument. He had every right to rely upon the fact that that was a matter of high policy not admitting of argument.

#### " THE COLD RESERVE "

There is a certain cold reserve about the British official world which gives them their strength and isolation from surroundings and facts. They do not want to be too frank. They politely refuse to enter into embarrassing argument. They leave you to draw what inferences you like, while they continue to maintain their inflexible attitude. I suppose that what is meant by the " Steel Frame ". For me this side of British policy has been the least attractive. I had hoped against the warning of friends that I might be able to break through this Steel wall of Reserve, and get at the naked Truth. But the Imperialist Britisher is firmly fixed in his saddle.

#### KNOWING NO DEFEAT

Nevertheless I will not accept defeat. I must strive to have the truth admitted by the British people that the Bar to India's freedom lies not in the Congress or any other party's inability to produce an agreement which is in its nature impossible, but that it undoubtedly lies in the British disinclination to do the obviously right thing. The unreality of the British reasons for refusal to treat India as a free country was not my only grouse. I drew the Viceroy's attention to certain irregularities in the prosecution of the war policy.

#### FIGHT ONLY ON WELL-DEFINED ISSUES

There was agreement between us that there should be no compulsion as to war contributions. He has promised to examine all cases of hardships and all other difficulties. My purpose was to leave no ground for misunderstanding and to fight if there was to be a fight only on well-defined issues and without bitterness. I want to enter upon the fight with the hope that its very fairness will compel the recognition that India deserves better treatment, not merely from the British but from all the nations of the earth.

#### POWER FOR WHOLE NATION

Lest it might be said that the Congress fights because it has failed to get power. I told His Excellency the Viceroy in the plainest words possible that the Congress had no desire to mount to power at the expense of a single national interest. It seeks no power save for the whole nation. Therefore, he will have no opposition from the Congress if he forms a Cabinet composed of representation of different parties. The Congress would be content to be in opposition so far as the war effort is concerned, and so long as the Government machinery has to subserve imperialist ends. The immediate issue is not independence. The immediate issue is the right to exist, i.e., the right of self-expression, which broadly put, means free speech. This the Congress wants not merely for itself but for all, the only restraint being complete observance of non-violence. I hold that that condition answers all the difficulties by whomsoever raised.—A.P.



P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/VI.*  
 TELEGRAM ( State)

No. S.D./W-3968.

Dated 26th December 1940.

To

All District Magistrates.

(By hand to the District Magistrate, Bombay Suburban District).

Important. An open letter from Mister Gandhi to Hitler was submitted for press advice at Delhi and was not passed for publication by Chief Press Adviser. Stop. Suggest you inform all Editors in your area informally and if possible verbally.

— Provincial Press Adviser —

No. S.D./W-3969.  
 Home Department (Political) War.  
 Bombay Castle, 26th December 1940.

Copies forwarded with compliments for information to:—

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay,  
 The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona.  
 The Senior Censor, Bombay,  
 The Special Press Adviser, Bombay,  
 The Director of Information, Bombay,  
 The Oriental Translator to Government,  
 The Secretary to the Governor of Bombay.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,  
 (Sd.) X X X

for Joint Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
 Home Department, and Provincial Press Adviser,

\_\_\_\_\_  
 P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.*  
 (Copy)

Sevagram,  
 via Wardha, C. P. India.  
 3,1-12-40.

My dear Muriel,

You have been more regular in your correspondence than we folks here, who as usual, are fighting an unequal battle for our existence. Bapu has reduced the whole national demand to a simple one of liberty of speech and pen within the limit of non-violence, but that too is being denied to us and the best in the land are already imprisoned in vindication of their

right. The struggle is necessarily limited to a few chosen people who satisfy the stringent conditions imposed and so there is little excitement and no fireworks. But the moral of it seems for the moment to be lost on those in authority and so it may have to be a prolonged fight. But liberty always everywhere has expected a heavy price.

The Harijan has been extinct for over two months now. You can imagine what it must mean to Bapuji for whom deliverance of the message of Ahimsa seems to be the only excuse for existence. While the Britisher sees this, they would like to limit the scope and extent of the message and there is the rub.

You sent with your last letter a cheque for £. 2 and yet you wrote in the blank left for the sum to be written down in words—Five Pounds: Your letter gives no clue to the solution of the riddle for all you say therein is this: "I am overjoyed at the memorial to C. F. A. and have great pleasure in sending 2 weeks' salary to it". As I do not know your week's salary I could not tell the bank how much you might have meant. But I have banked the cheque nevertheless, hoping that it could be cashed at least for the lesser amount.

For the rest all is well. Bapu is burning the candle at both ends as usual but God is great and he keeps him. He will keep him as long as he needs to use him as an instrument for his purposes.

Love Yours,

Mahadeo Desai.

---

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.*

**SECRET**

4004/1/209/IN  
Censorship Office, Bombay,  
January 18th, 1941.

The Deputy Commissioner of Police,  
C.I.D., Special Branch I,  
Bombay.

MEMO

Enclosed is a letter dated 31st December 1940 from Mahadeo Desai, to Miss. Muriel Lester, 2929 Broadway, New York.

We take the view that this letter should be stopped. Please let us know whether you agree.

I think it can go.

(Sd.) x x x

Captain  
for O. C. Censor St.  
Bombay.

(Sd.) X X X

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.*

**SECRET**

No. 657/A/366, dated the 31st January 1941.

To

The Officer Commanding,  
Censor Station, Bombay.

SUBJECT.—Letter from Mahadeo Desai to Miss. Muriel Lester, New York.

Sir.

With reference to your secret Memo No. 4004/1/209/IN, dated the 18th January 1941, I have the honour to return herewith the letter from Mahadeo Desai to Miss Muriel Lester, 2929, Broadway, New York and to state that it may please be allowed to go on.

I have, etc.

(Sd.) x x x

Sir.

The letter really does not contain anything objectionable. Mr. Mahadeo Desai, gives only the bare facts of the present movement due to the restrictions imposed upon the Satyagrahis by Mr. Gandhi and observes that those in authority do not understand the moral of the present phase, for the moment. The letter can be allowed to go on.

\_\_\_\_\_  
P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.*

**SECRET**

**G/L-13.**

Criminal Investigation Department,  
Special Branch, U. P.  
Bombay/Lucknow, dated the 11th April 1941

1. Post Office of Interception—R.M.S., Allahabad.'
2. Date of censorship—7-4-1941.
3. Postmarks—Allahabad, Mail Agent, 7 April 1941, 9-30 a.m.
4. Sender's name and address—Shivaji, 19, Edmonstone Road  
Allahabad.
5. Date of letter—6-4-1941.
6. Language of letter—English.

7. Addressee's name and address—Shri Mahadev Desai, Sevagram,  
Wardha.
8. Whether photographed or not and —  
who can prove photograph.—
9. Whether withheld or delivered—Passed.
10. If delivered whether copy kept or not—Copy kept.
11. Who can prove copy or give evidence of having seen the letter.—  
S. K. Singh, S.I.C.O.I., and Constable, Dalip Singh, and Constable Mahesh Prasad
12. Additional information and remarks—

### CONTENTS

19, Edmonstone Road,  
Allahabad,  
6-4-41.

My dear Mahadev Bhai,

Many thanks for your letter enclosing Bapu's note. That should comfort my grandfather. I am so grateful to Bapu for it.

Father is somewhat better. The temperature has gone down but not disappeared altogether. Two more teeth will be extracted tomorrow. They are all infected perhaps that is causing the temperature. It gets to about 98.6 or 7 in the evening—it is about seven points more than the normal temperature. My anxiety is that there might not be other complications in his present state of health. It is getting quite hot here.

Dr. Sapru meets the Viceroy tomorrow. I am hoping for the best. He did receive Jayakar's letter three days back. The letter was fairly long. I saw it. It gave the gist of your talks with him. He said he had spoken to the Governor of Bombay who would get into touch with the Viceroy and know whether he could move in the matter. Placed as he is he must get the sanction. But now I feel things are running in the right direction and the needful is being done. Jayakar may be more helpful after he gets the sanction.

I do not think I was wrong in putting the interpretation I did in Bapu's message contained in your letter, to Dr. Sapru, Jayakar's letter has confirmed me in my belief that I was right.

I think Shrinivasan must have seen Bapu by now. I had a mind to accompany Sir Tej to Delhi, but then I gave up the idea.

Maulana Azad is in the same barrack with father. He is doing well. Hope this finds you well. Please convey my respectful regards to Bapu.

Yours V. Sincerely,  
(Sd.) Shivaji.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/II.*

(P. 107.)

**SECRET**

4004/2/427/IN  
Censorship Office, Bombay,  
14th April 1941.

The Deputy Commissioner of Police,  
C.I.D., Special Branch II,  
Bombay.

MEMO

Attached is a letter from Horace G. Alexander, Woodbrooke, Lilly Oak, Birmingham 29, to Mahadev Desai, Segaon, Wardha, C. P. India, for your information.

We do not propose reporting this letter to A. H. Q., should you consider any portion should be reported to D.I.B., you will no doubt do so direct.

(Sd.) X X X  
Captain,  
for O. C. Censor St.  
Bombay.

---

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.*

Copy of a letter, dated the 27th January 1941, from Horace G. Alexander, Woodbrooke, Lilly Oak Birmingham Square to Mahadev Desai, Segaon, Wardha, C. P., India.

Dear Mahadev,

John Alexander arrived here yesterday, and at the very moment of his arrival, Agatha was here with us for the week end and we were talking together. You can imagine how thrilled we were: Although our grand father was a Quaker, we are not related to each other. We shall certainly hope to keep in touch. It was fine to get direct personal news of you. Thank you very much for your letter and the document you sent which we are very glad to have.

We had been celebrating the Indian Independence Day here in Birmingham earlier in the afternoon.

I have been meaning to write to you about your biography of Abul Kalam Azad. I am sure it ought to do a lot of good. I wrote a short preface to it and Unwins promise its publication any day now.

You will know how sad we are that there should be this fresh conflict just now. But we are confident, as you are, that truth cannot be silenced and Ahinsa cannot be smothered. We must strive to use these weapons more faithfully, more ardently, and that men are converted in their hearts and true friendship between India and England and indeed between all nations will then be possible.

Olive keeps fairly well. Thank you. And since bomb fell near us last November and broke some of our windows we are living in Woodbrooke itself.

Rumour says that you are in Jail. I only hope that it is not true. Still more I hope and pray that all will soon be released. Love to all friends.

Yours affectionately,  
(Sd.) Horace G. Alexander.

---

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.*

Sir,

With reference to the attached, I beg to report that the letter addressed to Mahadev Desai contains nothing interesting except that the writer Horace G. Alexander received from him through John Alexander "a letter and document" and about ' the publication of Abul Kalam Azad's biography by Mahadev Desai.

In any case as the letter is seen by us, it would be as well that we send a copy of the same to D.I.S., who may perhaps be interested in the Foreign contacts of Mr. Gandhi and others of his fold.

I attach a copy of the letter for our record and ready-reference.

Draft letters to the D.I.B. & Military Censor is put up below for approval.

(Sd.) x x x  
16-4.

**SECRET**

No. 2236/H/3001, dated the 17th April 1941.

My dear Ahmed,

I send you herewith, for your information, a copy of a letter, dated the 27th January 1941, from one Horace G. Alexander to Mahadev Desai, which was seen by the Military Censor here.

Yours etc.,  
(Sd.) X X X  
16-4.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Copy of an English letter, dated 23rd April 1941, bearing the Postal Seal of issue, Sevagram, from:—

M. K. Gandhi, Sevagram.

To

Shree A. GUHA, B.P.C.C.

32, Upper Circular Road,  
Calcutta.

Dear Guha,

Your letter dated 18th instant. I shall do what I can. But relief by way of clothing or food has not much attraction for me. The problem is why do riots take place in spite of Congressmen functioning in all the three places—Dacca, Ahmedabad and Bombay. Congress influence is strongest in Ahmedabad, then in Bombay. You are under a handicap. Why were so many thousand people so helpless as to fail to defend their homes ? They could have done it either violently or non-violently, Congressmen must not be satisfied with mere relief work. That is for social-workers who have specialised in the field, such as the marwari relief society. Congressmen have to find out the why and the way to combat the evil. You are a seasoned worker, no armchair man, I would like you to apply your mind to the task. We may not expect Governments to help in such things. If there are people who can be easily frightened, there must be those who will put them in fright.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,  
BOMBAY STATE  
FILE No. 3001/H/VII.  
1941

SUBJECT:

MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VII.*

**STRICTLY SECRET**

No. 8/P. F. (D)/41.  
INTELLIGENCE BUREAU, HOME DEPARTMENT,  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

New Delhi, dated the 19th April 1941,

**CIRCULAR MEMORANDUM**

In December, 1940, Gandhi drafted an "open letter" to Hitler setting out the Congress attitude towards the war in terms which were regarded as objectionable. Permission for its transmission or publication was refused and Gandhi, thereupon undertook not to pursue the matter further.

2. Information has now been received that more than 200 copies of a leaflet containing an Urdu translation of the letter have been distributed by one Shri Kishen in Delhi recently. We have no information about the translator or publisher of the leaflet, but it is reported that copies of it were brought to Delhi by Shambu Dayal of Meerut and handed over to Shri Kishen, and that on receipt of a further message from the U.P., the letter left Delhi on the 3rd April to distribute the leaflets in the Rohtak and Hissar districts in the Punjab.

3. Provincial S. Bs./C. I. Ds. are requested to keep a lookout for the appearance in their jurisdictions of this or similar leaflets and to let us have immediately any information of interest that may come to notice in this connexion. In particular we would like to know whether the leaflet has been published under Gandhi's authority and who the translators and publishers of the leaflets may be. (Can S. B., U. P., add anything to the information contained in paragraph 2 above ?)

(Sd.) X X X

Assistant Director (S).



To

S.B.S. Bihar, C. P., Calcutta I, Punjab I, Madras, U.P., Bombay 1.  
C.I.D.s. Assam, Delhi, N.W.F.P., Poona, Orissa, Sind, S.S.P., Quetta.  
Bengal I.B., I.G.P., Rajputana, D.I.G. of Police, W. I. and Gujrat  
States, Rajkot.

Sir,

With reference to the attached Circular Memorandum from the D.I.B., I beg to report that no leaflet either in Urdu or in any other language containing or purporting to contain an 'open letter' from Gandhi to Hitler has come to notice in Bombay City.

(Sd.) x x x

1-5.

Sir,

No such letter has so far come to the notice of this branch.

(Sd.) X X X

1-5-41.

Inspector of Police,  
Labour Branch, C.I.D., Bombay.

Sir,

No leaflets of the kind mentioned in the attached circular memorandum have so far come to the notice of the M. Branch.

(Sd.) X X X

1-5.

M. Branch.

M. & B.: Draft reply.

(Sd.) X X X

1-5.

Sir,

A Draft reply on reverse for favour of approval.

(Sd.) X X X

1-5.

#### INTERIM REPORT

**SECRET**

No. 2541/A/358

Bombay, 2nd May 1941.

My dear Ahmed,

Please refer to your Circular memorandum No. 8/P. F. (D)/41, dated 19th April 1941 regarding certain leaflets containing Urdu translation of Gandhi's open letter to Hitler.

A look-out was kept here for these leaflets but so far they have not come to notice in Bombay.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) X X X

1-5.

P. C.'s Office. Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

(P. 129.)

**STRICTLY SECRET**

No. 9/INC/41.

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE, C.I.D.,  
 PROVINCE OF BOMBAY, POST BOX No. 46.

Poona, 6th May 1941.

Dear Mr. Ray,

Please see No. 8/P. F. (D)/4I, dated 18th April 1941, from the Assistant Director (S), I.B.. New Delhi.

It is learnt that the "Open letter" was issued from Wardha to the Associated Press and the United Press at Bombay and that they have copies of the same and that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee had instructions from Wardha to cyclostyle the same and to issue copies to the various Congress Offices. As, however, Government objected, the Associated Press and the United Press withheld the despatch of the "Open letter". Subsequently, instructions were received from Wardha by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to the effect that as Government objected to the publication of the letter it should not be published. It is understood that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has not got a copy of the letter and upto now it has not been circulated and the general public are not in the know about it.

This is for your information and necessary action.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) x x x

G. G. Ray, Esq., I.P.,  
 Deputy Commissioner of Police,  
 Special Branch I,  
 Bombay.

P. C.'s Office. Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

Translation of a letter in Gujarati from Manilal to Mahatma Gandhi.

Johannesburg, 12-7-41.

Revered Bapu and Ba (i.e., Mr. and Mrs. M. K. Gandhi),

(Para 5)

\* \* \* \* \*

During my stay here I thought of writing to General Smuts for an interview, copy of the letter is enclosed herewith. I did not expect any reply and went to Phoenix after two days. The third day there was a telephone call from his Private Secretary informing me that the General would see

me. When I went for the interview in the Union Building the Private Secretary received me cordially: General Smuts entered the Secretary's Office and on seeing me, asked me if I was young Gandhi and shook hands with me. I was asked to see him at 3 O'Clock. I was with him for about 45 minutes. He enquired about you and we had a nice talk. I have taken notes of this conversation from which you will get an idea of the topics discussed. Copy of same enclosed herewith. I could gather from this visit that he has a sweet tongue but is not sincere. He respects you; he said to me " You must not go to gaol. I shall be very sorry if you do. We all cannot follow great men. It was amazing how your father could walk about in the streets of London in that cold weather with a loin cloth and bare feet. We cannot do that."

\* \* \* \* \*

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

**SECRET**

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT,  
Delhi, Dated the 20th October 1941.

Memo No. S-30.

Copy of the following interception report is forwarded with the request that the **SECRECY OF THE INTERCEPTION MAY KINDLY BE SAFEGUARDED.**

From: Padmavati for Bapu (Gandhi) Sevagram, Wardha.

To: Satyavati Congress Office, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.

Language of letter: Hindi.

Date of letter: 24-10-1941.

Post office and date of interception: G. P. O. 26-10-1941.

Postmarks: Sevagram, Wardha.

Name of officer who can prove the interception: S. I. Thakur Das,

F. C. Sat Dev.

Whether photographed or not ? —

Whether withheld or delivered ? Delivered.

If delivered, whether copy kept or not ? Translation below.

Z. D. A.

Dear Sister Satyavati,

Bapu has received your letter dated 21-10-1941. On account of too many visitors Bapu himself could not write to you and so he has asked me to write instead.

Bapu says that nobody could stop you courting jail again. You may come here in person and get permission. Bapu will hear you first and then will accord his permission.

I hope you will come now. I trust you are keeping a good health.

Yours sister,  
(Sd.) Padmavati.  
for BAPU.

P. C's Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

Bombay, S. B., November 6th, 1941.

**SECRET**

Date of letter: 5th November 1941.

From: Mr. M. K. Gandhi,  
 Sewagram, via Wardha.  
 To: Sri Purshottam Tricumdas,  
 Barrister, Shantaram Lane,  
 Walkeshwar, Bombay.

A FREE TRANSLATION OF A LETTER IN GUJARATI (MANUSCRIPT)

Brother Purshottam,

I was dissatisfied with your speech in Bihar to the same extent as I was satisfied with your comments on the statement re: Jayprakash. It amounts to this that the teeth for show and for chewing are different. And what a poisonous criticism of the Congress of which you are a member ? If the Congress is as you believe it to be, what is the good of your continuing to be a member of the same. Your justification of the Congress policy at present appears to be a favour on it from a high position. I am writing this much as a friend of yours. This is not for discussion in the Press. No institution can advance by adverse criticism of any other institution. It progresses by its own strength.

Blessings from Bapu.

Sir,

The original is submitted herewith for favour of orders as to whether it should be photographed. (Not necessary).

---

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/II.*

**SECRET**

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT,  
 SPECIAL BRANCH, U. P.  
 Lucknow, dated the 14th February 1942.

1. Post Office of Interception—G. P. O., Allahabad.
2. Date of censorship—7-2-42.
3. Postmarks—Wardha, 5th February 1942.
4. Sender's name and address—Mahadeo, Sevagram, Wardha.
5. Date of letter—31-1-42.
6. Language of letter—English.
7. Addressee's name and address—Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, Anand Bhawan, Allahabad.

8. Whether photographed or not and who can prove photograph—No.
9. Whether withheld or delivered—Delivered.
10. If delivered whether copy kept or not—Copy kept.
11. Who can prove copy or give evidence of having seen the letter—  
R. S. Misra, S. I. C. O., II and Const. Dalip Singh.
12. Additional information and remarks— .....

### CONTENTS

My dear Mrs. Naidu,

Taking advantage of your presence I wish to consult you about the possibility of the Cong. organisation making the fullest use of the constructive programme resolution passed in Wardha especially in reference to measures for allaying panic and rendering help in case of disorder due to enemy actions in Bombay.

As you know I belong to no party, official or non-official but by virtue of my present office as (?) I could usefully serve the citizens as a link between the official and non-official organisation for the above purpose.

\_\_\_\_\_  
P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 IH/II.*

I need hardly point out to you the necessity of construction without subordination to any authority, at the time of crisis. It is also obvious that there must be at such times unitary contest and any one policy to be effective at all.

In formulating such a policy should it be not possible for both the official and non-official to meet on a non-official joint commtt. which I am anxious to convene to achieve the necessary co-ordination without prejudice to the independent status of either side.

Would you very kindly consider this matter and if necessary, consult Gandhiji or any one else you think fit. I shall await your reply before moving in the matter but I may point that I am pressed and we must do something for our city soon.

Yours affectly.,  
(Sd.) Roberts.

My dear Naidu,

Since my letter I have had a talk with your friend David Synungton, the A. R. P. Controller. I have suggested to him the formation in Bombay of a Civic Defence League which membership is open in the same terms to all including the A. R. P. workers. I am glad to say that he is quite agreeable and all places approved by the body whether suggested by the A. R. P. or other would be the accepted plan of action. And, of course, plans rejected by the commtt. would be scrapped.

It will be a purely non-official Civic Committee independent of the organisation of the rest of the Province and concerned only with the safeguarding of the citizen of Bombay City.

I hope this suggestion will (?) accepted to all sections of citizens of Bombay.

Yours affectly,

(Sd.) Robert.

Sevagram,

Wardha, 6-2-42.

Dear Faiba,

Your letter to Bapu with the enclosures. He says that you should seek Jawahar's or/and Maulana's guidance on these and similar matters— as that guidance will be authoritative. And since you are going to Allahabad it will be easy for you to discuss the matters with either or both of them.

I return the enclosures.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) Mahadeo.

POLICE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,  
BOMBAY STATE.  
FILE No. 3001/H/VIII.  
1942  
MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.  
1942

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*  
1942

From  
E. W. C. Wace, Esquire, C. I. E., I. P.,  
Deputy Inspector-General of Police,  
Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.

To  
The Deputy Commissioner of Police, S. B.,  
C. I. D., Bombay.

No. 2191-ADSB.

Lahore, dated the 20th April 1942.

Sir,

I have the honour to request you to please ascertain and let me know if Harijan (Ahmedabad) published in your province is suitable for issue to the security and political prisoners confined in the Punjab Jails.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.)/—

for Dy. Inspector-General of Police,  
C. I. D., Punjab.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/VIII.*

Below letter No. 2191-ADSB, dated the 20th April 1942 from E.W.C., Wace, Esquire, C. I. E., I. P., Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab, Lahore, regarding newspaper "Harijan" (Ahmedabad).

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 29/8/H/3001.

SPECIAL BRANCH I, C. I. D.,  
Bombay, 25th April 1942.

Forwarded with compliments to the District Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, for favour of direct disposal.

(Sd.) J. C. Wilson,  
Deputy Commissioner of Police,  
Special Branch I, C. I. D., Bombay.

No. 2919/H/3001 of 25/4/42.

Copy with compliments to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D., Punjab. Lahore.  
(Sd.) X X X

Dy. Commissioner of Police,  
Special Branch I, C.I.D., Bombay.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*

Bombay City S. B., May 11th.

M. K. Gandhi.

With a view to collecting money for the Andrews Memorial Fund, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, arrived in Bombay by Calcutta Mail on May 10th. He alighted at the Dadar Railway Station at 1 P. M. and was received by about 300 persons including Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhulabhai J. Desai, Dhirubhai B. Desai, S. K. Patil, the Honourable Mr. Mangaldas Pakvasa, Y. J. Meherally, Nagindas T. Master, R. D. Birla and others. He is staying at Birla House, Malabar Hill.

An appeal has been made asking contributions to above mentioned fund.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/VIII.*

SURVEILLANCE REPORT.

Name of the suspect—Mr. Gandhi.

Place of residence—Birla House.. Bombay

Time—1/10 p.m to 7/30 p.m.

Watcher's name—(i) H. C. Pandurang, (ii) W. Nahasingh.

Date 10-5-42.

Place & persons visited by the  
suspect.

Visitors to the Suspect.

Time

1-10 p.m.

The suspect accompanied by K. M. Munshi, and Mrs. K. M. Munshi, arrived at Birla House in the Cars Nos. B.M.X./892 and B.M.W./1757 respectively.

1-15 p.m.

K. M. Munshi and Mrs. K. M. Munshi left.

3-00 p.m.

Mahadev Desai arrived.

3-15 p.m.

Mahadev Desai left.

3-16 p.m

Miss Khurshed Bin Navraojee and Mr. Perain  
Bin Captain arrived.

5-30 p.m.

Miss Khurshed Bin Navraojee and Mr. Perain  
Bin Captain left

N. B.—About 200 local citizens participated in a prayer at Birla House at about 7-00 p.m. which lasted for 15 minutes.



Prominent among those present were:—

- (i) Sundar Dass Murarji.
- (ii) Ambalal Mehta.
- (iii) Mahadev Desai.
- (iv) Seth Birla.

Pandurang.

11-5-42.

Naher Singh.

11-5-42.

Watcher.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*

Bombay, 12th May 1942.

Sir,

I beg to report that about 250 citizens of Bombay participated in a prayer at Birla House compound at about 7 p m. on 11th May 1942. The prayer lasted about 25 minutes.

Prominent those among the present were:—

- 1. M. K. Gandhi.
- 2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
- 3. Pyare Lal.
- 4. Mahadeo Desai.
- 5. K. M. Munshi.
- 6. Seth Birla.

At the end of the prayer M. K. Gandhi addressing those who were present said that he had come to collect money for the Andrews memorial and hoped that citizens of this city would fill his bowl.

(Sd.) Naher Singh.

Watcher.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*

Bombay, 13th May 1942.

Sir,

Re: *Visitors to Mr. Gandhi.*

Since his arrival here on the 10th May, Mr. M. K. Gandhi was visited by the following persons on the dates shown against them:—

10-5-1942

Mr. K. M. Munshi.  
Mrs. Lilavati Munshi.  
Mrs. Perin Captain.  
Miss Khurshedben Nowroji.  
Vallabhbhai J. Patel.

11-5-1942

Mr. K. M. Munshi.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel.

12-5-1942

Bhulabhai J. Desai.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel.

Ghanshyamdas Birla.

Rameshwardas Birla.

Prithvi Singh of the Physical Culture School at  
Malad.

(Sd.) x x x

13-5

Sir,

The following were amongst the visitors to Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the 13th May 1942: —

1. Vallabhbhai Patel.
2. Ghanshyamdas Birla.
3. B. G. Kher.
4. Mrs. Krishna Hutheesingh.
5. Dr. Jivraj Mehta.
6. Jinabhai P. Joshi.
7. Prithvi Singh of Malad.

At the evening prayers collections were made towards the Andrews Memorial Fund.

(Sd.) X X X

14-5.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*

Bombay. 13th May 1942.

Sir,

I beg to report that about 300 local citizens participated in prayer at Birla House Compound at about 7 p.m. on 12th May 1942. The prayer lasted about 20 minutes.

Prominent those among the present were: —

1. M. K. Gandhi.
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
3. Mahadeo Desai.
4. Pyare Lal.
5. Bhulabhai Desai.
6. Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla.
7. Prithvi Singh of Malad.
8. Rameshwardas.

Following the prayer funds were collected at the spot for the Andrews  
Memorial Fund.

Nahar Singh.  
Watcher.

Sir,

The following visited Mr. Gandhi on 14r5-1942: —

1. Vallabhbhai J. Patel.
2. Yusuf Meherally.
3. B. G. Kher.
4. Nagindas T. Master.

(Sd.) x x x

15-5.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*

Bombay, 14th May 1942.

Sir,

I beg to report that about 300 local citizens participated in a prayer at Birla House Compound on 13th May 1942 at 7 p.m. The prayer lasted for about 20 minutes.

Prominent those among the present were:—

1. M. K. Gandhi.
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
3. Mahadeo Desai.
4. Pyare Lal.
5. Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla.
6. B. G. Kher.
7. Mrs. Krishna Hutheesingh,
8. Dr. Jivraj Mehta.
9. Jinabhai Joshi.
10. S. G. Vayankar.
11. Prithvi Singh Malar.
12. Rameshwar Dass.

Following the prayer funds were collected at the Andrews Memorial Fund.

Naher Singh.

Watcher,

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*

Bombay, 15th May 1942.

Sir,

I beg to report that a prayer attended by about 400 local citizens was held at Birla House compound, Bombay on 14th May, 1942 at 7 p. m, which lasted for about 20 minutes.

Prominent among those present were:—

1. M. K. Gandhi,
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
3. Mahadeo Desai.

4. Pyare Lal.
5. Seth Rameshwardas.
6. Seth Ghanshyam Das Birla.

Following the prayer funds were collected on the spot for Andrews Memorial.

Yusuf Meherally, B. G. Kher and Nagindas T. Master had also come to see M. K. Gandhi at 4 p.m. and went back at 4-30 p.m. on 14th May, 1942.

Nahar Singh.

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P. C's Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*

Bombay, 16th May 1942.

Sir,

On the 15th May 1942, the following met Mr. M. K. Gandhi: —

1. Bhulabhai J. Desai.
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
3. K. M. Munshi.
4. Mrs. Krishna Hutheesingh.
5. Mrs. Shantabai Vengaskar.
6. Joachim Alva.
7. B. G. Kher.
8. Dr. Jivraj Metha.
9. Vinoba Bhave.
10. Pratap Singh.

About 75 Congress workers including members of the B. P. C. C. also met him between 4 & 5-30 p.m.

(Sd.) X X X

Sir,

Mr. Gandhi left for Wardha by the Nagpur Mail from V. T. at 5-40 p.m. He was seen off by about 50 persons including Nagindas T. Master, Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhulabhai Desai, Bhawanji Arjun Khimji, S. K. Patil, Yusuf Meherally, Mangaldas Pakwasa and others.

(Sd.) X X X

18/5.

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P. C's Office, Bombay.

Bombay, 16th May 1942.

### *REPORT*

Time	
9-30 A.M.	Bhulabhai J. Desai arrived at Birla House.
9-46 A.M.	Bhulabhai J. Desai left the place.
10-07 A.M.	Joachim Alva arrived at Birla House.
10-55 A.M.	Joachim Alva left the place.

About 75 Congress workers met privately at Birla House from 4 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. on 15th May 1942. The proceedings of the meeting are being ascertained.

Following were present among the prominents:—

1. M. K. Gandhi.
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
3. Mahadeo Desai.
4. Pyare Lal.
5. K. M. Munshi.
6. Bhulabhai J. Desai.
7. Mrs. Krishna Hutheesingh.
8. Shantabai Vengaskar.
9. Joachim Alva.
10. Ghanshyamdas Birla.
11. B. G. Kher.

From 7 to 7-20 p.m.

About 500 local citizens attended a prayer at Birla House, Bombay which lasted for about 20 minutes on 15th May 1942.

Prominent among the present were: —

1. M. K. Gandhi.
2. Vallabhbhai Patel.
3. Mahadeo Desai.
4. Pyare Lal.
5. K. M. Munshi.
6. Dr. Jivraj Mehta.
7. Vinoba Bhave.
8. Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla.
9. Pratap Singh.

Following the prayer funds were collected at the spot for Andrews Memorial.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*

Bombay, 17th May 1942.

### *REPORT*

Time.

10-00 a.m.	S. G. Vayankar arrived at Birla House.
11-00 a.m.	S. G. Vayankar left the place.
12-55 p.m.	Dr. D. D. Santhe arrived at Birla House.
1-30 p.m.	Dr. D. D. Santhe left the place.
1-00 p.m.	Mangaldas Pakwasa arrived at Birla House.
3-45 p.m.	Mangaldas Pakwasa left the place.
1-00 p.m.	Morarji Desai arrived at Birla House.
3-45 p.m.	Morarji Desai left the place.

2-10 p.m.	B.G. kher arrived at Birla House.
3-50 p.m.	B. G. Kher left the place.
5-25 p.m.	Bhulabhai J. Desai arrived at Birla House.
5-40 p.m.	Bhulabai J. Desai left the place.

About 30 press reporters and press photographers met privately at Birla House, Bombay from 2-15 p.m. to 3-45 p.m. on 16th May 1942.

Prominent among those present were: —

1. M. K. Gandhi.
2. S. G. Vayankar.
3. B. G. Kher.
4. Mangaldas Pakwasa.
5. Morarji Desai.
6. Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla.

About 1,500 local citizens participated in a Prayer at Birla House Compound, Bombay at 7 p.m. on 16th May 1942 which lasted for about 20 minutes.

Prominent among those present were:—

1. M. K. Gandhi.
2. Vallabhbbhai Patel.
3. Mahadeo Desai.
4. B. G. Kher.
5. S. G. Vayankar.
6. Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla.

Following the prayer funds were collected at the spot for Andrews Memorial fund.

(Sd.) Naher Singh.  
Watcher.

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P. C.'s Office. Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*

Bombay City S. B. I., May 18th:—[Vide para II (6) of my W. L. dated May 12th, 1942].

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M. K. Gandhi.

During his stay here, he was visited amongst others by the following: —

1. Mr. K. M. Munshi.
2. Mrs. Lilavati Munshi.
3. Mrs. Perin Captain.
4. Miss Khurshedben.
5. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel.
6. Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai.

- |                                       |   |        |
|---------------------------------------|---|--------|
| 7. Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla.            | } | Hosts. |
| 8. Mr. Rameshwardas Birla.            |   |        |
| 9. Mr. Prithvisingh.                  |   |        |
| 10. Mrs. Krishna Hutheesingh.         |   |        |
| 11. Mr. B. G. Kher.                   |   |        |
| 12. Mr. Nagindas T. Master.           |   |        |
| 13. Mr. Yusuf J. Meherally.           |   |        |
| 14. Mrs. Shantabai Vengaskar.         |   |        |
| 15. Mr. Joachim Alva.                 |   |        |
| 16. Dr. Jivraj Mehta.                 |   |        |
| 17. Mr. Vinoba Bhave.                 |   |        |
| 18. Honourable Mr. Mangaldas Pakvasa. |   |        |
| 19. Mr. Morarji Desai.                |   |        |
| 20. Dr. Henry Grady.                  |   |        |

Every evening prayers were held at Birla House. About 500—1,000 persons attended.

The only open activity was in connection with the interview he gave to local journalists on May 16th. Details of the discussion with journalists have already appeared in the press, particularly in the 'Bombay Chronicle' (Sunday edition) and 'Free Press' 'Bharat Jyoti' (Sunday edition) on May 17th.

Accompanied by two secretaries, Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal, he left for Wardha on the evening of May 17th.

It is reported that he succeeded in collecting about 3 lakhs for the Andrews Memorial Fund and the remaining amount has also been promised by some of the merchants.



COMMISSIONER OF POLICE  
BOMBAY STATE  
FILE NO. 3001/H/IX  
1942  
GANDHI'S NEW MOVEMENT.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

Memo No. 6372/94 S. B.  
110(2)42

BIHAR AND ORISSA

C. I. D Special Branch  
Regd. No. 2395/H/-  
21st May, 1942:  
BOMBAY.

C. I. Department,  
Special Branch.

**SECRET**

Extract from an intercepted letter, dated 12-5-1942 from Yusuf Meherally, Corporation Hall, Bombay to Prabhabati Devi, Bihar Provincial Mahila Bibhag, Charka Class, Kadarmkuam, Patna.

On my return from the A. I. C. C. meeting I received your letter. I have been thinking of writing to you about everyday since your letter reached me in the Lahore jail and I had conveyed your namaskar to Brijkrishanji who is in very good health. He is likely to be released in a short time.

From your letter I can see that Joyprokash is still in indifferent health. I hope the treatment will do him good. I have sent him a number of books and also have written him about the A. I. C. C. meetings and also about meeting of our national executive.

As for my coming to Bihar, I am coming to attend the All India Kisan Conference of Muzaffarpur on the 30th and 31st inst. At that time I shall stop at Patna naturally to meet you. I would also like to go to Itki to Dr. Ganga Babu and of course 3. P. at Hazaribagh, I have written to him. This week end I am going to Surat to attend the camp organised by the All India Women's Conference under the charge of Kamala Devi.

Next week I shall be going to Poona to meet the members of the Maharashtra Party. Then to Nasik for a day. So you will see that in addition to my regular work in Bombay, I have to knock about a good deal.

Gandhiji arrived in Bombay yesterday and I had talk with him. I was very happy to find that he is taking a very correct and a very strong attitude and I am expecting some fresh breeze in the near future.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

**SECRET:**

Below extract from an intercepted letter.

X                      X                      X                      X                      X                      X                      X

Gandhiji arrived in Bombay yesterday and I had a talk with him. I was very happy to find that the he is taking a very correct and a very strong attitude and I am expecting some fresh breeze in the near future.

---

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/IX.*

**SECRET**

Below extract from an intercepted letter.

X                      X                      X                      X                      X                      X                      X

Gandhiji arrived in Bombay yesterday and I had a talk with him. I was very happy to find that he is taking a very correct and a very strong attitude and I am expecting some fresh breeze in the near future.

---

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

**SECRET**

Memo No. G-4.

Criminal Investigation Department,  
 Delhi, dated the 23rd May 1942.

From

Sharaf, Bombay Suburban.

To

P. C. Joshi, C/O Romesh Chandra, 3, Bhagwan Das Road,  
 New Delhi.

Language, date and Postmark of letter—English, 17-5-42.

Interception: Post Office, date and officer—New Delhi, 20-5-42.

A. S. I. Hamam Singh.

Action taken—Delivered. Copied.

Gandhiji's interview to Bombay Suburban and Gujrat Congressmen on 15th May 1942 (The interview lasted for about 85 minutes).

At the outset of the interview, during which Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhulabhai, Kher, Morarji, and prominent Congressmen were present, Gandhiji remarked that it would be better if questions were put to him instead of his just making a speech.

O. 1. ( By .....?) It is said that you are going to advise the British to leave India. Is this true? And if they do not listen to your advice, do you intend to non-cooperate with them?

Gandhiji's reply:—Usually an advice is given with the idea that it will be followed. But it may also not be heeded. The advice has, therefore, to be prepared for both contingencies. I do advise the British to leave India. I tell them to go away. And why do I say so ? Because they will have to go anyway. They have been suffering defeats right from Singapur, through Burma and now even at the gates of India. Their continuation will therefore mean suffering for India. Yes, I ask them to go. And if they will not ? Then I shall have to see. If my advice is not needed by them I shall have to force them to go by non-co-operation or by civil disobedience. Or it may be by both. Of course you may ask that in the beginning of the war, I was for non-embarrassing the British and you may say: Where is that policy now ? Is this consistent with it ? Let me tell you here that I think this is perfectly consistent with it. For the British need my advice. There will be embarrassment for them on the contrary. For I say that at present the war is far from their shores. On the Indian front they lack material. At home they have plenty. Let them therefore go back home. That will enable them to fight the Japs better. So, my policy is consistent. Of course, if they do not listen, I must cause them embarrassment. I am helpless. And I do not think it can be individual satyagraha this time. No, it will be mass-satyagraha, an-all-out Satyagraha against the British demanding their withdrawal forthwith. Mind, I am not pro-Japanese. Indeed Japan is too much of an aggressor for me to be that. But I emphatically differ from Rajaji. For, with what can I fight the Japs ? The British are the immediate aggressors. Indeed I believe that the entire danger to India would be less if British withdraw from here. I do not think Japan will invade India then. She wants to fight Britain. She has no concern whatsoever with India. What has India done to incur her wrath ? It is Britain who has fought Japan and crossed her path. Therefore Japan wants to fight it. And therefore it is possible that when the British withdraw we shall be able to come to terms with Japan. And if even then she does not listen, then I have the same weapon against Japan that I have against Britain. Japan will not get a drop of water in India. We shall see to that. But resistance to the Japanese, by whom ? By a free India, not by an India who is not asked whether she would enter the war or not. Here I may point out that I disagree with Rajaji. Rajaji is an old colleague of mine and my love for him remains as strong as ever. But I do not feel like Rajaji that of two Britain is better and can be dealt with later.....now, Japan. For me an exploiter of other nations is an exploiter, whether he be an imperialist or a totalitarian. Names do not matter. Besides who says the British are better ? I do not want to say for a moment that Rajaji will accept National Government outside the Congress i.e. without its sanction. But have the British offered it? Rajaji is prepared to help them in every way against the Japanese. Then why the hitch ? Simply because they do not want us to get the power. They will not give it. They are what they are and nothing will change them. Yes, Cripps has gone back. But why do not they negotiate again ? Through Sapru or Jayakar or even Rajaji ? Because as I said they do not want to. Their time to go has come. Rajaji concedes Pakistan. But has Jinnah even moved an inch to discuss matters with him ? No. For

Jinnah's game is to bring Government pressure on the Congress and Congress pressure on the Government, or both. Rajaji says, let India be split up. But I cannot agree. I cannot swallow the splitting of India. I alone know what pain the thought has caused me. Rajaji is an old friend and an astute politician. And only I know what I suffered to let him go. But he is strong-willed. He believes that he will achieve Hindu-Muslim unity. But what after all is Pakistan ? What does it mean ? Besides when Cripps came Rajaji was for acceptance. Jawaharlal tried his utmost to get the demand conceded. You know what Jawahar is: a straight-forward man. But nothing doing. And that is what I had said all along with terrible suffering of mind. And that is what people the millions of India told me at the station. No settlement. Don't settle: Even in Calcutta, Some Muslims quite good fellows you know—said. " You haven't accepted, have you ? " That is what Indians felt. And how can the Government deny it ? They go so far as to say, not a single Burman helped the Japs, (laughter). But Rajaji still hopes to achieve that which the British have determined will not be achieved. Hindu-Muslim unity. What really is Pakistan ? Jinnah has never really explained. Can you tell me ? (Turns to some one. The fellow fumbles; " But it is the demand of the Muslim Masses ") Yes, yes who denies that ? But what is the demand ? The masses are duped. Good Mussalmans have failed to explain it to me. Indeed when I am asked to solve the deadlock, I admit I cannot do anything about it. The British, make us fight, although I do not hide for a moment that we too want to fight. Else we would never fight. But the only way to achieve unity is by getting India to ourselves and achieving it. Rajaji talks of the Lahore resolution. But the resolution is out of consideration. For where is Independence ? Anarchy is the only way. Some one asked me if there would be anarchy if the British go. Yes, it will be there. But I tell the British give us chaos. I say in other words, leave India to God. But that is putting it in my language, in a language that the masses will not understand. Therefore I say, leave India to anarchy. We shall have to face it. Better face it than the present state. The Congress mind is neither Hindu nor Muslim nor Christian nor Parsee. It is this Congress mind—a live reality—that will have to take charge ..... of the anarchy. And fashion it into Hindustan. I therefore ask the British to give us the gift of anarchy. If the British withdraw it will be given automatically. If not then we will create anarchy, by launching Satyagraha. I know the general confusion. You find Maulana says one thing, Jawahar another, Rajaji a third and now I a fourth thing. What are we to do ? My advice to you is to weigh all the four and decide which to accept by yourself. I have not yet met Jawahar nor Maulana. But as you know well, although Jawahar and myself have differed quite often, he has always been with me as far as action goes. And I hope to win him to me. As for Maulana, we have always stood together since years. So I hope to reduce the four different notes to two. Then there will be only my voice and the voice of Rajaji and you can decide which of the two to follow. I cannot say. But I can only say that in this decision do not be influenced by a Bhulabhai here or a Khersahib there. Decide for yourself. But decide with your reason, for if you just come my way then you will become an obstacle to me. And as for yourself, you will find yourself no more.

O. 2. (By B. G. Kher).—But will such a mass civil disobedience not mean direct help to the Japanese ?

Reply.—Oh—no ! We are driving the British. We do not invite the Japanese. No, I disagree with those who think them liberators. Chinese history points that out. In fact I advised Chiang-kai-Shek, when he came here to fight the Japs my way. In fact I believe that Subhash Bose will have to be resisted by us. I have no proof, but I have an idea that the Forward Block has a tremendous organisation in India. Well Subhash has risked much for us; but if he means to set up a Government in India, under the Japanese, he will be resisted by us. And I fear the Forward Block people will try their utmost to do so. And again as I said, we launch our movement only against the British. The Japs can expect us to sign a neutrality pact with them. And why not ? Why should they invade us ? But if they do we shall resist.

Q. 3. (By....?)

I am incharge of a public trust building. Soldiers want it. They say I should sign a paper saying I give the building willingly and give it or they will take it, by force. Have I to resist them ?

Reply.—Not at all.....unless of course you want to start Satyagraha on your own. For the fight has not begun yet. It will take two months yet for me to launch it. And that is why I wish this talk with all of you to day to be kept secret. Please see it does not get into the press. This language is too high for the press to grasp. As far as possible, do not let even your friends know.

Q. 4. (By...?)

I want to ask just this; a man is strangling me. Meanwhile another man comes to strangle him. Should I not help the other fellow to strangle my strangler ?

Reply.—I am a non-violent person, and I say by all means struggle for your freedom but then stop. Myself esteem will not allow me to help in strangling my strangler. No, I cannot help the Japanese. Having earned my freedom I remain neutral. But that is for a non-violent man like me. The ethics of the violent, as so many of your, are different. Indeed, Russia, erstwhile hater of Britain can take her aid, and Britain, similar hater, give it to her because both have violence favouring mind. So to those of you to whom non-violence is not a belief but only a weapon, I say you needn't desist from helping Japan. Nay, to be true to yourself, you should help it by every means, by even violent means, if possible.

Q. 5. (By Hutheesingh). But Bapu -----

Gandhiji.—Sorry, I didn't know you were here (loud laughter).

(Hutheesingh): —But Bapu, some people say that one's outlook should be wider. That India should not think of her own freedom, but should stand by the international forces of freedom. For example, the communists: they say that this is a people's war and India should right Japan as China does. Needless to say, I don't agree with them. But what is your opinion ?

Reply.—None could be greater fools, (load laughter). But where is this India ? India as India does not exist. It is in Britain's pocket. How can such India help ? And why ? The British give us nothing while they demand everything. And after all what help are we not giving ? I do not devour the newspapers like you but I have got the information that 1,50,000 recruits are recruited monthly out of which 50,000 are selected. That's not a small matter. Besides Britain gets financial help. Who is going to resist its taxes ? The post-card has risen from six pies. But even if it rises to a rupee, am I going to stop writing letters ? Then why this clamour for our help Besides it is different with China. Her man-power is immense and her armies, unlike ours, are not mercenaries. And most of all her people are military minded. And what is all this talk of a new mode of life and of international freedom? Can we depend upon Britain and Ame rica, both, whose hands are stained with blood ? India's name can be found no where on the Atlantic Charter.....Even before the com munists ever said it, I have been thinking of a new mode of life. But it is impossible unless Britain withdraws to let the Indians and the Negroes be free. Then talk to me of a new mode of life. For I believe that such an India will then really serve as an ideal nation in the world and render it service.

Dear P. C.

18-5

Herewith information on Gandhiji's talk in Bombay. I have not heard from you nor has there been any trunk call.

All well—trust you are meeting with success there.

(Sd.) Sharaf.

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P. C.V Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/IX.*

**SECRET**

EXTRACT FROM BOMBAY PROVINCE WEEKLY LETTER No. 22.

Dated the 6th June 1942.

Reference: GANDHI'S NEW MOVEMENT.

(2) POLITICAL  
 CONGRESS  
 ACTIVITIES.

Public interest centres round the alleged intention of Gandhi to start a new struggle with Government and the expected announcement of his plans is being anxiously awaited. What these plans are is not yet known but suggestions have been made that Gandhi will bring pressure to bear on the owners of mills and factories directly or indirectly engaged in war production to close down their concerns and at the same time encourage antirecruiting propaganda throughout the country. Doubts are expressed however whether Gandhi will be able to enlist the support of the Congress in these ventures, as some Congressites do not seem to be in favour of courting jail during the war. Meanwhile propaganda is being carried on both by Congressites and Socialists to prepare the populace to obey Gandhi's orders implicitly as soon as they are made known. Vallabhbhai J. Patel a member of the All India Congress Working Committee, it is learnt, spoke to the same effect at a private meeting attended by 25 members of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee at Bardoli on May 31.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*

M. K. GANDHI'S NEW MOVEMENT.

Bombay City, S. B. (I), June 15th: —

In connection with the proposed mass movement of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the 'Janma Bhoomi' dated June 13th.

"It is reliably learnt from those who are in close touch with Mahatma Gandhi that the Mahatma has a scheme for mass movement in the country kept ready. It is said that the form of 'Satyagraha' this time will be different. It is believed that the present form of movement will begin with a No-Tax Campaign'. Gujarat being loyal to Mahatmaji and a reply to the repressive measures in the U. P. being expedient, the movement will be launched, it is believed, in Gujarat and U.P. provinces. Informed circles believe that Government will try to break the movement before it begins. Though the

arrest of Mr. Gandhi is not likely before the commencement of the movement, there is every likelihood of his arrest as soon as the movement assumes its proper form. "

II. The 'Harijan' dated June 14th, 1942, gives several reasons and arguments as to why Mr. Gandhi wants the British to withdraw in their own interest. As regards the action of the authorities demanding evacuation without notice, it advises those ordered to do so not to move from the place sought to be evacuated and to take the consequences.

III. The following from the editorial of the 'Bombay Chronicle' dated June 15th, 1942, is of interest:—

"Why is it that Gandhiji is so persistently writing on his plan of withdrawal in spite of the extremely slender chances of its being accepted by Britain ? Perhaps the answer is that, if he finds it necessary to start soon a mass movement—which, we think, would neither be opportune nor well-advised at the present moment he must previously do everything possible to come to an agreement before the movement is launched. If . so, that is one more reason why Congress and Government should at once resume negotiations for at least a war-time settlement."

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

EXTRACT FROM COMMUNIST REVIEW No. 145.

Dated the 29th June, 1942.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited .....

"It is reported that although Mr. Gandhi is still keen on launching his mass Civil Disobedience in pursuit of his campaign for the withdrawal of the British, his attitude has to some extent moderated owing to opposition from several members of the Working Committee, who do not see eye to eye with him. Mr. Gandhi has not yet disclosed his actual plan of action even to his own supporters. All eyes are, for the present, fixed on Wardha, where the meeting of the Working Committee will take place on July 4th."

CONGRESS

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

EXTRACT FROM COMMUNIST REVIEW No. 146.

Dated the 11th July, 1942.

"Bhulabhai J. Desai, who has .....

The deliberations of the Working Committee at Wardha continue to hold exclusively the attention of local Congress workers. The large majority are convinced that Gandhi is determined to embark on a mass civil disobedience movement, and

CONGRESS



speculation is confined to the form it is likely to take. Privately many of his supporters consider the present time inopportune for any such demonstration. So far as Bombay City is concerned, it is unlikely that the movement, if started, will receive any adherents, apart from Gujaratis and a few Marwadis. "

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Bombay Provincial Congress Committee,  
 Congress House, Bombay 4.

Tel. No. 40733.

27th July 1942.

To,

.....

Reference: Impending Struggle.

Dear Friend,

You have, no doubt, kept yourself in touch with the political situation which is very fast developing in this country. The Wardha Resolution of the Congress Working Committee has given the clarion call. I have, no doubt, that this call will rise in volume and vigour as the A.I.C.C. meeting comes nearer and nearer. I have not the least shadow of doubt that the A.I.C.C. will put its stamp on the Wardha Resolution. Immediately after the A.I.C.C.'s decision, there will be a call for action and every one of us, and particularly those who have had the good fortune of representing the Congress organisation in the various public bodies will have to respond to that call quickly and unflinchingly. We must make our preparations in time so that we have neither to wait nor falter when the crucial hour comes. Please let me know, as early as you can, how early you are prepared to answer this call in your personal case. This information is very urgently required to help our arrangements.

Yours sincerely,

General Secretary.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

Reference: Agenda Item No. 3 of the B.P.C.C. Meeting  
 dated 27th July 1942.

Resolution on the Present Political Situation.

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has very carefully and earnestly considered the latest Wardha Resolution of the Congress Working Committee formulating the policy of the Indian Nation in this hour of crisis. It is the considered opinion of this committee that in the face of the unbending attitude of the British Government, of which the latest broadcast of Sir Stafford Cripps is the unmistakable evidence, the policy enunciated

in that Resolution is the only policy for the self-respecting people of India. The Committee expresses its unfaltering obedience to the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee. The Committee calls upon the people of Bombay in general and Congressmen in particular to be prepared for the trials and sacrifices, hitherto unknown in the history of our great struggle for national freedom. The Committee notes with profound satisfaction that the impending struggle will be led by Mahatma Gandhi to whom the Committee reiterates its firm loyalty, unquestioning allegiance and readiness to follow. The Committee particularly draws the attention of the people to the very serious and unusual nature of the impending total struggle and warns them to steel their hearts against the heavy blows that they will have to endure.

The Committee earnestly appeals to all national and anti-Imperialist elements in the country to line up with the Indian National Congress in this crucial hour of national trial, and hopes that such of them, as cannot line up, will at least not obstruct the, path which the Congress will be compelled to pursue.

Whereas it is necessary to concentrate all the energy and attention of the Congress organisation on the one grave issue before the country, the Committee strongly recommends to the A.I.C.C. to postpone the general elections of delegates and Executive Committees that have already been announced.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/VIII.*

information of a reliable nature on the exact lines on which Gandhi's proposed mass movement will proceed, is still lacking. The following extracts from the Times of India and Blitz are, however, of interest, since they tend to conform rumours heard from other sources. Nor are they contradicted by certain statements of Gandhi himself made from time to time in his newspaper the "Harijan".

"Reproduce".

It is further reported that a "hartal" and a letter to H. E. the Viceroy, immediately after the A.I.C.C. meeting is over will precede the actual launching of the movement.

Opposition to the movement is likely from the Communists, Hindu Maha-sabha, Depressed classes and Muslim League,

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

Copy of a letter seen in SECRET CENSORSHIP addressed to Friend Horace Alexander, Buchanan's Hotel, Suddan Street, Calcutta from Bapu written on Birla House letter head and dated Bombay 3-8-42. The cover also contained a typewritten (carbon copy) of "An English Friend's Outpouring".

My dear Horace,

I read your touching letter for the second time in the train and I decided to print it without giving your name and without the preparatory part. If possible I shall enclose a copy of my note on it. I wrote it there and then in the train. I could not do better than that. Often I have found that silence is more eloquent than speech and action the best of all. But as I have been writing and explaining, I thought I must not make an exception in this case. Moreover your letter has invited an answer.

If there is anything more you think I should do, I am ever ready. Do tell me fully and frankly. No stone should be left unturned to remove misunderstandings. My grave misgiving is that those who are in authority do not want to part with India. With them it seems to lose India is to lose the battle. It is terrible if it is true. In my opinion to keep India as a possession is to lose the battle. Help me to solve my doubt which I have expressed in the column of Harijan.

Love.

(Sd.) BAPU.

Enclosure: —

The HARIJAN.

#### AN ENGLISH FRIEND'S OUTPOURING.

"Jawaharlal Nehru helped me to get a clear picture of the background of the Congress resolution. But I do not believe that even he, or you, can truly imagine the emotional background in England today, any more than the Ex-editor of the New Statesman, let us say, can understand the background here. One of the strongest reasons, it always seems to me, for removing war utterly is that a war atmosphere is always so demoralising to the mind of the nations participating in war. The debasement of moral standards takes all manner of subtle forms. Now, England has been at war for about three years. During one of those years she was facing the greatest ordeal that her population has even known, and she was practically bearing it alone. And in spite of the comparative lack of air raids in recent months, the ordeal by battle goes on unabated, with the final outcome as dark as ever. You may be sure that England and her Allies will win. But I do not see what proof you or anyone can have of that until it happens. Anyhow, everyone in England realises that they are still "up against it" as they have never been; that when Hitler speaks of annihilating England if he wins, he means just what he says. Now, quite frankly, it seems to me just; inevitable that English people, whatever their attitude to Indian freedom, should see in the Congress proposal today a most cruel stab in the back. I don't for a moment doubt that these men and women in Bow or in Lancashire who were your friends in 1930, and who have always been friends of Indian freedom, are saying hard things about you today for apparently giving them still one more blow in a vital spot just when they are in mortal danger from relentless foes. And they are not saying those

hard things because Churchill or even Cripps tells them to, but because it looks just like that to them. Much as I deplore Cripps' broadcast, I have to confess that if I were in England today, lacking the insight you and Nehru and other friends here have been giving me I might think as he thinks.

" If this conflict must be, it must be. But I would beg you to say something, before it begins, that will show your English friends (you know you have many) why you have felt driven to open this way to their possible annihilation. I want them to realise that it is for you, as for them, a terribly painful step to take real agony. I hate to think that your friends in England with their minds all warped, it may be, by their ordeal, should think that you are blind to what this step may mean for them, and, of course, for the Chinese and the Russians.

" Please forgive this outpouring. I just felt I must share this burden with you. "

This is a letter from a well-known English friend, who is also one of the best English Friends India has. It demands as gentle and genuine an answer as his letter is gentle and genuine. I believe every word of what he says about British emotion. Agatha Harrison sends me cable after cable revealing her deep pain over what I am doing, the Congress is doing. And Agatha Harrison weak in body though she is wearing herself out in removing cob webs of misunderstanding. She sees every responsible English Statesman who will see her (and let me admit that they all see her) and pleads for India's cause. But she is up against a blind in all. I seem to have lost the credit that I thought I used to enjoy in those circles. It is most difficult to repair a loss for which there is no accountable reason that the loser can see. For the moment I must content myself with repetition of assurances and protestations of good faith. I would not lose credit even for entrance into heaven. But there are moments when it becomes necessary to risk (not to incur) the loss of credit for the sake of creditor himself. I began my experience in non-co-operation with the members of my family. I had no occasion to regret the adventures, for the risks were run for their sakes as they themselves discovered—some soon and some late. Love and truth are as gentle as they are sometimes hard beyond endurance. I have passed many sleepless nights to discover the various ways of ending the struggle with the least commotion. But I saw that some form of conflict was inevitable to bring home the truth to the British mind. I have no doubt that events would show that I was right that I acted in the spirit of pure friendship. British authority would deal summarily with the movement. The sufferings will be all on the side of the people. True, in the end Britain will lose in moral battle, but to let her continue as she is doing is to make her bankrupt, and perhaps lose the battle. Whereas the movement which I have advised the Congress to take up is designed to prevent bankruptcy, and enable Great Britain to acquire amoral height which must secure victory for her and her Allies. There is no claim here for philanthropy. The fact stands and nobody has ever denied it that by this movement India stands to gain her goal of Independence. But this is irrelevant here. What is

relevant here is the fundamental fact that the movement is designed to help Britain in spite of herself. This is very big almost arrogant claim. I am not ashamed to advance it because it comes from agonised heart. Time alone will show the truth or falsehood of the claim. I have no doubt as to the verdict. For the testimony of reason may be wrong, of the heart never.

On the way to Bombay.

3-8-1942.

M. K. GANDHI.

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P. C. 's Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/IX.*

IMMEDIATE.

SECRET.

No. 24/Cong./42-III.

INTELLIGENCE BUREAU, HOME DEPARTMENT,  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
NEW DELHI.

Dated, the 7th August 1942,

#### CIRCULAR MEMORANDUM.

A copy of a confidential circular letter issued on the 29th July 1942, by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to all District Congress Committees is enclosed for information. This circular which has recently come to notice and has apparently the authority of at least one member of the All India Congress Working Committee, gives an indication of the line that the projected mass movement may take in various Provinces.

(Sd.) G. AHMED.

Deputy Director (A)

S. Bs. Calcutta I, Bihar, U. P., Punjab I, Bombay I, C. P., Orissa.  
C. I. Ds. Assam, Delhi, N. W. F. P.' Sind, Poona.  
Bengal I. B.

All C. I. O's. (except Madras) and D. D. I., Peshawar.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

#### ANDHRA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Bezwada 29-7-42.

#### CONFIDENTIAL

The following instructions are issued to all D. C. Cs. The Presidents and the Secretaries are requested to undertake organisation work immediately on the lines suggested hereunder. But it is open to the D. C. Cs. to supplement the items or alter the lines of organisation subject to the conditions in para I below. The D. C. Cs. are requested to send their first report by 8-8-42 and a report every week thereafter without fail.

The success of the movement when it starts will very much depend on the tempo we can give it at a swift pace from the time it begins. For this the organisation should not only be effective but also should be entrusted to capable hands and arranged in succession wherever possible.

The President and the Secretary of the P. C. C. will tour the districts and will be in active touch with the developments as long as they happen to be free.

The D. C. Cs. are also requested to pool together immediately all the amounts due from primary members. The quota due to the P. C. C. must be sent by about the 4th August 1942.

If donations are collected anywhere for Congress work 25 per cent should be sent at once to the P. C. C. Even when the P. C. C. partakes in the collection work the same proportion will be claimed.

(1) The whole movement is based on non-violence. No act which contravenes this instruction should ever be undertaken.

All acts of disobedience committed should be overt and never covert. (open but not under cover).

## (2) Organisation

The District may be divided into convenient groups based on Revenue divisions or Taluka and should be placed under an organiser. The organiser should be given the assistance of select Congress workers who will actively arrange the details, place, date and the persons. Consolidated lists of these organisations with available details should be sent to the P. C. C. office immediately.

The following suggestions can be followed immediately.

I. Collect information as regards items of programme in respect of toddy yielding trees and natural salt depots, liquor shops, railway stations, telegraph and telephone lines, troops locations, recruiting centres, etc.

II. Names of persons put in charge of various items of organisation work should be listed.

III. Organise public meetings and intensive propaganda in villages at once.

IV. Congress resolutions and replies to counter-propaganda must be widely circulated. Printing work may not be possible. Duplicators may be used. Material can be gathered but will also be supplemented from time to time from the P. C. C.

(3) The form of disobedience may be individual, generalised individual, or mass.

(4) Items of the programme:— Group I. First Stage.

(a) Breaking of prohibitory orders.

(b) Picking salt.

(c) Continuing openly to be members of unlawful associations.

Group II, Second Stage.

(a) Items of non-co-operation.

Lawyers to leave practice.

Students to leave colleges.

Jurors and Assessors not to respond summons.

(b) Government officers including village officers to resign their jobs.

Group III. Third Stage.

Arranging labour strikes.

Group IV. Fourth Stage.

(a) Picketing of foreign cloth shops.

(b) Liquor shops.

(c) Foreign concerns in trade and industry.

Group V. Fifth Stage.

The following items are not prohibited but not encouraged and to be considered at this stage only:

(1) Stopping trains by pulling chains only.

(2) Travel without tickets.

(3) Cutting toddy yielding trees.

(4) Cutting telegraph and telephone wires.

*N. B.*—Rails should not be removed or permanent way obstructed. No danger to life, should be a great caution.

Group VI. Practically the last stage.

(a) Non-payment of taxes excluding Municipal taxes. Especially Zamindari rent should not be paid if the Zamindar will not join the movement.

(b) Picketing of troops.

Convictions: —

When people are sent to jail, they need not keep quite as usual. But they should continue disobedience here also through work and lockout, strikes. Hunger strikes also should be undertaken, but voluntarily, on personal risk of the individual as it may lead to the glory of self immolation.

Warning: —

99 out of 100 chances are for the inauguration of this movement by Mahatmaji at an early date, possibly a few hours after the next All India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay. The D. C. Cs. should be alert and begin to act immediately. But please also take note that no movement should be launched or any overt act done till Mahatmaji decides. After all he may decide otherwise and you will be responsible for a great unwarranted mistake. Be ready, organise at once, be alert but by no means act.

P. C. 's Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

Transcription of a speech delivered by Mr. M. K. Gandhi in English at the A. I. C. C. meeting in Bombay on the second day (8-8-1942).

"And now, friends, I have taken such an inordinately long time over pouring out what was agitating in my soul to those who have just now given me the privilege of serving them. I have been called their ' leader' or in military language ' commander'; but I do not look at my position in that light, I have no weapon except love to wield my authority over any one and have got a stick. If you handle it you will break it into pieces in no time. I do not keep a stick made of steel; it simply is my staff, with the help of which I walk, such a cripple has been elected their leader. He is not elated. He knows that he has to bear the greatest burden. They can share that burden with me and lighten it; but they will only share that burden with me if I always appear to them not as their commander—not as their controller—but as their humble servant, and he who serves best becomes chief among equals. So I am the chief servant of the Nation. That is how you can look at me.

' Therefore, I was bound to share such thoughts as were welling up in my breast and tell you in as summary a manner as I can as to what I expect you to do as a first step.

" The real struggle does not commence today. I have to go through much ceremonial as I always do, but this time much more so, because the burden is almost unbearable and I have got to continue to reason in those circles with whom I have lost the credit that I have enjoyed. I know that in the course of the last few weeks, I have forfeited the credit of a large number of friends and so much so that they now have begun to doubt my wisdom and some even have begun to doubt my honesty. Now, I hold, my wisdom is not such a treasure which I cannot afford to lose—if I had any—but my honesty is a precious treasure. It pains me that I have lost that credit only for the time being—but it is only, I know for certain, for the time being. Such occasions arise in the life of a man who is a pure seeker after truth and who wants to serve humanity or his country to the best of his lights without fraud—without falsehood—without any hypocrisy. It is not an easy thing to do. But for the last 50 years—still longer—I have known no other way and I have been a servant of humanity also—and for a long time a sincere servant of the Empire. And let me say, without fear of any kind, that never in my career, have I asked of any British Governor or a Collector or a petty official, any personal favour. I have enjoyed the greatest privilege of their friendship also and I enjoyed the privilege of friendship with Linlithgow.

" It is a friendship which has outgrown mere official relations. I enjoyed friendship with previous Viceroys also but it never went beyond the official relations. But as we talked about so many things, as we met each other



so often,—I feel Lord Linlithgow will be able to bear me out or not I do not know—personally I have felt that there is a personal bond sprung up between me and himself. Later this is no secret—and if it is a secret it is a good thing that I am letting the secret out, he introduced me to his daughter and son-in-law. He was still not married. He was his Aide-de-Camp. But the engagement was made. He was drawn towards me. He fell in love with Mahadev Desai more than with me. Once he came to see me. So when he asked for permission, permission was granted. I was quite willing to see him in the Viceregal Lodge. He said: "I want to come and see how you live". She too came. I tell you she is an obedient daughter—she is a clever daughter of Lord Linlithgow. I may tell you I take personal interest in their welfare. So far as my side is concerned there is a personal bond between him and me. That personal bond will never interfere in offering this stubborn resistance to him if I find that is my unfortunate lot which I would shirk if I possibly could—but it seems to me now that I will not be able to shirk that duty of resisting the might of the Empire with the might of the whole of the dumb millions, without any reservation put upon them except the inexorable bond of non-violence as a policy—policy confined only to this struggle.

"So it is a terrible job that I have to face to offer resistance to a Viceroy with whom I enjoyed such personal relations. I must also confess to you that he had more than once simply trusted my words. He had warned me also that "I tell you my opinion is that such and such a person is not trustworthy ". So I said: "You lay such a sort of trust. Since you trust my honesty and my non-violence, you must trust this word of mine. "I am going to put that trust in you. It is a good illustration. I love to repeat that—because it stands to his credit. There are many things that will stand to his discredit. But I mention this thing with great pride and great pleasure as an earnest of my desire not to be untrue to the British Nation.

"Then there is another thing. At the present moment, the spirit of Andrews is speaking to me and Andrews sums up the highest that I have seen in the English. With Andrews I enjoyed the relationship closer than which I have enjoyed with any Indian. There was no secret between us. We exchanged our hearts every day. Whatever was in his heart, he would blurt out without the slightest hesitation and reservation. It is true he was a pupil of Gurudeo but he looked upon Gurudeo with awe. When he went in his presence, Andrews was a different man—not that Gurudeo wanted that things—but Andrews had that big humiliation. But with me, the first time that we met together, somehow or other, we became fast friends. I had never seen him before—never known him before. He brought a note of introduction from Gokhale. He and Pierson may be defined as the first specimens of Englishmen that I have come across and I have come across many fine specimens. With whom, I must tell you that I have that spirit listening to me and he knows my heart. Then I got somewhat unsolicited and warm congratulations from the metropolitan of Calcutta. He has given me his unconditional blessing—undeserved. I have not got the letter. You need not read the language.

You would not understand that language also. I hold him to be a man of God. Frankly, in this case he is opposed to me. He thinks I am going wrong, but he will see whom I have to tell—that he is wrong. He simply tells me that my sincere prayers are with you—and that it is good sound English language which I can understand fully with him.

" With all this background, I want to declare to the world that whatever may be said today to the contrary and although I have forfeited the regard of many friends of the West—even trust of some of the friends—I must bow my head low—even for the friendship and for their love, I must not suppress the voice within. Call it conscience call it by anything you like—call it—promptings of my inner basic nature—another word for conscience. I do not mind how you describe it. But there is something there which a man who has known anything of humanity—human life—who has tried to study the psychology—I have not read any books on psychology but I have learnt sufficiently after having lived amongst them— so such a man knows exactly what that is, although he may not be able to describe it.. That something in me tells me that you have got to stand against the whole world because God is wishing and you are safe so long as you stare the world in the face, although the world may have bloodshot eyes. Do not fear that world. Go ahead. You live in fear of God. Just trust that little thing that resides in your heart. That thing within me tells me that you have to forsake friends, forsake wife, forsake brothers, forsake everything. You live to testify to that which you have lived for and which you have seen in the heart. I want to live. I want to live full span of my life and according to me, the full span of life is 120. By that time, India will not only be free but the whole world will be free. Today, I do not believe that Englishmen are free—I do not believe that—Americans are free. Yes they are free. After their own meaning they are free. They are free to do what ? To hold other part of humanity in bondage. the coloured races, the Asiatic races, Africans. They hold them in bondage. Are they fighting for their liberty? And if they are fighting for their liberty that is their declaration—then I submit to that declaration. Do not ask me to examine you after the war issues. I know my purpose. I know what freedom is. Your teachers have taught me what that freedom is. I must interpret that freedom according to what I have seen, according to what I have experienced, and those English teachers or French teachers who have written so much about freedom, written magnificent poetry— they have never said there that you shall put this interpretation and no more. You shall not broaden the interpretation of this. I tell you—I hereby testify that this is not a language of philosophy but this is a language of experience. For they are strangers. If they want to know real freedom, they have got to come to India. I am not arrogant. I am not a proud man. I know the distinction between pride, arrogance, insolence and so on. But what I am saying is, I believe, the voice of God. It is the fundamental truth that I am telling you.

"For 22 years—I must not forget my predecessors unconsciously the Congress, from its very foundation, has been building upon non-violence constitutionally. Dadabhai Nowroji and Pherozshah Mehta became rebels,

All the other distinguished men who have held the Congress high and who have held India—Congress India—in the palm of their hands—without any distinction of race or creed or colour—they were not creatures of the Congress, they were lovers of the Congress—masters of the Congress. They called themselves servants of the Congress. It is to their credit. They were servants and real servants of the Congress according to their task of life. I am talking of the Congress. I am talking of the Congress Party. I am not talking of individual Congressman. Today I do not claim that every Congressman is really conforming to non-violence—even as a policy. I know that there are many black-sheep. But I am trusting the whole of India without subjecting the whole of India to any examination. Because this fundamental principle is ruling my life. If I find that my trust is misplaced, I will not flinch. I shall dance with joy and say that the lesson was not learnt; I must go on with my fight. I must try my fight 50 times. But I shall stand the test, I hope. Therefore, I claim that from its very inception, unconsciously the Congress has based its fundamental policy on peaceful methods—which was to bring Swaraj—and which had been given today added to it by generations that followed and marched much more—as Dadabhoy himself taught us. At first he used to talk of so many things but he learnt by bitter experience. In the House of Commons he was dubbed by Lord Salisbury as a blackman. Thanks to the English electors for electing Dadabhoy Nowroji yes, by a narrow majority of votes. Dadabhoy Nowroji entered their Parliament by the votes of their own people. It was a mighty thing. I do not want to be a Member of Parliament. I have gone beyond that philosophy but at that time it was a grand thing. I know I was there at the time. India had that lesson given to her and also to the world. Have you forgotten these things. If you have forgotten I am here to testify. If anybody wishes to examine the Congress history, he will find more than ample proof in support of what I am saying.

So, with that background, I want Englishmen, Europeans and all the United Nations to examine their hearts and search their hearts—what crime has the Congress committed in demanding independence today. I ask is it right for you now to distrust such an organisation with all its background, tradition and record of over half a century and mislead its endeavours all over the world by every means at your command as the Puckle's letter has given you that demonstration. Is it right to distrust that organisation so that by hook or by crook Englishmen should misrepresent India's struggle and now, aided by the foreign press—hope they would not do it even aided by the President of the United States and may be—I do not think it is possible—but aided by the General—Lisimo of China, who has yet to win his laurels and fighting desperate battles—after having owned Jawaharlal Nehru as their comrade having showered all their affections on him he won't do it. I have met General—Lisimo. I fell in love with Madame Chiang-kai-Shek. She was my interpreter and I have no doubt—no reason to doubt—she was a faithful interpreter to her husband. I tell you that he was inscrutable but not the face of Madame and he allowed me to read his mind through his interpreter. It was a glorious thing and therefore I fell in love with her and she fell in love with me.

"I know I regard—I have great regard for British diplomacy. If they were not supreme diplomats they would not have ruled the Empire. The time for that diplomacy is gone. You know what that diplomacy is. It stinks in my nostrils. Others are learning their lessons at their feet and their diplomacy may bring the world opinion on their side but I say India will stand against that world opinion. I can speak for myself. You will redeem that word—that even if the whole of India forsook me, I will say: you are wrong—you must make India free. She will take her—size her liberty from unwilling hands by nonviolence but after my eyes are closed I do not know whether it will be nonviolence that will run through Indian mind or whether it will be violence that will run because I would have lost the battle—if my eyes closed and there is no freedom for India. Therefore, they will be rendering the greatest disservice to themselves, they will be rendering a mortal blow to China and a mortal blow to Russia, if they do not give to India its fundamental thing today. India which is pledged to nonviolence, India which is pleading with bended knees for the discharge of a debt which is overdue, is saying: For Heaven's sake give me this thing. Does a creditor wait to see whether the debtor is taking his last breath, he will go, take his last breath and take the money from him also Nor so India today. Even when India is met with such angry opposition, India says: We won't hit below the belt. We have to acquire progress in the real gentlemanly fashion. Therefore, we will not stoop to such a thing. But today if you find that I was the author of non-embarrassment and now embarking upon a policy of embarrassment, it would be wrong to say so. You will find that with a qualifying phrase 'consistently with the honour and safety of the Nation'. I cannot possibly say to a man 'No' who holds me by the neck. He may continue to hold me by the neck. But when I am drowning then my effort to get out of his clutches so that I may not be drowned—that I do not call by the word "Embarrassment" in which case, I use it for the first time. There is no inconsistency today between what I am demanding today and what the Congress demanded before.

"I have said sufficiently to the foreign press and through the foreign press to the whole world that the world has an opportunity or rather let me restrict myself—that the United Powers which simply say that they have need for India—I say to them that they will miss an opportunity of a life time which never occurs twice in the same generation and history will record that if they lost the battle, it would be because they did not discharge their obligation to India. I therefore ask for the belated discharge of that obligation and I ask for the blessings of the whole world and I want the active assistance of these United Powers. I do not want to presage anything to impair the harmony of the message that I have uttered but lest I may not be understood. I do not want the United Powers troops to disarm. I do not want the United Powers to go beyond their obvious limitations. There is difference between Fascism and Democracies in spite of their many limitations. I have somehow or other thought that there is a fundamental distinction between Fascism and even this Imperialism which I am fighting. But the acid test is now when India itself is held in bondage. Of course they are able to say: we are getting all the

assistance we want. But what will they say? From free India? They won't possibly say. They will have to say—India which we today hold in bondage—but as soon as we have taken all that we want from India we shall make India free. It will test that freedom. But we want that freedom now. That freedom will have no taste left in it, if today if you have got the power to assist—United Powers—to the best of your ability that today that ability cannot be exercised. It is not a mechanical effort, it is an effort which is to come naturally—which a man feels. I cannot make you feel that effort although you may call me as Mahatma or any other name which you may like to choose. It is an impossible task for me. But what seems impossible for me today will become possible tomorrow immediately when India scents and feels and can touch the freedom for which she wants to live. If that freedom now comes she will coin that freedom into success for the Allied Army; she will coin that freedom into success for China; the road to China from India will be opened. Today the Englishmen cannot guarantee—they cannot guarantee that help without any blemish. If I was in their place, I would take my life in my hands and I would die on the American soil—on the English soil, in order to defend my coastlines. If I cannot do anything for China today I cannot help it—without any blemish—without any fault. Perhaps that is what the Americans may say. But what about you? Where shall I keep 40 crores of people? They are a handful even the Americans are a handful before this vast mass of humanity which is overflowing not with life—I am sorry to say because the life has been crushed. There is a human skeleton. If the lustre is to be put into these lustreless eyes, I tell you that freedom has come today. For that freedom I have pledged the Congress and the Congress has pledged her share that 'It will do or it will die'.

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P. C.'s Office, B'bay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H / IX.*

## **THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY**

Published by Authority.

SUNDAY, 9th AUGUST 1942.

Separate paging is given to this part in order that it may be filed as a separate compilation.

### **PART I**

### **NOTIFICATIONS**

### **HOME DEPARTMENT, (POLITICAL).**

**Bombay Castle, 9th August 1942.**

No. S. D. V-100.—Whereas the Government of Bombay is of opinion that the organisations known as the All India Congress Committee and the Congress Working Committee in so far as either of these Committees operates or works in the Province of Bombay.

And also certain bodies of persons heretofore or at present known as the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee, the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee, or by some other names, as more particularly specified or described in the Schedule hereto annexed, or having their headquarters in or operating from or in places or areas also specified or described in the said Schedule,

Hereinafter collectively referred to as " the said associations" are engaged in organising or promoting a movement having for its objects the breach of certain laws for the time being in force, and interference with the administration of the law and with the maintenance of law and order, and that they constitute a danger to the public peace;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 (XIV of 1908), the Government of Bombay is pleased to declare that every one of the said associations, whether continuing under the same or altered names or ostensibly dissolved and purporting to operate or work through or under any specified person, and every branch thereof established, maintained, operating or working in any place or area in the Province of Bombay are unlawful associations within the meaning of section 15 of the said Act.

**2880. THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT GAZETTE EXTRA. AUG. 9,  
1942 (Part I)  
SCHEDULE**

Name or description of association.	Situation.
Bombay City.	
Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	Vithalbhai Patel Road, Bombay.
X	X
X	X
X	X

No. S. D. V-101.—Whereas in exercise of the powers conferred by section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 (XIV of 1908), the Government of Bombay has by Notification No. S. D. V-100, dated the 9th August 1942, declared the organisations known as the All India Congress Committee, the Congress Working Committee, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee or the Gujarat Provincial Congress Satyagraha Committee, the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee or the Karnatak Provincial Congress Satyagraha Committee to be unlawful associations;

And whereas it appears to the Government of Bombay that the premises specified or described in the Schedule hereto annexed, hereinafter called " the said places ", that the premises specified or described in the Schedule hereto annexed, hereinafter called " the said places ", are used for the purposes of the said unlawful associations;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of section 17-A of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 (XIV of 1908), the Government of Bombay is hereby pleased to notify the said places for the purposes of the said Act.

## **SCHEDULE**

### **Bombay City.**

(1) That portion of the pandal erected on the maidan at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, which is used as an office by the All India Congress Committee.

(2) The premises known as " Congress House " situated at Vithalbhai Patel Road, including all the buildings such as " Dadabhoy Manzil ", " Vithal Sadan ", "Sarojini Cottage" and " Jinnah Hall" situated in the Compound thereof, with the exception of that portion of the old Congress House in the centre which is used as a Municipal Marathi Girls" School.

X	X	X
X	X	X
X	X	X

**Part I. THE BOMBAY GOVT. GAZETTE EXTRA, AUG. 9, 1942,**

**2881,**

### **ORDER**

No. S. D. V.-102.—Whereas the Government of Bombay considers it necessary, for the purpose of securing the public safety, the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of the war, to make the following order:—

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-rule (1) of rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules, the Government of Bombay is pleased to direct that—

(a) no public procession, meeting or assembly shall be held in any place in the Province of Bombay, except with the previous permission in writing of the District Magistrate of the district concerned or the Commissioner of Police, Bombay as the case may be, and

(b) no person shall take part in any procession, meeting or assembly in respect of which such permission has not been obtained.

By order of the Governor of Bombay.

J. M. SLADEN,

Secretary to Government.

**COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,  
BOMBAY STATE  
FILE No. 3001/H/IX.  
1942  
MR. MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.**

P. C.'s Office, B'bay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/IX.*

W.F.A. Hamilton Esq., MBE, IP,

OFFICE OF THE  
DEPUTY INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE,  
RAILWAYS AND C. I. D.,  
Mylapore, Madras, S.

Dated the 18th August 1942.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No, 278/Camp/42.

My dear Beveridge,

The enclosed "message" has been in circulation in Malabar. Can you say if it does in fact represent Gandhi's last message?

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) X X X  
D. I. G. of Police.

E. J. Beveridge, Esq., I. P.,  
Assistant Director (S),  
Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi.

Copy forwarded for information to J. C. Wilson Esquire, I. P., Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Branch I, Bombay.

P. C.'s Office, B'bay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

**GANDHIJI'S LAST MESSAGE.**

Every man is free to go to the fullest length under "Ahimsa " by complete deadlock, strikes, and all other possible non-violent means. Sathyagrahis should go out to die and not to live. It is only when individuals go out to seek and face death that the nation will survive. (*Kareng ya Mareng....we shall do or die*).

Programme:

1. Hartal for at least three days.
2. Salt satyagraha, etc.
3. Cutting of communications of all sorts.



4. Strikes and all kinds of dead-lock in the strictest sense.
5. Asking the Military to come out.
6. QUIT INDIA slogans.

Other instructions issued by workers meeting:

1. Public meetings and processions, QUIT INDIA and other slogans. Break ban if imposed.
2. Cutting of communications, telegraphs etc.
3. Students to come out, Government servants to desert.
4. Strikes of all sorts .....ticketless travel etc.
5. No tax campaign when the time comes.
6. Disobedience of all laws vital to administration.
7. Ask soldiers and policemen to join the struggle, they must consider themselves as Congressmen.
8. Distribution of literature.
9. Every Indian Woman and Man must consider herself or himself as the successor of Gandhiji in the matter of leadership. Everything can be done (Short of violence) to paralyse Government.

*Vande Mataram.*

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H /IX.*

## **CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 5944/H/3001

Dated the 19th August 1942.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Political),  
Bombay.

*Subject.*—Booklet entitled 'Quit India' of M. K. Gandhi.

With reference to para II (2) of my Weekly Letter No. S. A. 33/A/23, dated the 18th August 1942, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the booklet entitled 'Quit-India' by M. K. Gandhi published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. It appears to be a collection of extracts that have appeared in 'Young India' and the 'Harijan'. It is questionable whether they should be permitted to be published in this form at the present moment.

2. I have therefore to request that legal opinion may please be obtained with a view to proscribing the booklet.

(Sd.) x x x

C. of P.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

**SECRET**

4004/1/1259/IN  
Censorship Office,  
Bombay, August 17, 1942.

B. H. Taylor, Esqr.,  
Deputy Commissioner of Police.  
C. I. D. Special Branch I.  
Bombay.

My dear Taylor,

With reference to our telephone conversation, I enclose a copy of "Quit India " by Mahatma Gandhi, edited by Yusuf Meherally, and published by Padma Publications Ltd.

I shall be obliged if you will let me know whether you think copies of this publication should be sent ex-India.

Yours sincerely,

Y. J. Coulton.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

**SECRET**

*No. 6017/H/3001*  
Dated 21st August 1942.

My dear Coulton,

In returning herewith the copy of the booklet ' Ouit India' forwarded under your D. O. No. 4004/1/1259/IN, dated the 17th August 1942, I write to inform you that it is not advisable that such copies should be allowed to go out of India

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) x x x

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/IX.*  
 No. 6021/A/320 of 21-8-1942.

## SECRET

SUBJECT.—Mass Civil Disobedience Movement and action to be taken  
 against persons arrested in connection therewith.

To

Superintendents of Police,  
 Divisions.

The following instructions are issued for guidance in dealing with offenders arrested in connection with the Mass Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Congress:—

(1) Government Notification No. S.D. V/100, dated the 9th August 1942, published in the Bombay Government Gazette (Extraordinary), dated Sunday, the 9th August 1942, declares the All-India Congress Committee, the Congress Working Committee, and Bombay Provincial Congress Committee in the City of Bombay as unlawful associations under section 17-A(1) of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 (Act XIV of 1908) and has also notified places like the Congress House, Jinnah Hall, etc., mentioned in the said notification.

For ready reference a cyclostyled copy of relevant extracts of the said notification is attached.

(2) Action against persons, who are arrested for picketing, should be taken under section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1932 (Act XXIII of 1932).

It should be noted that this section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1932, is cognizable and non-bailable (vide section 9 of the said Act). Please see Government Notification reproduced in the first edition of the Police Notice, Part III, Departmental, dated the 11th August 1942, at page 22.

(3) By Government Notification No. S. D. V/102, dated the 9th August 1942 (vide cyclostyled copy attached above) no public procession, meeting or assembly shall be held in any place in the Province of Bombay without the previous permission in writing of the Commissioner of Police, and no person shall take part in any procession, meeting or assembly, in respect of which such permission has not been obtained.

Any person contravening this rule should be prosecuted under rule 56 (4) of the Defence of India Rules.

As this offence is punishable with 3 years it is both cognizable and non-bailable.

(4) As this is a Mass Movement, stringent measures should be taken against persons committing offences involving defiance of laws, etc.

Action against such persons should be taken under rule 38 (1) (a) of the Defence of India Rules, for doing prejudicial acts as defined in rule 34 (6), (e), (k), (p), etc., of the Defence of India Rules.

The offence under rule 34 (6) (p) should only be used when the offence in question is not covered by the other clauses specified in Rule 34 (6).

It may be of interest to know that the following are several items of the Mass Civil Disobedience Movement which may be attempted to be enforced: —

1. Paralysis of Government administration and setting up a parallel Congress Government.
2. Creation of dead-lock in trade and all Government institutions.
3. General strikes involving all industries, essential services and Government services, including the Police and the Military.
4. Full non-co-operation on the widest scale possible, *i.e.*, non-cooperation by students, Magistrates, Judges, Government servants, lawyers, clerks, Police, Railways, Posts, etc.
5. Refusal to pay taxes.

In order to give effect to the above programme of non-co-operation to paralyse the Government machinery, the masses are asked to give effect to the above programme by issue of unauthorised leaflets, bulletins and other propaganda literature, issuing as if from a Dictator, who is at present Purshottamdas Tricumdas and who is underground. The masses believe what comes to them from such unauthorised sources in the name of the Congress and several presses and persons are prepared to take the consequences and risk in giving effect to this programme. It is against these persons and programme that the Police will have to work. The other method will be that of picketing which will be followed by social boycott.

In effect it has been noticed that the masses have resorted to violence by cutting of wires, damaging Municipal and Government property, derailing trains, setting fire to posts and public offices, stopping vehicular traffic, etc.

(Sd.) x x x  
for C. of P.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

**SECRET**

CIRCULAR

No. 6021/A/320 of 21-8-1942.

To,

Superintendents of Police,  
I/C Divisions.

SUBJECT: Mass Civil Disobedience Movement and action to be taken against persons arrested in connection therewith.

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In order to give effect to the above programme of non-co-operation to paralyse the Government machinery, the masses are asked to give effect to the above programme by issue of unauthorised leaflets, bulletins, and other propaganda literature, issuing as if from a Dictator, who is at present Purshottamdas Tricumdas and who is underground. The masses believe what comes to them from such unauthorised sources in the name of the Congress, and several presses and persons are prepared to take the consequences and risk in giving effect to this programme. It is against these persons and programme that the Police will have to work. The other method will be that of picketing, which will be followed by social boycott.

In effect it has been noticed that the masses have resorted to violence by cutting of wires, damaging Municipal and Government property, derailing trains, setting fire to posts and public offices, stopping vehicular traffic, etc.

B. H. TAYLOR,  
Deputy Commissioner of Police,  
Special Branch I, C. I. D., Bombay.

To

The Superintendent of Police,  
A, B, C, D, E & F Division  
Bombay.

\_\_\_\_\_  
P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

### **INSTRUCTIONS FROM A. I. C. C. OFFICE.**

"DO or DIE"

Mahatma Gandhi

" Every one should act as the President"—Rashtrapati Moulana Azad. With the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi every man and woman in India is his successor. Victory or death it should be the motto of every son and daughter of India. If we live we live as free men, if we die, we die as free men. There can be no rest for us as long as Gandhiji is in jail. This is our final struggle. If all do their duty the struggle should finish in two months' time. All classes of men are called upon to join the fight. Millions have to move and break the chains that bind India. Let our struggle gather momentum from day-to-day till it becomes an irresistible force and we regain our precious heritage. Let us be true to the message which Gandhiji has left us " Do or Die ". Here are some instructions for all our country men.

1. There shall be a hartal throughout the country in all the cities and villages of India and it will be continued. The hartal will be the country's protest against the arrest of Gandhiji, Congress President and members of Working Committee. It will also be a symbol of our determination to carry on the struggle which started with the arrest of Gandhiji to its successful conclusion. If participation in a hartal carries with it any penal- ties they should be cheerfully borne.

There will be meetings in the evenings in villages and cities where we shall deliver the Congress message " Quit India ". If there are bans on the meetings they should be resisted.

2. Salt is a prime necessity of our life. Our countrymen should consider themselves free to manufacture it wherever they can do so whether in coastal or inland area. Laws prohibiting the manufacture should be resisted and all consequences taken.

3. Our struggle is non-violent non-co-operation on the widest possible scale. The teeming millions that inhabit the 700,000 villages form the backbone of our struggle. They have the biggest and most vital part to play. Let them withhold all co-operation from the alien administration that has reduced them to servitude and object poverty. Let them when the time comes, withhold payment of all revenue to the Government. Where there is Zamindari system the Zamindar may be given his share of the revenue provided he throws in his lot with the people and refuses all co-operation with Government.

4. The students are the vanguard of our struggle. It is their solemn and sacred task to rouse and awaken and utilise the dumb millions from one end of the country to the other. It is unthinkable that they can be passive spectators of the grand fight for freedom that is going on about them. Let students above sixteen leave the colleges and luxuries and conduct the non-violent struggle to its victorious conclusion. They are the intelligentsia of the country and know full well how our Leader wants them to act. Our leaders have been arrested. The few that remain will soon be clapped if worse does not befall them. Students alone can fittingly supply the gap. There is no doubt they will prove worthy of the great cause that has come to them.

5. The members of the Government service are faced with a choice. In this titanic clash between the people and the alien Government which is their place? Must they, is it part of their duty to suppress, to betray their people? Must they earn their livelihood by betraying their country at a time when it is engaged in a mortal and deadly struggle? Do they like to win the blessings of the present and future generations or their curses? The days of the administration which is giving them their bread and butter are now numbered. Why lean on a broken reed? If those who do not have strength to resign their jobs have at least the courage to say no to all orders that are designed to suppress and crush our people. If the saying of " no " involves dismissal let it be cheerfully courted. Every such dismissal will be a nail in the coffin of the Empire that is throttling us.

6. As Gandhiji said let every Indian soldier in the army consider himself a Congressman. If his officer issues order which hurts his conscience as a Congressman let him disobey them and take the consequences cheerfully. It can be no part of their duty to lathi-charge, tear-gas, or shoot nonviolent crowds, peaceful processions or meetings. India hopefully looks to them to play their worthy part in the great struggle. The fellow soldiers in other lands fraternised with the people when they rose in revolt against misrule and oppression whether indigenous or foreign. Let our Indian soldiers follow their glorious example.

7. The Indian States are a part and parcel of India. The struggle of today is as much theirs as of the so-called British India. Gandhiji at the A. I. C. C. issued an appeal to princes to make common cause with the Indian people and throw off the common yoke. Whatever the response of the princes to Gandhiji's appeal let our brothers in Indian States make the struggle their own. Their fight today is not with the princes but with the alien master who is keeping them and the people in subjection. If the princes side with the alien master, it will be the painful duty of the people to wage a struggle against a combination of the princes and the alien master.

8. Gandhiji has time and again stressed the vital and decisive part that our woman-folk can play in the non-violent struggle. It is for them to justify Gandhiji's faith in them. If they bring to the struggle the nonviolent sacrifice and suffering of which they are capable, our struggle will inevitably be short and swift. Let it fall to them to rouse and exercise the people of India at the fateful period in her history.

9. Let every man and woman in the country carry on his person a badge bearing the motto ' Do or Die'. This will proclaim our determination to be free or perish in the attempt to be free.

10. This is a struggle in which all Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parshis and Christians have to participate. Freedom's struggle knows no communal or racial distinctions. If there must be competition between communities let it be one in sacrifice and suffering for the great cause.

11. Ending of foreign rule is our objective. Whatever helps in the attainment of that objective is, subject to the inexorable condition of nonviolence permissible and legitimate. People in the provinces have to devise and adopt all non-violent ways of paralysing the administration. Every man is his guide and leader. All Provinces have full provincial autonomy in the matter of carrying on the struggle. Let them remain true to non-violence and all will be well with the struggle. There is no place for fear in the struggle, it should be banished from our minds and hearts. Each one of us should feel and assert that he is a Free man. Suffering that comes our way as a consequence of this assertion and our acting on it shall be cheerfully borne. Our leaders have done their part, it is for those who are left out to do theirs. The burden of carrying on the struggle falls on them. Let them carry their burden worthy.

12. Last but not least let us not forget ' Spinning' so dear to Gandhiji. If millions spin it will administer a powerful stimulus to the struggle.....

"DO OR DIE".

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

## **SECRET**

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department.

Chief Secretary.

No. 6256/C.

4th September 1942.

I give below, for your information a translation of a message from Gandhi to Kannadigas (Canarese speaking people) which came to notice in the course of secret censorship.



"Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. "—Mahatmaji's last message. " Every man is free to go to the fullest length with Ahimsa. Do or Die". Bombay, dated 9th August 1942. "

" Message to the Kannadigas. " I hope that all Kannadigas will participate in this sacrifice ".

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

9 th August 1942.

" 1. The war of Independence of India has begun. Hence from today, every man should act as if he is a free man. The object of this war is to make an end of British rule and establish Swaraj or Democracy. "

" 2. There should be no differentiation of congressmen or non-congressmen in this struggle. Everybody wants independence. It is for all. Let us join together and achieve it. Let us collectively enjoy it. We are all brothers, co-soldiers. Do or Die with this conviction. We shall march forward."

" 3. This is a revolutionary movement but this is based on non-violence. Everything should be done non-violently and it should not endanger the life of anybody. We should do in such a way that the whole machinery of Government comes to a standstill."

"4. You need not wait for instructions. Except causing blood-shed, you may adopt any means to demoralise and put a stop to the whole machinery of Government. "

" 5. All this should be done with all haste. Otherwise Gandhiji will fast unto death. The cruel British Government may allow him to die without food. Before such a crisis arises, we should achieve independence.'

"6. ' From this time I am a free citizen of Free India'—with this conviction, every man should perform his work. All laws obstructing our independence, should not be respected. Such laws and regulations should be violated. When breaking these laws sufferings arising as a result of it, should be endured and we must push on."

" 7. Meetings proclaiming independence should be held in villages. Take processions from village to village. If Police come to disperse, their muskets and latties should be snatched away from them and destroyed. "

" 8. The village Chavadies and such other buildings, indicative of British rule should be destroyed. The village officers should be requested to resign their offices. If they are not willing, their records should be removed."

"9. The people should establish parallel Government everywhere and being to rule. The law administered by British Courts should not be respected."

" 10. All these should be done fearlessly with a determination to die for the cause of independence. "

"11. Police stations and Courts in talukas and districts should be taken possession of. "

" 12. Railways, Telegraph and Telephone communications, should be made useless. "

"Do or Die"

(Sd.) J. R. De CHAZAL.

**COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, BOMBAY STATE.**

**FILE No. 3001 /H/X.**

**1942**

**MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.**

**1943—May 1944.**

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

The Sunday Chronicle, dated 7/3/43.

Believe It or Not.

**MAHATMA'S FAST COST HIS HOSTESS £1000**

Sample of Anti-Gandhi Stories in British Press " Economist" Pleads for Widening Avenues of Agreement.

**(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)**

LONDON, March 6.

A number of British papers have commented in different ways on the conclusion of Gandhiji's last. Here are a few specimens.

The weekly newspaper " The Truth" says: The cynics in India have always averred that so far as Mr. Gandhi's fast is concerned, it means taking nourishment by every available entrance except the mouth.

The newspaper alleges: One such fast involved Mr. Gandhi's hostess in an outlay of over a thousand pounds. The paper, therefore, opines: If the Government of India has any clear evidence about the realities of these fasts of Mr. Gandhi, it ought to publish the same since it is unpleasant to allow people to be duped.

**CONGRESSMEN MASQUERADING AS MODERATES?**

It is all the more desirable, suggests " Truth " to clear up any uncertainties on this score, because with Mr. Gandhi's increasing age, his Hindu indifference to death, there is increasing risk in these performances. " Truth " further suggests that the arrival of Lord Linlithgow's successor will only precipitate further barren political controversy by open or covert Congressmen masquerading as Moderates which in fact has started months before he has started out for India, so as to keep the pot boiling.

**COMBING OFFICES OF VICEROY AND C.-IN-C.**

So, for the rest of the war, it is advisable to combine the offices of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, with the indication that till the war ends, politics, having proved its futility is a closed shop.

## **INDIA GOVT'S POSITION**

The "Birmingham Post" says: All men of goodwill and all men of reasonable commonsense must rejoice that the fast has ended with no ill consequences either to Mr. Gandhi's health or the health of India. Awkward and mischievous as he has been of late, one could hardly forget Mr. Gandhi's earlier services to India or ignore certain traits of his character which have made for him friends all the world over.

Whatever may happen, there can now be no such sentimental repercussions in India as would certainly have followed Mr. Gandhi's death during the fast. For the rest, the whole episode should strengthen the position of the Government of India which took the only sane line of refusing to grant this self-made sufferer his unconditional release.

As a result, firstly, the law in India has been vindicated; secondly, the published correspondence makes it crystal clear Mr. Gandhi's large share in the unpatriotic and even treasonable Congress policy; thirdly, Mr. Gandhi may well have lost some of that influence, especially with Congress, which of late, he has been misusing so grossly.

## **WHAT WAS HIS PURPOSE?**

The weekly newspaper "Spectator" says: What has been accomplished by Mr. Gandhi by this fast depends upon what he purposed. If he fasted as a semi-religious exercise which he felt must be forced upon him, his end, presumably, has been achieved.

If his aim was to secure unconditional release, it has not been achieved. The only matter for regret in connection with this fast is that it caused the resignation of three(?) Hindu Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. (Note the repetition of the "Times" Delhi Correspondent's inclusion of Sir H. P. Mody among Hindus).

## **WIDEN AVENUES OF AGREEMENT**

After justifying Government of India's action against Congress and its leaders including Gandhiji, today's "Economist" says: Nevertheless neither in justice nor in expediency, can Governments either of India or of Britain, wash their hands.

Two steps seem possible at least to show good faith and at best widen the avenue of agreement and co-operation quantitatively. Viceroy's Council is Indian but qualitatively it is not and it might do good, without doing harm, by the complete Indianisation of Viceroy's Council or at any rate handing over three or four of British portfolios to Indians.

The second possible step is less specific but may be more fruitful. A fully Indianised Viceroy's Council might well be given the task of examining the future Constitution of India with power to co-opt any representative Indian from any party, which might wish to co-operate. Recent events scarcely suggest that the Congress and the Muslim League would participate, and without their participation, deliberations might be somewhat academic.

Nevertheless, the door would be open for all the world to see. It would be even plainer than it is now that the responsibility rests with the Indians themselves, that they are being given every chance by the British authorities to work out their problems in their own way.

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P. C.'s Office Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/IX.*

Extract from Daily Letter No. 3406/A-320, dated the 29th March 1943.

\* \* \* \* \*

### **9. Congress Movement**

Information to hand is that Mr. Gandhi is eager to demand the appointment of a tribunal to decide whether the Congress or Government was responsible for the disturbances that followed the arrest of Congress leaders on the 9th August 1942. It is also said that if the representatives of the Leaders Conference fail to achieve their object in bringing about negotiations or a compromise between the Congress and Government, or if Mr. Gandhi is not released in spite of the efforts of the leaders and as a result of his correspondence with H. E. the Viceroy, he will resort in about May next to a 'fast-unto-death'. If this happens, the underground organisation of the Congress, which is at present in a state of inaction, will arrange to send 'Jathas' (batches of Congress workers) from the whole of India to the place of Mr. Gandhi's detention as well as to the Camp of H.E. the Viceroy at Delhi demanding Mr. Gandhi's release. At the same time attempts will be made to persuade all detenus in jails to resort to a capacity fast or a fast-unto-death, whichever is possible, in sympathy with Mr. Gandhi.

\* \* \* \* \*

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

Bombay Chronicle, Dt. 26-4-43.

### **PHILLIPS NOT ALLOWED TO SEE MAHATMA**

Thanks Indian Press for its Courtesy and Co-operation.

New Delhi, April 25.

Mr. Phillips, President Roosevelt's Representative in India, in a farewell chat with Press correspondents this evening made an important disclosure.

In reply to a question whether he had made an effort to meet Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru, he said: —

"I should like to have met and talked with Mr. Gandhi. I requested the appropriate authorities for permission to do so, and was informed that they were unable to grant the necessary facilities."

*Friendly and Helpful Indian Press.*

Before answering the question which was the only one addressed to him, Mr. Phillips in a statement said:

"I wanted to have this opportunity, just prior to my departure for the United States on a brief visit, to meet informally, and to thank representatives of the Indian Press for their courtesy and co-operation during this initial stage of my Mission here. With relatively rare exceptions, the Press has viewed my Mission with understanding and my relations with individual journalists have been uniformly friendly and helpful.

" This makes a great difference to a new comer bent upon learning as much as possible of a country and its problems; and you may be sure that I am most appreciative. If on occasions some sections of the Press have, in varying terms, expressed regret and sometimes annoyance at my reticence, they have at the same time seemed generally to appreciate my inability to report to anyone except to my own Government.

"As you all know since my arrival here on January 8 I have travelled extensively, and had the opportunity of meeting hundreds of people from all walks of life and representing, all types of opinion, occupation, and profession, and everyone has been universally hospitable and helpful.

### **VISIT TO BENGAL ON RETURN**

"In the short time at my disposal, I have been unable to visit several important sections of the country, such as Bengal, and I shall take the earliest possible opportunity to remedy this unavoidable omission after my return from the United States.

" I look forward to seeing you all upon my return to India. And again, many thanks for your courtesy and co-operation. "

### **PHILLIPS RETURNS TO DELHI**

NEW DELHI: Mr. Phillips returned on Sunday after spending a few days with the Viceroy at Dehra Dun.—A. P.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/IX.*

Extract from Secret letter No. 7323/A/320, dated the 28th June 1943 regarding Congress Mass Movement.

## **6. Congress Movement**

As reported in my daily letter No. 3406/A/320, dated the 29th March 1943, it is learnt that Jathas or bodies of Congress workers and sympathisers will be sent to the place of Mr. Gandhi's detention at Poona on the anniversary of " Leaders' Arrest Day " on the 9th August 1943. A circular letter to this effect which has come to notice directs Provincial workers to organise Jathas to march to Poona on the date in question, to continue march until they are either arrested or removed and to take a vow not to return to their home town until they have achieved Gandhi's release or are arrested in the attempt. It is also learnt that on 9-8-1943 a few mills will go on strike, and colleges, schools, cloth markets and other Indian bazars will observe a ' hartal'.

**CONGRESS MASS MOVEMENT IN BOMBAY CITY (9-8-42 TO 31-3-43) AT A GLANCE**

Arrests			Released	Detained 26(1) (b)	Released 26(1)(b)	Convictions		Women	
S.B.I	Crime Pol.	Divisions				S.B.	Divisions	Arrested	Detained
311	214	4,263	3,834	300	99	27	465	243	19

*Property seized:* Congress House.

Dadabhoy Manzil.

Sarojini Cottage.

*Funds Seized:* B.P. C.C.

Rs. 1,220-2-8 Bank of India.

Rs. 1, 733-12-10 Central Bank (Zaveri B.).

Rs. 2,490-3-1 (Congress House Safes)

Total .. Rs. 5,444-2-7

A. I. C. C.

Rs.'11,395-6-0 Bachraj and Co.

Rs. 789-7-0 Bank of India (Fort).

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**DISTURBANCES**


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Only for 5 days from 9-8-42 after which most of the nulls began working throughout, also tram and bus traffic suspended in certain areas.	Killed: 43 Injured: 663 Policemen— Killed: 1Injured 118.	Damage to property estimated at Rs. 1,53,260 Polite chowkis damaged. 17.
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Seizures	Sabotage				
	Arrests	Detained 26(1)	Conviction s (b)	Bombs	
				Explosion	Seizures
6 Presses 3 Cyclostyles 2 Duplicators 3 Motor cars 1 Radio (5 transmitters and 1 receiver only) <i>Bulletins and leaflets</i> 10,000 Chikhalwadi 20,000 Matunga 15,000 Dadar 5,000 Suresh Pr. 4,000 Datta Pr. 2,000 Khetwadi Pr. 2,000 Nagdevi Pr. 3,000 Ela Pr. 2,000 May Pr. 10,000 Kamathipura 2,000 'Do or Die' leaflets 20,000 Labour 10,000 Misc.	214	57	4	102	318 bombs and explosives.
1,05,000					
	Attempt at deadlock in private and public institutions.				
Schools and Colleges were partly affected but since October they worked peacefully.	Only the Share Bazaar, Cotton Exchange, Bullion Exchange and cloth markets were affected. Government Departments were not affected. Only 1 Solicitor, 1 Advocate-General, 1 Government Pleader and 3 J. P.s. resigned.  <div style="text-align: right;">           (Sd.) X X X            Supdt., S. B.            C. I. D.         </div>				

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

Below U.O.R. No. S.V.V./12242, dated 12-11-1943, from Home Department, regarding: Fwg. two packets, one containing some Marathi pamphlets and other containing a Hindi book entitled " Vichitra Atma-Sandesh " addressed to Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Returned with compliments.

2. The book in Hindi entitled ' Vichitra Atma-Sandesh' is written by one Kedarnath Kaushalya of Sankhtara, District Sialkot. Punjab. It is printed by L. Shantilal Jain at the Bombay Sanskrit Press, Shahi Mohalla, Lahore. The book deals with spiritualism and the methods of attaining salvation as preached by different religions. The author says that he discussed the subject with Mr. M. K. Gandhi but did not get any satisfactory reply.

3. Of the 3 Marathi pamphlets by Sevak Sewanand of Poona, the one dated 18th October appeals to Congressmen who are outside to send their opinion on the present situation to Mr. Gandhi. Another dated 21st October deals with the writer's talk with Hari Bhawoo Phatak who has recently come out of jail and whom the writer has found to be in close touch with Congressmen but still reluctant to convey the real feelings of the people to Mr. Gandhi. The third pamphlet dated 2nd October 1943 gives the writer's views on the happenings of the last year in India and condemns secret organisations in politics. He also blames Mr. Gandhi for the present state of affairs in India.

(Sd.) x x x

D. C. P., S. B. I.

U.O.R. No. 14970/A-320/H, dated 20-11-1943.

H. D. (Spl) (6).

The book-posts one containing some Marathi pamphlets and the other containing a Hindi book entitled " Vichitra Atma-Sandesh" have been received for Mr. M. K. Gandhi, from Sevak Sevanand of Poona and Mr. K. V. Kaushal, respectively. The C. of P. may in the first instance be requested U.O. to state what is roughly the subject-matter of these publications.

Id/-

12-1-43.

U.O.R. to C. of P. Bombay, No. S.D.V/12242, dated 12-11-43.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X,*

Below U.O.R. No. S.D. VI/14631, dated 28-12-43, from Home Department (Spl. 3), regarding: the subject-matter of the magazine " Kalyan received for **Mr. M. K. Gandhi.**



Sir,

The attached magazine " Kalyan " is altogether a religious magazine and the articles printed in it are written on religious matters and it contains nothing objectionable.

(Sd.) X X X  
30/12.

Following reply may issue:—

R.W.C.

The magazine is devoted to the spiritual and moral teachings of Sanatan Dharma.

(Sd.) X X X  
for C. of P.

U.O.R. No. 101/A-320/H, dated 5th January 1944.

H. D. (Spl.) (6).

The magazine 'Kalyan' received for Mr. Gandhi may in the first instance be referred U.O. to the C. of P., Bombay, who may be requested to state what is roughly its subject-matter.

(Sd.) x x x

U.O.R. to the C. of P., Bombay, No. S. D. VI/14631, dated 28-12-43.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H /X.*

Below copies of Government Telegram No. 57, dated the 25th February 1944, addressed to all District Magistrates and all District Superintendents of Police.

No. S. D. V/3680-A,  
Home Department (Political),  
Bombay Castle, 25th February 1944.

## CONFIDENTIAL

Forwarded with compliments to:—

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay (with a request that he will take action on the lines suggested in the telegram).

The Commissioners of Divisions,  
The Inspector-General of Police,  
Province of Bombay,  
All Deputy Inspectors-General of Police

for information.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,  
(Sd.) x x x  
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay.  
Home Department.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/X.*

Below copies of Government Telegram No. 57, dated 25th February 1944, addressed to all District Magistrates and all District Superintendents of Police.

**TELEGRAM**

No. 57.

Dated 25th February 1944.

To

All District \* Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police.

[\* The District Magistrate, Bombay Suburban District (by hand) ].

If permission is asked for to hold condolence meetings on occasion of Mrs. Gandhi's death, it should be given freely unless you fear breach of peace. If meetings are held without permission you must use your discretion as to whether they should be dispersed.

BOMBAY SPECIAL.

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

Below U.O.R. No. SD VI/7166, dated 3-4-44, from the Home Department, Bombay, regarding: Fwg. a copy of the newspaper " Vishwamitra" received for S. P. Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

I have gone through the attached issue of the Hindi newspaper "Vishwamitra" and found nothing objectionable. Most of the articles deal with the life sketch of Lala Mulchand Agarwala, the founder of "Vishwamitra" and his meritorious services for the cause of Hindi literature. A few articles deal with political developments in India and also with the difficulties in the way of journalism, but they are not objectionable.

(Sd.) X X X

Returned with compliments.

2. This is the Silver Jubilee Special issue of the Hindi newspaper entitled " Vishwamitra ". There is nothing objectionable in it.

(Sd.) X X X

17/4.

for Dy. C. of P.

Home Department (Special 6).

The Silver Jubilee Special issue of the Hindi newspaper " Vishwamitra " has been received for Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

The C. of P. may be requested to state U. O. whether the issue contains anything objectionable.

K. A. P.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/X.*

Below U.O.R. No. SD VI/S. 10 (1), dated 20-4-44, from the Home (Spl.) Department, Bombay, regarding forwarding a Hindi book entitled " Shree Anand Mayi Lila Katha" received for S. P. Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

I beg to report that I have gone through this book " Shri Anand Mayi Lila Katha ". It is written by one " Abhay " and published by Shri Shitla-prasad Jaiswal, Udayganj, Lucknow.

The book contains an account of the spiritual life of a Bengali woman named Nirmala, wife of Bholanath. The writer names this woman as " Mau " (Mother) in the book and opines that she possesses divine power. There is nothing political or objectionable in the book.

The name of the press in which it is printed is not mentioned.

(Sd.) x x x

26/4.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

Below U.O.R. No. SD VI/S 10(1), dated 24-4-44, from the H. D. (P) Department, Bombay, regarding forwarding the issue of " Stree Jivan" received for Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

This is a special issue of "Stree Jeevan" edited by Dhirajlal D. Shah, published by Manubhai Lalloobhai Jodhani, at Surya Prakash Printing Press. It contains several articles, pertaining to the life history and sketch of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi. There is nothing objectionable.

(Sd.) X X X

29/4.

No.

R. W. C.

This is the special issue of ' Stree Jeevan " in Gujarati. There is nothing objectionable.

(Sd.) X X X

H. D. Spl. (6)

The issue of " Stree Jivan " for April 1944 (Gujrati) has been received for Mr. M. K. Gandhi. For order.

Dy. Secy.

Sent to C. of P. as usual.

(Sd.) X X X

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

No. S. D. V/51.

### ORDER

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 3 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (Ordinance No. III of 1944), the Government of Bombay, is pleased to cancel its Orders in the Home Department, No. S. D. V./53 and No. S. D. V./106, dated the 8th August 1942, in respect of the person known as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,

(Sd.) H. V. R. IENGAR,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Dated at Bombay Castle, this 6th day of May 1944.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

Below copies of—

Orders of release No. S. D. V/51, dated the 6th May 1944, in respect of (1) Mr. M. K. Gandhi, (2) Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, (3) Pyarelal Nayyar, (4) Miss Slade *alias* Miraben, (5) Sushila Nayyar, and Restrictive orders No. S. D. VI/51, dated the 5th May 1944, in respect of (1) Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, (2) Pyarelal Nayyar, (3) Miss Slade *alias* Mira Ben, (4) Sushila Nayyar and (5) Manu Gandhi.

### SECRET

No. S. D. VI/51,  
Home Department (Political).  
Bombay Castle, 6th May 1944.

Copies forwarded with compliments for information to:—

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,  
(Sd.) X X X  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

No. A/21/IV/20 of 1944.  
Office of the D. S. P., B. S. D.  
Bandra, 11th May 1944.

## SECRET

My Dear Rao Saheb,

Mr. M. K. Gandhi arrived this morning at 11 a.m. (*i.e.*, on 11-5-1944) at Juhu for a change of climate and is residing at one of the shacks of the ' Gandhi Gram' belonging to Mr. Shantikumar Narottam Morarji in the midst of the Military Camps at the Northern end of Juhu. Mr. Gandhi was accompanied by Dr. Gilder, Dr. Sushilla Nair, Mr. B. J. Desai, Mr. Shantikumar, N. Morarji, Mr. Nagindas T. Master, Mr. S. D. Birla, Mr. B. M. Birla and Swami Anand to his shacks in ' Gandhi Gram '.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who had come earlier in the morning to the spot led Mr. Gandhi to his shack and she is supervising his personal arrangements. No outsiders are allowed to come into the compound of the place.

Yours Sincerely,  
(Sd.) G. H. WANJARA.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.  
Office of the D. S. P., B. S. D.  
Bandra, 13th May 1944.

## SECRET

My Dear,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 12th instant.

The following notable persons visited the shack of Mr. Gandhi at Juhu on 12th May 1944: —

- (1) Mr. N. T. Master,
- (2) Dr. M. D. D. Gilder,
- (3) Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya,
- (4) Madame Sophia Wadia,
- (5) Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit,
- (6) Mr. Devidas Gandhi,
- (7) One European lady press correspondent whose address was reported to be as c/o H. R. Stimson, Neptune Court, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay.
- (8) Members of the Birla family, etc.

In the evening prayers were offered by the inmates of the camp at 7-30 p.m. when a crowd of about 1,200 persons from Bombay City and Suburbs had collected on the sandy beach in front of the bungalow of Mr. Shantikumar N. Morarji facing the sea when Mr. Gandhi was sitting on a raised dais inside the compound of the bungalow. After the prayers collections were made by the volunteers for the Harijan Fund. It is roughly estimated that a collection of about Rs. 1,000 might be made for the Harijan Fund daily at the time of the prayers.

It was noticed that a number of fighting forces both Europeans and Indians encamping at the North end of Juhu had collected at the time of the prayers to witness the fun and some of them had offered few coins to the bags moved by the volunteers for collecting contributions to the Harijan Fund.

Yours Sincerely,  
**(Sd.) G. H. WANJARA.**

To

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Asstt. to the D. I. G. P., C. I. D., Poona.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

**SECRET**

No. 9/INC/44-II.

Office of the Dy. Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., Province of Bombay.

Poona, 15th May 1944.

My dear Paddon Row,

Government desires to know about Mr. Gandhi's health and his activities. As he has removed himself to stay at Juhu, I requested Wanjara to make necessary arrangements to obtain information and pass it on to me. I am also arranging to keep an officer with two Head Constables of the Provincial C.I.D., at Wanjara's disposal to work in collaboration with his I. B. Staff, to spot out the visitors from Gujerat and other parts of the Province. Visitors from Bombay are expected to see Gandhi on and off. I, therefore suggest that you will also please make similar arrangements at Juhu in consultation with Wanjara.

Yours sincerely,  
**V. D. KAWTHALKAR.**

L. A. Paddon Row, Esquire, I. P.,  
Deputy Commissioner of Police, S. B. (I),  
C.I.D., Bombay.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

**SECRET**

Office of the D.S.P.B.  
 Bandra, dated 18th May 1944.  
 No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.

My Dear Rao Saheb.

Please see this office No. A/12/IV/20, dated 17th May 1944.

On 17th May 1944 the following prominent persons attended to Mr. Gandhi.

- (1) Mr. Vithal K. Zaveri of Bombay.
- (2) Mr. Hattisingh of Bombay,
- (3) Mr. Ambalal Trilockchand of Bombay,
- (4) Mr. Mathuradas Tricumji, Ex-Mayor of Bombay,
- (5) Mr. Chang Sun (Calcutta Register No. 1089/24-4-44.) the Editor-in-Chief of TA-KUNG-PAO KWEILIN, Chungking (Bombay address No. 17-18 Walton Road).

The above Chinese press representative may be shortly proceeding to the U.S.A. where his address might be c/o The Chinese Institution in America 119 W 57th Street N. Y.

In the evening as usual prayers took place at 7-30 p.m. in the presence of a crowd of about 1,000 people and collections were made for the Harijan Fund. It is learnt that Mr. Gandhi was taking a walk within the compound of the 'Gandhi Gram' and he is progressing in his health.

Yours Sincerely,  
**(Sd.) G. H. WANJARA.**

To

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar, M.A.

Asst. to the D.I.G., B.P., Poona.

Copy with compliments to the Dy. C. P., S. B. (I) C.I.D., Bombay for information with a request to communicate to this office anything of importance if reported by his men at Juhu.

(Sd.) X X X  
 D.S.P., B.S.D., Bandra.

Sir,

CHAND SUN is Calcutta registree No. 1089, dated 24th April 1944. He is a Chinese Journalist 'en route' to the U.S.A. He is staying at Patro's Boarding House, Walton Road. We have not received any advance report regarding him from Calcutta. We have no pps. on him.

(Sd.) X X X  
 23-5-44.

**Mr. CHANG SUN-CHINESE.**

Holding passport No. 006593 given by the M. of Foreign Affairs, Chung-King, on 16th January 1944. He is Editor in-chief of TA-KUNG-PAO Chinese daily newspaper. He is incharge of the Kweilin Edition of the paper. He is now going to the U. S. for research work and journalist work. Is permitted to stay in India till 8th June 1944. Living at Patro's Boarding House, Shirin Manjil, Colaba. Is leaving Bombay today. States he went to Juhu to see Mr. Gandhi, did not talk to him but had a few words with Mrs. S. Naidu and Mrs. Pandit.

(Sd.) x x x

29-5-1944.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/X.*

Confidential Diary of the D.S.P., B.S.D., Bandra, for the week ending 20th May 1944.

**PART I**

S. A. No. 20 received.

**2. POLITICAL.**

C. D. Movement:—

There is nothing particular to mention on the above subject during the week.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi:

Mr. GANDHI continues to stay at his rest camp in the 'Gandhi-Gram' at Juhu. His camp followers namely Dr. SUSHILLA NAYYAR, PYARELAL and Miss MIRABEN and Dr. M. D. D. GILDER of BOMBAY are attending to him. He takes a morning walk on the Juhu sands and attends the prayers in the evening at about 7-30 p.m. daily.

On Sunday the 14th May a large gathering of about 12,000 persons from BOMBAY attended the prayers in the evening. After the prayers people contributed to the Harijan Fund.

On 19th May 1944 Mr. GANDHI accompanied by Mayor N. T. MASTER and his party went to BOMBAY and visited the areas of the Docks and Mandvi which were devastated by the recent fires in the BOMBAY DOCKS. On his way back to Juhu Mr. Gandhi saw Mr. MANGALDAS PAKWASA, President of the Bombay Legislative Council, who is reported to be ailing at his house at the Napean Sea Rd., BOMBAY. During the week Mr. GANDHI was visited by the following prominent persons at his camp at JUHU namely—

(1) NAGINDAS T. MASTER of BOMBAY, (2) Dr. M. D. D. GILDER of BOMBAY, (3) S. A. BRELVI of BOMBAY, (4) DEVIDAS GANDHI of DELHI, (5) Mrs. VIJAYALAXMI PANDIT of ALLAHABAD, (6) Dr. K. T. GAJJAR of BOMBAY, (7) Dr. P. C. BHARUCHA of BOMBAY, (8) HARENDRANATH CHATTOPADYAYA of BOMBAY,



(9) Dr. JIVRAJ MEHTA of BOMBAY, (10) JHAVERCHAND MEGHANI of AHMEDABAD, (11) M. R. CHOKHAWALA of SURAT, (12) LADY THAKARSY of POONA, (13) G. P. HATISINGH of BOMBAY, (14) MATHURDAS TRICUMJI of BOMBAY, (15) CHANG SUN the EDITOR-IN-CHIEF TA-KUNG-PAO of CHUNGKING, (16) D. G. TENDULKAR of BOMBAY, (17) V. S. DONGRE of BOMBAY, (18) SWAMI ANAND of THANA, (19) DAYABHAI VALLABHBHAI PATEL of BOMBAY and (20) Mrs. KAMLADEVI CHATTOPADYAYA.

It is reported that Mr. Gandhi may reside at Juhu until the monsoons break.

## 7. LABOUR

Strike: 712 workers of the Bombay Garage, SANTACRUZ. who were on strike since Saturday the 13th May, resumed work at 2 p.m. on 15th May 1944 unconditionally when the arrested person named K. K. SALVI was discharged from the custody.

## 10. MISCELLANEOUS.

The War: Nil.

The Law and Order: Nil.

1. Mrs. VIJAYALAXMI PANDIT OF ALLAHABAD left for Lucknow on 18th May 1944 by the Punjab Mail.

2. Mrs. INDIRA GANDHI OF ALLAHABAD left for Lahore on 20th May 1944.

(Sd.) X X X

D.S.P., B.S.D., Bandra.

The D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.P., Poona,

The D. M., B.S.D., Bombay,

The DCP., S.B., C.I.D., Bombay.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

**SECRET.**

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.  
Office of the D.S.P., B.S.D.  
Bandra, 22nd May 1944.

My Dear Rao Saheb,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 20th inst.

20-5-1944:

On 20th May 1944 the following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at his shack and at the time of prayers:—

(1) Dr. M. D. D. Gilder,

(2) Mr. Nagindas T. Master,

(3) Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya,

(4)Mrs. Rambai Kamdar of Andheri, and

(5)Mr. Nanak Motwani of Khar.

In the evening about 6,000 people had collected for prayers when Mr. Gandhi attended. Some people had brought fruit which were distributed by Mr. Gandhi to the members of the crowd. Mrs. Indira Gandhi who had come to the camp left for Lahore in the morning on 20th May 1944.

21-5-1944:

On 21st May 1944, the following prominent persons came to see Mr. Gandhi:—

(1)Mrs. Krishna Hattisingh of Bombay,

(2)Maulana Abdul Kiffaytulla of Punjab,

(3)Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, and

(4)Mr. Nagindas T. Master

In the evening at 7-45 p.m. prayers were held on the sandy beach in the presence of about 20,000 people when Mr. Gandhi attended for about 20 minutes. Contributions were collected from the people for the Harijan Fund as usual. Loud speakers were erected this day at the time of the prayers.

Most of the crowds had come from Bombay and trains, buses and taxis could not cope up with the crowds. There was a great rush of pedestrians on both Santacruz and Ville Parle roads from the Stations towards Juhu since early in the afternoon.

It is reported that the film " Mission to Moscow", the Warner Bros, production, was shown to Mr. Gandhi in an improvised Cine-theatre at Juhu at night on 21-5-1944 by Mr. D. R. D. Wadia of the Wadia Move-tone, Bombay.

Some members of the crowd had carried tricoloured Congress flags and it was reported that some groups with flags used to shout 'Gandhi's Jay's etc., while going to and from Juhu. Congress tri-coloured flags were seen hoisted on the shacks of Mr. Gandhi's camp in the 'Gandhi Gram'. Such prayers before large congregations and hoisting of the Congress tri-coloured flags at the place would naturally add to the personal influence of Mr. Gandhi, as a Congress leader, and indirectly to that of the Congress.

It is learnt that Mr. Gandhi is awaiting a reply from Mr. Jinnah regarding his wish to interview him. It is also said that Mr. Gandhi is in communication with the Viceroy and that he might issue a statement on the political situation and the food problem. He might be residing at Juhu up to the end of the month and then proceed to Sevagram as soon as the rains start.

It is reported that Allamma Mashriqui, the Khaskar Leader, from Punjab is likely to come to Bombay with a view to see Mr. Gandhi.

Yours Sincerely,  
**G. H. WANJARA.**

To,

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthakkar,  
Asstt. to the D.I.G.P., C.I.D.  
I.B. (I), C.I.D. B.P., Poona.

Copy with compliments to the Dy. C. P.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/X.*

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.  
Office of the D. S. P. B. S. Dist.  
Bandra, dated 23rd May 1944.

My dear

Please refer to Wanjara's D. O. No. A/12/IV/20, dated 22nd instant. 22-5-1944.

Mr. Gandhi had his usual morning walk on the sands of Juhu at 6-30 a.m. The following prominent persons from Bombay visited him at his rest camp.

1. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder,
2. Mr. Nagindas T. Master, Mayor of Bombay.
3. G. P. Hathisingh,
4. Barrister V. S. Dongre,
5. Dayabhai Vallabhbhai Patel and
6. Barrister H. R. Pardiwalla.

In the evening at about 7-45 p.m. prayers were held in the presence of about 3,000 persons when Mr. Gandhi attended the prayers.

Yours sincerely,  
**(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN.**

To:

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar, M.A.  
Asstt. to the D.I.G.P., C.I.D., I.B. (I), B.P., Poona.

Copy with compliments to the Dy. C.P., S.B. (I), C.I.D., Bombay for information.

(Sd.) X X X  
D. S. P. B. S. D., Bandra.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.  
 Office of the D.S.P., B.S.D.,  
 Bandra, 25th May 1944.

My dear Rao Saheb,

Please see this office No. A/12/IV/20, dated 24th inst.

24-5-1944.

Mr. Gandhi had his usual morning walk on the Juhu sands and he attended the evening prayers at 7-45 p.m. before an audience of about 1,500 on the sandy beach. Collections were made as usual from the gathering for the Harijan Fund after the prayers.

The following prominent persons visited him during the day on 24-5-1944: —

- (1) Mr. M. R. Masani, Ex-Mayor of Bombay,
- (2) Mr. N. T. Master, Mayor of Bombay,
- (3) Mr. S. A. Brelvi of Bombay,
- (4) Mr. Indulal K. Yagnik of Gujrat,
- (5) Mr. S. L. Salim of Bombay,
- (6) Sardar Prithwisingh of Ahmedabad,
- (7) Mr. Nanak V. Motwani of Khar,
- (8) Mr. M. Y. Nurie, ex-Minister of Bombay,
- (9) Mrs. Rahina Tyabji of Bandra,
- (10) Mr. D. V. Patel of Bombay.

Yours sincerely,  
**(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN.**

To:

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
 Asstt. to the D.I.G.P., C.I.D., I.B. (I), B.P., Poona.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/X.*

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.  
 Office of the D.S.P., B.S.D.,  
 Bandra, 26th May 1944.

My Dear Rao Saheb,

Please see my No A/12/IV/20, dated 25th inst. 25-5-1944.

On 25-5-1944 the following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at Juhu:—

- (1) Mr. D V, Patil of Bombay,

- (2)Dr. M. D. D. Gilder of Bombay,
- (3)Mr. D G. Tendulkar of Bombay,
- (4)Seth Walchand Hirachand of Bombay,
- (5)Lady Rama Rau of Bombay,
- (6)Mr. P. K. Sawant of Bombay,
- (7)Mr. N. V. Motwani of Khar.

In the evening prayers were held as usual at 7-45 p.m. on the Sandy beach before an audience of about 1,500 persons when Mr. Gandhi attended for 15 minutes.

After the prayers two American Lieutenants sent a note of Rs. 10 to Mr. Gandhi for his autograph. Mr. Gandhi gave his autograph to them and credited the amount to the Harijan Fund.

Six Chinese nationals, who are reported to be on their way to the U.S.A visited Mr. Gandhi after the evening prayers and requested him for his autograph on the album. Mr. Gandhi gave his autograph on it and gave his greetings to China.

It is expected that Mr. Gandhi may leave for Wardha in the next week.

It was announced through the loudspeakers that no public prayers would be held on the sandy beach at Juhu on Friday, Saturday and Sunday next due to the high tide on beach.

Yours Sincerely,  
(Sd.) X X X

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H/X.*

(P. 401)

**SECRET.**

**CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT.**

**NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.**

**WEEKLY SECURITY REVIEW No. 8**

**POLITICAL.**

Mr. Gandhi's release continues to be discussed in political circles. The people hope that the release of all detained Congress leaders would follow as a preliminary to solve the present "dead-lock".

**ECONOMIC.**

People are more interested in the economic conditions prevailing in the Province than in the war news. Almost all political bodies, especially the " Anjuman-i-Ghurba " which is backed by Congress, are continuing agitation against the food rationing order and the control system.

**FOREIGNERS.**

The under-mentioned Afghans were sent up for trial under section 12 of the Foreigners Act, 1940 (Act No. II of 1940) for overstaying the period of visa granted to them by the British Legation, Kabul. They were convicted by the City Magistrate, Peshawar, and sentenced as noted against each:—

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Baz Mir, son of Mohd. Mir of Kabul     | Fined Rs. 5 or in default to undergo 15 days' R.I. |
| 2. Baz Mohd, s/o Haji Gul of Kabul.       | } Fined Rs. 50 each.                               |
| 3. Ismail, s/o Aftan Khan of Kabul.       |  |
| 4. Mahmud Khan, s/o Mahsud Khan of Kabul. |  |

**SECURITY.**

Foot Constables Ghulam Rasul, No. 180 and Amir Mohd. No. 116 of the C.I.D. Railway Section, accompanied by two Constables of the Railway Police, while on patrolling duty with the 57 Up train on 24th May 1944, searched on suspicion at Railway Station, Nowshera, the belongings of the following personnel of the 23 Indian Mule Co. War Front, stationed at Manipur, who were going home on leave. They recovered 679 live cartridges of .303 bore and 53 Japanese made cartridges as shown below: —

1. Danish Khan, s/o Rahmat Khan, Pathan, of Banda Sheikh Ismail, P. S. Pabbi, Sepoy No. 783074-11 cartridges 303 bore.
2. Khamir Gul, s/o Abdul Ghani, Pathan of Adezai Kandi Said Khan Khel, Sepoy No. 783077-490 cartridges 303 bore.
3. Abdul Karim, s/o Fazal Qadir, Pathan of Badaber, Naik No. 178671-50 cartridges 303 bore.
4. Rehan Khan, s/o Painsa Khan, Pathan of Achini Bala in the jurisdiction of P. S. Durj Dari Singh, Havildar No. 175100-53 Japan made cartridges and 115 cartridges 303 bore.
5. Pir Mohd, s/o Dost Mohd, Pathan of Swabi Kandi Inayat Khel L/NK. No. 60979-13 cartridges 303 bore.

In addition to the above several articles of clothing were also recovered. Investigation is proceeding to find out the source from where the accused obtained these cartridges.

(Sd.) X X X

for Asstt. to the Insp. -Genl. of Police,  
C.I.D., N.W.F. Province.

No, 6541-57-SB., dated Peshawar, the 27th May 1944.

Circulation as usual.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/X.*

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.  
 Office of the D.S.P., B.S.D.  
 Bandra, 29th May 1944.

My Dear Rao Saheb,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 27th inst  
 27-5-1944:

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at Juhu on 27-5-1944: —

- (1) Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, of Bombay,
- (2) Mr. G. D. Birla, of Bombay,
- (3) Dr. Gopichand Bhargav, of Punjab,
- (4) Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas of Bombay,
- (5) Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar,
- (6) Mr. G. D. Hattisingh of Bombay,
- (7) Dr. M. D. D. Gilder of Bombay,
- (8) Dr. Nathubhai Patel of Bombay,
- (9) Dr. K. T. Gajjar of Bombay.

In the evening prayers were held as usual when about 1,000 persons attended. Mr. Gandhi came out of his camp for about 20 minutes. Loud-speakers have been installed since the last week at the place of prayers by the Chicago Co, which is being managed by N. G. Motwapi of Khar.

28-5-1944:

The following persons visited Mr. Gandhi at Juhu on 28-5-1944:—

- (1) Mr. D. V. Patel of Bombay,
- (2) Mr. V. K. Javeri of Bombay,
- (3) Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar,
- (4) Mr. G. D. Birla of Bombay,
- (5) Mr. B. J. Desai of Bombay,
- (6) Mr. Purushottam Kanji of Bombay.
- (7) Swami Anand of Thana.

In the evening prayers were held as usual in the presence of a crowd of about 10,000 people. Some American Soldiers and Sailors had gone to see Mr. Gandhi after prayers some Indian Christians also went to see

Mr. Gandhi in his shack after the evening prayers and they were reported to have held special prayers inside the camp. Contributions were collected for the Harijan Funds as usual.

Yours sincerely,

**(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN.**

To

Rao Saheb, V. D. Kawthalkar,

Asstt to the D.I.G.P., C.I D ,

IB. (I), C.I.D., B.P, Poona.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Dy. C.P., S.B. (I), C.I.D., Bombay, for information.

(Sd.)

D.S.B., BSD., Bandra.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/X/H.*

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.

Office of the D.S.P., B.S.D.,

Bandra, 30th May 1944.

## **CONFIDENTIAL**

My Dear Rao Saheb,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 29th inst.

29-5-1944:

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at his camp at Juhu:—

(1)Mr. D. V. Patel of Bombay,

(2)Madam Sophia Wadia of Bombay,

(3)Dr. M. D. D. Gilder of Bombay.

In the evening usual prayers were held at 7-45 p.m. in the presence of about 1,500 people. It is learnt that the East India Cotton Association, Bombay, is going to present an address to Mr. Gandhi very shortly along with a purse for the Harijan Fund.

Yours sincerely,

**(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN.**

To

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,

Asstt. to the D.I.G.P., C.I.D.,

I.B (I), B.P., Poona.



P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H/X.*

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.  
Office of the D.S.P., B.S.D.,  
Bandra, 31st May 1944.

My Dear Rao Saheb,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 30th inst.  
30-5-1944.

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at 'Gandhi-Gram ' Juhu on 30-5-1944.

- (1,) Dr. M. D. D. Gilder of Bombay,
- (2)Mr. N. T. Master, Mayor of Bombay,
- (3)Mr. M. Y. Nurie, Ex-Minister, Bombay,
- (4)Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit of Allahabad,
- (5)Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar,
- (6)Mr. S. H. Prater, M.L.A. of Bombay,
- (7)Mr. D. V. Patil of Bombay, and
- (8)Maharani of Nepal.

In the evening prayers were held as usual in front of a crowd of about 1,000 persons when Mr. Gandhi attended for about 20 minutes. At about 9 p.m. Mr. Gandhi left his shack in a car and went to see Mr. Yusuf Meheralli, Ex-Mayor of Bombay who is reported to be convalescing at North Avenue Road, Santacruz.

Yours sincerely,  
**(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN.**

To

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Asstt. to the D.I.G.P., C.I.D.,  
I.B. (I), C.I.D., B.P, Poona.

**HOME DEPARTMENT  
DEPARTMENT BR.  
FILE No. 3001/H/XI  
Year 1944  
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.  
June 1944 to**

---

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Bombay Police Commissioner File No. 3001 /H/XI P. 7.

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944,  
Office of the D. S. P., B. S. D.,  
Bandra, dated 1st June 1944.

My Dear Rao Saheb,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 31st May 1944.

31-5-1944.

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at the 'Gandhi Gram' Juhu on 31-5-1944:—

1. Mr. G. D. Birla of Bombay.
2. Mr. Pranolal Deokaran Nanji of Bombay.
3. Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai of Bombay.
4. Sir Rustom P. Masani of Bombay.
5. Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar.
6. Mr. V. S. Dongre, Bar-at-law of Bombay,
7. Mr. D. V. Patel of Bombay.
8. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder of Bombay.

In the evening prayers were offered at 7-45 p.m. before a crowd of about 700 persons and contributions were collected for the Harijan Fund from the crowd as usual.

Mr. Pyarelal, the Secretary of Mr. Gandhi released to the press the letter dated 20th May written by Mr. Gandhi to Dr. M. R. Jaykar of Bombay as the version of the letter published in one of the weeklies of Bombay was misleading.

It is understood that Mr. Gandhi is temporarily refraining from the political activities at present with a view to facilitate the early release of the members of the Congress Working Committee and with a view to solve the political deadlock. If not he would issue a statement on the political situation and court his rearrest.

Yours sincerely.

**(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN;**

To:

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Asstt. to the D. I. G.P., C.I.D., I.B. (I),  
B. P., Poona.

Copy with compliments to the Dy. C. P., S. B. (I) C. I. D., Bombay, for information.

(Sd.) X X X  
Dist. Supdt. of Police,  
Bombay Suburban, Dist. Bandra.

B. Police Commr. 3001/H/XI. P. 19.  
No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944,  
Office of the D. S. P., B. S. D.,  
Bandra, 2nd June 1944.

My dear Rao Saheb,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 1st instant 1-6-1944.

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at the 'Gandhi Gram' Juhu on 1-6-1944.

- (1) Bar. H. R. Pardiwalla of Bombay.
- (2) Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar.
- (3) Mr. Batuk Desai of Bombay.

In the evening prayers were held before a crowd of about 500 persons and contributions were collected for the Harijan Fund as usual. It seems that the crowd of persons desirous to see Mr. Gandhi is declining day by day. It is estimated that over seventy-five thousand people from Bombay came to Juhu to see Mr. Gandhi since his arrival after his release from Poona.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) X X X

To,

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Asstt. to D. I. G. P.,  
C. I. D., I. B. (I),  
B. P., Poona.  
Bombay Police Commissioner. File No. 3001/H/XI P. 31.

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944,  
Office of the D. S. P., B. S. D.,  
Bandra, 3rd June 1944.

My dear Rao Saheb,

Please refer to my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 2nd instant.  
2-6-1944.

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at Juhu on 2-6-1944:

1. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru of Allahabad.
2. Mr. A. V. Thakkar.
3. Mr. G. D. Birla of Bombay.
4. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder of Bombay.
5. Mr. Samaldas Gandhi of Bombay.
6. Mr. Nagindas T. Master of Bombay.
7. Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar and
8. Mr. K. M. Munshi of Bombay.

Ravjibhai Nathubhai Patel and other three Congress workers of the Kaira District and Gulam Rassol Qureshi of Ahmedabad had come to see Mr. Gandhi at the ' Gandhi Gram' in the evening. The former discussed with Mr. Gandhi the food situation in the district and the recent Government orders regarding ' Grow Food Only' campaign as well as the political situation in their district. It is learnt that after hearing the workers from Kaira Mr. Gandhi showed his inability to guide them in any direction. However he emphasised that they should work on the creed of nonviolence.

Mr. Qureshi could not get an interview in the absence of time.

In the evening prayers were held in the presence of about 2,000 people and funds for the Harijan Fund were collected as usual. There was more crowd this evening because some shops in Bombay remained closed.

It is reported that Mr. Gandhi has expressed that he would sell his autograph for Rs. 5 and the sum would be given to the Harijan Fund.

Yours sincerely,

**(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN.**

To,

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Asstt. to the D. I. G. P.,  
C. I. D., I. B. (I),  
B. P., Poona.

Police Commrr. 3001/H/XI P. 33.

Confidential Diary of the D. S. P., B. S. D.

Bandra, for the week ending June 3rd, 1944.

*Part I.*: S. A. No. 22 received.

## **2. POLITICAL.**

*C. D. Movement*:—There is nothing particular to mention on the above subject during the week.

*Security Prisoners*:—There were two security prisoners from this District by the end of May 1944.

**Mr. M. K. Gandhi: —Mr. GANDHI** continues to stay at the ' Gandhi-Gram ' at JUHU. His health conditions appear to have considerably improved. He usually takes morning walk on the Sandy Beach and attends evening prayers before large congregations at 7-45 p.m. daily.

On Sunday the 28th May there was a crowd of about 10,000 people who attended the evening prayers. After the prayers contributions are being collected daily for the Harijan Fund from the crowds.

During the week Mr. Gandhi was visited by the following prominent persons at his rest-camp at JUHU: —

1. Mr. G. D. Birla of Bombay.
2. Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar.
3. Mr. B. J. Desai of Bombay.
4. Mr. Purushottam Kanji of Bombay.
5. Mr. Swami Anand of Thana.
6. Madam Sophia Wadia of Bombay.
7. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder of Bombay.
8. Mr. N. T. Master of Bombay.
9. Mr. M. Y. Nurie of Bombay.
10. Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit of Allahabad.
11. Mr. S. H. Prater of Bombay.
12. Maharani of Nepal.
13. Mr. Pranal Deokaran Nanji of Bombay.
14. Sir R. P. Masani of Bombay.
15. Bar. H. R. Pardiwalla of Bombay.
16. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru of Allahabad.
17. Mr. A. V. Thakkar of Bombay.
18. Mr. Samaldas Gandhi of Bombay.
19. Mr. K. M. Munshi of Bombay.
20. Mr. Mangaldas Pakwasa of Bombay.
21. Mr. J. R. D. Tata of Bombay.
22. Sir Purushottamdas T. of Bombay.
23. Dr. K. T. Gajjar of Bombay.
24. Mr. G. R. Qureshi of Ahmedabad.

It is understood that Mr. GANDHI may stay at Juhu until the Monsoons break and proceed to Poona where he may stay at the ' Parna-Kuti' near Bund-Garden for some time.

## 7. LABOUR

**Meetings:—**In a public meeting of about 125 workers of the Bombay Garage, Santacruz, held on 30-5-1944 a Union known as the BOMBAY SUBURBAN AUTOMOBILE WORKERS UNION, SANTACRUZ, was formed and the following office-bearers were elected: —

1. President:—I. N. Oza of Ville Parle
2. Vice President:—V. V. Ranade of Ville Parle.
3. General Secretary:—G. D. Ambekar of Bombay.

About 20 workers of the Bombay Garage are reported to have joined the Union so far.

10. *Miscellaneous.*

The War—Nil.

The Law and Order—Nil.

(Sd.) X X X

Distt. Supdt. of Police, Bombay Suburban  
District, Bandra.

The D. I. G. P., C. I. D., B. P. Poona.

The D. M., B. S. D., Bombay.

The C. C. P., S. B. (I), C. I. D., Bombay.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Police Commissioner. File No. 3001/H/XI P. 47.

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944,

Office of the D. S. P., B. S. D.

Bandra, 5th June 1944.

My dear Rao Saheb,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 3rd June 1944. 3-6-1944.

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at Juhu:

1. Mr. Mangaldas Pakwasa of Bombay.
2. Mr. Samaldas Gandhi of Khar.
3. Mr. N. G. Motawani of Khar.
4. Mr. Vithal K. Jhaveri of Bombay.
6. Mr. G. D. Birla of Bombay.
7. Mr. J. R. D. Tata of Bombay.
8. Sir Purushottamdas T. of Bombay.
9. Mr. G. R. Qureshi of Ahmedabad.
10. Dr. K. T. Gajjar of Bombay.

In the evening prayers were held on the beach in the presence of about 1,500 persons and contributions were collected for the Harijan Fund as usual.

4-6-1944:

On 4-6-1944 the following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at Juhu:

1. Mr. and Mrs. Hutheesing of Bombay.
2. Mr. N. M. Joshi of Bombay.
3. Mr. Mangaldas Pakwasa of Bombay.
4. Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai of Bombay.
5. Mr. Nagindas T. Master of Bombay.
6. Mr. Batuk Desai of Bombay.
7. Mr. V. L. Mehta of Andheri, and
8. Mr. G. D. Birla of Bombay

In the evening prayers were held at the beach in the presence of about 10,000 people and contributions were collected towards the Harijan Fund as usual.

It is learnt that Mr. Gandhi may leave Juhu for Poona during the week. He is likely to stay for some time in Poona at 'Parna-Kuti', near Bund-Garden, before proceeding to Sewagram, Wardha.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN.

To,

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Asstt. to D.I. G. P., C. I.D.,  
I.B. (I), C.I.D., B.P., Poona.

Bombay Police Commr. 3001/H/XI--P-57.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944  
Office of the D. S. P., B. S. D.,  
Bandra, 7th June 1944.

My dear Kawthalkar,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 6th inst.

6-6-1944:

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at Juhu on 6th June 1944:

1. Mr. S. A. Brelvi of Bombay,'
2. Mr. N. T. Master of Bombay,
3. Sardar Prithvisingh of Ahmedabad,
4. Mr. N. M. Joshi of Bombay,
5. Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar,
6. Mr. Amritlal D. Sheth of Bombay,
7. Mr. Vyankatram Shastri of Madras.

In the evening prayers were held as usual before a crowd of about 400 persons on the sandy beach.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) X X X

To

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Asstt. to the D.I.G.. C.I.D.,  
I. B. (I), B. P., Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Bombay Police Commr. 3001/H/XI-P-63.

My dear Kawthalkar,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 7th inst.

7-6-1944.

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at Juhu on:

1. Mr. N. T. Master of Bombay,
2. Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar,

3. Mr. Dilkhush Diwanji of Surat,
4. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda of Ahmedabad.
5. Mr. Khandubhai Desai of Ahmedabad,
6. Mr. P. R. Vakil of Ahmedabad,
7. Lady Thakersey of Poona and
8. Mr. and Mrs. K. S. Herlekar of Bombay.

Mr. Nanda and Khandubhai Desai could not get time for interview with Mr. Gandhi. It is understood that Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai had a discussion for about 20 minutes with Mr. Gandhi on the subject of black marketing in cloth in which Mr. Gandhi appeared to have blamed the mill-owners for black-marketing in cloth.

In the evening prayers were held as usual before a crowd of about 300 persons and funds were collected as usual.

It is learnt that Dr. B. C. Roy will examine Mr. Gandhi in the morning on 9th inst.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN.

To,

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Asstt. to the D.I.G.. C.I.D.,  
I.B. (I), B.P., Poona.

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Bombay Police Commr. 3001/H/XI-P-77.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.  
Office of the D.S.P., B.S.D.  
Bandra, 10th June 1944.

My dear

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 9th inst.

June 1944:

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at Juhu on 9th June 1944.

1. Mr. N. G. Kajrolkar of Bombay,
2. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder of Bombay,
3. Sir H. P. Modi of Bombay,
4. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas of Bombay,
5. Mr. N. T. Master of Bombay,
6. Mr. N. G. Motwani of Bombay,
7. Mr. M. R. Masani of Bombay,
8. Mr. M. R. Desai of Bombay,
9. Mr. Chimanlal P. Bhat of Surat and
10. Mr. U. D. Shah of Surat.

It is learnt that Sir H. P. Modi had discussion on political situation with Mr. Gandhi for about 45 minutes.



In the evening prayers were held in the presence of a crowd of about 500 people on the sandy beach of Juhu and contributions were collected for the Harijan Fund as usual.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN.

To,

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Asstt. to the D.I.G., C.I.D.,  
B. (I) B. P., Poona.

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Bombay Police Commr. 3001/H/XI-P-85.

**SECRET**

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.  
Office of the D.S.P., B.S., Dist.  
Bandra, dated 12th June 1944.

My dear Rao Saheb,

Please see my No. A/12/IV 20, dated 10th inst.  
10-6-1944.

Dr. B. C. Roy of Calcutta along with Doctors Gilder, Gajjar and Sushila Nair examined Mr. Gandhi in the morning and in the afternoon at the 'Gandhigram' Juhu.

The following prominent persons besides the above named Doctors visited Mr. Gandhi on 10th June 1944:

1. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Ex-Member of the Viceroy's Council.
2. Mr. N. T. Master of Bombay.
3. Mr. Govindram Seksaria of Bombay.
4. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda of Ahmedabad.
5. Mr. Khandubhai Desai of Ahmedabad.
6. Dr. G. M. Desai of Broach.
7. Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas of Bombay.
8. Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar.
9. Mr. D. V. Patel of Bombay.
10. Mr. C. P. Bhat of Surat.
11. Mr. U. D. Shah of Surat.
12. Mr. Gulab Shroff of Bombay.

In the evening prayers were held as usual before a crowd of about 500 persons and funds were collected towards the Harijan Fund. 11-6-1944.

In the morning Dr. Gilder, Dr. Sushila Nair, Dr. Jivraj Mehta and Dr. Gajjar examined Mr. Gandhi and issued a bulletin on his health.

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at the 'Gandhi-Gram' on 11-6-1944:

1. Sir H. P. Modi of Bombay.
2. Mrs. Hansa Mehta of Bombay.
3. Mr. B. J. Desai of Bombay.

4. Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit of Allahabad.
5. Mr. and Mrs. Hutheesing of Bombay.
6. Mr. V. L. Mehta of Andheri.
7. Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar.
8. Mr. C. P. Bhat of Surat.
9. Mr. U. D. Shah of Surat.

In the evening prayers were held on the sandy beach at Juhu before a crowd of about 12,000 people and contributions were collected for Harijan Fund as usual.

On Friday and Sunday Sir H. P. Modi, Ex-Member of the Viceroy's Council visited Mr. Gandhi and had discussion with him on political matters for a considerable time. Mr. Gandhi asked him the reason of his resignation from the Viceroy's Executive Council to which Sir Modi replied that he and his two colleagues resigned as a protest against the policy of Government and the allegations made by Government against the Congress. Sir Modi asked Mr. Gandhi as to why he did not try so far to solve the political deadlock to which Mr. Gandhi is reported to have replied that he was incapable of doing anything without the consent of the Congress Working Committee. Sir Modi emphasised that the Congress should suspend the August resolution in view of the present Allied successes in the War. Mr. Gandhi suggested that Sir Homi Modi along with other leaders should persuade Government to release the members of the Congress Working Committee and other Congress leaders with a view to try to solve the present political deadlock.

It is learnt that Mr. Gandhi may leave Juhu for Poona on the morning of 15th instant.

Yours sincerely,

**(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN.**

To

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Asstt. to the D.I.G.P., C.I.D., I.B. (I),  
Province of Bombay, Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Bombay Police Commr. 3001/H/XI-P-97.

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.

Office of the D.S.P., B.S.D.,

Bandra, 13th June 1944.

My dear Kawthalkar,

Please see my report No. A/12/IV/20, dated 12th inst.

12-6-1944.

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at the 'Gandhi-Gram' Juhu on 12-6-1944.

1. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder of Bombay.
2. Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar.

3. Mr. Amir Hyderkhan, a Communist from Bombay.

4. Mr. C. P. Bhatt of Surat.

In the evening prayers were held on sandy beach as usual before a crowd of about 400 persons. Contributions were collected towards the Harijan Fund after the prayers.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN.

To

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Asstt. to the D.I.G.P., C.I.D.,  
I.B. (I), B.P., Poona.

## CONFIDENTIAL

Bombay Police Commr. 3001/H/XI-P-97.

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.  
Office of the D.S. P.,  
B.S.D., Bandra, 14-6-44.

My dear Kawathalkar,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20 dated 13th inst.  
13-6-1944.

The following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi, at the ' Gandhi-Gram ' Juhu on 13-6-1944:

1. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder of Bombay.
2. Dr. Murarilal of Cawnpore.
3. Mr. N. T. Master of Bombay.
4. Madam Sophia Wadia of Bombay.
5. Mr. G. V. Mavalankar of Ahmedabad.
6. Mr. Nandlal Boriwala of Ahmedabad.
7. Mr. D. V. Patel of Bombay.
8. Mr. N. G. Motwani of Khar.
9. Mr. C. P. Bhatt of Surat
- 10 Mr. U. D. Shah of Surat.

In the evening prayers were held as usual on the sandy beach before a crowd of about 500 people.

It is learnt that Mr. Gandhi and his party may leave Juhu for Poona in the morning on 15th inst.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) X X X

To,

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,  
Assistant to the D.I.G.P.  
C.I.D., I.B. (I), B.P., Poona.

Bombay Police Commr. 3001/H/XI-P-103.

## CONFIDENTIAL

No. A/12/IV/20 of 1944.

Office of the D.S.P., B.S.D., Bandra, 15-5-44.

My dear Kawthalkar,

Please see my No. A/12/IV/20, dated 14th inst.

On 14-5-1944 the following prominent persons visited Mr. Gandhi at the ' Gandhi-Gram' at Juhu.

1. Mr. S. A. Brelvi of Bombay.
2. Mr. Yusuf Meheralli of Bombay.
3. Mr. N. R. Sarkar of Calcutta.
4. Bar. M. R. Jaykar of Bombay.
5. Mr. G. D. Birla of Bombay.
6. Mr. B. J. Desai of Bombay.
7. Mr. Sanmukhram Vyas of Bardoli.
8. Mr. D. L. Jinuda of Bardoli.
9. Mr. Kalyanji Vithalbhai Mehta of Surat.
10. Mr. Kamlashankar Pandya of Bardoli.

It is understood that Mr. Jaykar and Mr. Sarkar had talks with Mr. Gandhi on political matters.

Although there were no public prayers to be held due to the inclement weather a crowd of about 1,000 people had collected on the sandy beach for the farewell 'Darshan' of Mr. Gandhi. When Mr. Gandhi was informed about the crowd he came in a car to the usual place of prayers and talked to the crowd for about a minute under an umbrella and went away. The crowd then dispersed.

This morning Mr. Gandhi and his party left for Poona by the Poona Express. Mr. Gandhi accompanied by Mr. N. T. Master, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder who came to see him off, came in a car and entrained at the Level Crossing near Kurla where the train was especially halted for about 2 minutes for him. A third class compartment was reserved for him. The following persons accompanied Mr. Gandhi towards Poona in the reserved compartment:—

1. Mr. Pyarelal. 2. Mr. Mahadeo Desai. 3. Dr. Sushila Nair 4. Mr. Kanu Gandhi. 5. Miss Miraben. 6. Dr. Dinsha Mehta of Poona. 7. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. 8. Mrs. Shantikumar N. Morarji 9. Mr. Katli, Editor of ' Pioneer' of Lahore.

It is understood that Mr. Gandhi may stay for about a fortnight in the Nature-Cure Clinic of Dr. Dinshaw Mehta at Poona and then proceed to Panchgani for convalescence.

Yours sincerely,

**(Sd.) D. W. B. CARNAGHAN**

To,

Rao Saheb V. D. Kawthalkar,

Asstt. to the D.I.G.P., C.I.D.,

I. B. (I) B. P, Poona.

Bombay Police Commr. 3001/H/XI-P. 121.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 16-6-44.

*Silent Speech to Press.*

We are not satisfied with this silent interview. We are eagerly looking forward to the day when you are completely restored to health and will speak to us as before. Not only we, but the whole of India and a good part of the World are waiting to hear you.

Press.

*Amen so help us God.*

The contract is that there should be silence on both sides. You may read what you can from the silence.

Bombay Police Commr. 3001/H/XI-P. 173.

FREE PRESS OF INDIA: 21-6-44.

*Spread of false stories*

Detention Camp, 16-6-1943.

The Additional Secretary,  
Home Department,  
Government of India,  
New Delhi.

Sir,

I observe from the daily papers that there is a persistent rumour going the round that I have written to H.E. the Viceroy withdrawing the A.I.C.C. resolution of 8th August last.

I observe too that much speculation is being built upon the rumour. I suggest that the Government should issue a contradiction of the rumour. For I have neither the authority nor the wish to withdraw the resolution.

My personal opinion is that the resolution was the only one A.I.C.C. could have passed if the Congress has to make any effective contribution to the cause of human freedom which is involved in the immediate independence of India.

I am etc.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Received on 2-8-43  
Government of India, H. D.,  
New Delhi, 29th July 1943.

From

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of India.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire, Agakhan Palace, Poona.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 16th July, I am directed to inform you that the Government of India do not think it necessary to issue a contradiction of the rumour to which you refer.

I have the honour to be Sir etc.

(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM,

Addl. Secy, to Government of India.

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Bombay Police Commr. 300/H/XI-P. 125.

Confidential Diary of the D.S.P.,  
B.S.D., Bandra, for the week  
ending June 17, 1944.

PART I

S. A. No. 24 received.

2 Political

*C. D. Movement:*

There is nothing particular to mention on the above subject during the week.

*Mr. M. K. Gandhi:*

Mr. M. K. Gandhi continued to stay at the ' Gandhi-Gram' Juhu up to the 15th instant. He along with his entourage left Juhu in the morning of 15th inst. and went to Poona by the Poona Express. He entrained the Poona Express at a level-crossing near KURLA.

It is estimated that about 1,00,000 people from BOMBAY and all other parts of the country might have come to JUHU for his ' Darshan' during his 35 days stay at JUHU. The collections for the Harijan Fund also should have been estimated over twenty-five thousand during that period. Public prayers were held at the Sandy Beach as usual.

The following prominent persons visited him during his stay at JUHU in this week.

1. Sir H. P. Modi of Bombay.
2. Dr. M. R. Jaykar of Bombay.
3. Mr. N. R. Sarkar of Calcutta.
4. Mr. N. T. Master of Bombay.
5. Mr. B. J. Desai of Bombay.
6. Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit of Allahabad.
7. Mrs. Hansa Mehta of Bombay.
8. Mr. & Mrs. Hutheesing of Bombay.
9. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder of Bombay.
10. Mr. Amir Hyderkhan of Bombay.
11. Mr. C. P. Bhatt of Surat.
12. Dr. Murarilal of Cawnpore.

- 13. Madam Sophia Wadia of Bombay.
- 14. Mr. S. A. Brelvi of Bombay.
- 15. Mr. Yusuf Meheralli of Bombay.
- 16. Mr. G. D. Birla of Bombay.

*10 MISCELLANEOUS*

*TO WAR: NIL.*

*THE LAW & ORDER: NIL.*

(Sd.) x x x,  
D.S.P., B.S.D., Bandra.

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Bombay Police Commr. 3001/H/XI-P. 175.

*Shocked at cost of detention.*

Free Press of India, dated 21-6-44.

Gandhiji was feeling uneasy in the Agakhan Palace.

He was shocked at the cost of maintenance towards the detention camp, which was to be met from "taxes collected from the dumb millions of India".

He called it wholly unnecessary and waste of public funds; especially at a time when people were dying of starvation, it was "almost a crime on Indian humanity".

Gandhiji, therefore, twice requested to be transferred to some other regular prison, but the Government kept silent.

*Waste of Public Funds.*

Gandhiji wrote to the Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, on March 4, 1944.

Sir,

In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Honourable Home Member is reported to have said, "The provision for the expenses of Mr. Gandhi and those detained with him in the Agakhan's Palace amounted about Rs. 550 a month."

In my letter dated to you 26th October last I remarked as follows: "The huge place in which I am being detained with a big guard around me, I hold to be waste of public funds. I should be quite content to pass my days in any prison."

The Honourable Home Member's reply quoted above is a sharp reminder to me that I should have followed up the remark just referred to by me. But it is never too late to mend. I therefore take up the question now.

*Additional Expenses.*

The expenses on behalf of my companions and me are not merely Rs. 550 per month. The rent of this huge place (of which only a portion is open to us) and the expense of maintaining the big outguard and an

inner staff consisting of Superintendent, Jamadar and Sepoys have got to be added. Add to this a large squad of convicts from Yerwada to serve the inmates and to look after the garden.

Virtually the whole of this expense is, from my point of view, wholly unnecessary; and when people are dying of starvation, it is almost a crime against Indian humanity. I ask that my companions and I be removed to any regular prison Government may choose.

In conclusion I cannot conceal for myself the said thought that the whole of this expense comes from taxes collected from the dumb millions of India.

I am etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

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A reminder.

On April 21, Gandhiji sent to the Government of India the following reminder:

I wrote to you on the 4th March requesting the Government to transfer the party of detenus in this camp to a prison where the expense entailed in our detention here may be materially reduced. I request an early decision in the matter.

I am etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

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Bombay Police Commr. 3001/H/XI-P. 183.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 22-6-44.

### **GANDHIJI'S LETTER TO Mr. JINNAH.**

#### *Correspondence with Government:*

Gandhi's letter to Mr. Jinnah written from the Aga Khan's Palace, Poona, on 4th May 1943, has already been published. In refusing publication of Gandhiji's letter, the Government of India wrote to him that his letter could not be forwarded to Mr. Jinnah in accordance with the restrictions which had been placed on his correspondence and interviews. The Government also issued the following communique:

In accordance with their known policy in regard to correspondence or interviews with Mr. Gandhi the Government of India have decided that this letter cannot be forwarded and have so informed Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. They are not prepared to give facilities for political correspondence or contact to a person detained for promoting an illegal movement which he has not disavowed and thus gravely embarrassing India's war effort at a critical time. It rests with Mr. Gandhi to satisfy the Government of India that he can safely be allowed once more to participate in the public affairs of the country and until he does so the disabilities from which he suffers are of his own choice.



The following correspondence passed between Gandhi and the Government on the subject:—

Detention Camp,  
27th May 1943.

Dear Sir Richard Tottenham,

I received last evening your letter of the 24th instant refusing my request to forward my letter addressed to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. I wrote only yesterday to the Superintendent of this camp asking him kindly to inquire whether my letter to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, and later, the one dated the 15th instant to Right Honourable Lord Samuel had been forwarded to the respective addresses.

I am sorry for the Government's decision. For my letter to the Quaid-i-Azam was sent in reply to his public invitation to me to write to him, and I was especially encouraged to do so because his language had led me to think that if I wrote to him, my letter would be forwarded to him. The public too are anxious that the Quaid-i-Azam and I should meet or at least establish contact. I have been always anxious to meet the Quaid-i-Azam if perchance, we could devise some solution of the communal tangle which might be generally acceptable. Therefore the disability in the present instance is much more that of the public than mine. As a Satyagrahi I may not regard as disabilities the restrictions which the Government have imposed upon me. As the Government are aware, I have denied myself the pleasure of writing to my relatives as I am not allowed to perform the service of writing to my co-workers who are in a sense more to me than my relatives.

The advance copy of the contemplated communique with which you have considerably favoured me requires emendation in more places than one. For, as it stands it does not square with facts.

*Movement was never started.*

As to the disavowal referred to in the proposed communique, the Government are aware that I regard the non-violent mass movement for the launching of which the Congress gave me authority on the 8th August last, as perfectly legitimate and in the interest of the Government and the public. As it is, the Government left me no time to start the movement. Therefore how could a movement, which was never started, embarrass "India's" war effort? If then, there was any embarrassment by reason of the popular resentment of the Government's action in resorting to the wholesale arrests of principal Congressmen, the responsibility was solely on the Government. The mass movement, as the resolution sanctioning it said in so many words, was sanctioned in order to promote India wide effort on behalf of the Allied cause including the cause of Russia and China, whose danger was very great in August last and from which, in my opinion, they are very great by no means free even now. I hope the Government will not feel offended when I say that all the war effort that is being put forth in India is not India's but the alien Government's. I submit that if the Government had complied with the request of the Congress as embodied in its August resolution there would have been a mass

effort without parallel for winning the battle of human freedom and riding the world of the menace that Fascism, Nazism, Japanism and Imperialism are. I may be wholly wrong; anyway this is my deliberated and honest opinion.

In order to make the communique accord with facts, I suggest the following alteration in the first paragraph. After Mr. Jinnah add: in response to his public invitation to Mr. Gandhi to write to him stating that he Mr. Gandhi would be willing to correspondence with or meet him according as he wished.

I hope that the remaining portion of the communique too will be suitably amended in the light of my submission.

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Detention Camp,  
28th May 1943.

Dear Sir Richard Tottenham,

I handed my reply to your letter of the 24th instant at about one O'clock yesterday, to the Superintendent. I hurried the writing and the despatch in the hope of my letter reaching you before the publication of the communique. I was therefore astonished and grieved to find the communique in the papers received in the afternoon, and Reuter's report of the reactions upon it in London. Evidently there was no meaning in an advance copy of the communique being sent to me. I regard the communique not only to be inconsistent with facts, but unfair to me. The only way partial redress can be given to me is the publication of the correspondence between us. I therefore request that it may be published.

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Home Department,  
New Delhi, 4th June 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am directed to acknowledge your letter to Sir Richard Tottenham dated 27th May 1943 and to say that the Government of India have considered it but see no reason to modify their communique already published.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) CONRAN SMITH

61

Home Department,  
New Delhi, 7th June 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

In reply to your letter to Sir Richard Tottenham dated 28th May 1943, I am directed to say that the advanced copy of the communique stating Government's reason for not forwarding your letter to Mr. Jinnah was furnished to you for your personal information and that Government regret that they see no reason to publish the correspondence.

Yours sincerely,  
**(Sd.) CONRAN SMITH.**

The letter was received on 11-6-1943.

The Bharat Jyoti.  
25-6-44.

Bombay Police Commissioner 3001/H/XI P. 213-17.

When a Magistrate misunderstands Government order

The Destruction of "Harijan " files.

Gandhiji's protest against rough-handling of prisoner.

Immediately following the arrest, Gandhiji began his correspondence with the Government of Bombay dealing with several topics like the rough-handling of a prisoner, detention of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and his daughter, writing of letters by security prisoners, death of Mahadev Desai, seizure of the Navjivan Press, destruction of the Harijan files and the Bhansali fast.

The Government of Bombay replying to Gandhiji's inquiry stated that the District Magistrate misunderstood the Government's order regarding the destruction of objectionable literature. The Government admitted that all the old Harijan files were destroyed.

*Gandhiji's protest.*

10th August 1942.

Dear Sir Roger Lumley,

After the train that carried me and other fellow prisoners reached Chinchwad on Sunday, some of us were ordered to alight. Shrimati Sarojini Devi, Shrimati Mirabai, Shri Mahadev Desai and I were directed to get into a car. There were two lorries lined up alongside the car. I have no doubt that the reservation of the car for us was done out of delicate considerations. I must own too that the officers-in-charge performed their task with tact and courtesy.

Nevertheless I felt deeply humiliated When the other fellow prisoners were ordered to occupy the two lorries. I realise that all could not be carried in motor cars. I have been before now

carried in prison vans. And this time too we should have been carried with our comrades. In relating this incident my object is to inform the Government that in the altered conditions and the altered state of my mind, I can no longer accept special privileges which hitherto I have expected though reluctantly. I propose this time to accept no privileges and comforts which comrades may not receive, except for the special food so long as the Government allow it for my bodily need.

There is another matter to which I must draw your attention. I have told my people that this time our method is not courting imprisonment, that we must prepare for much higher sacrifice and so those who choose may peacefully resist arrest. So a young man who was in the party offered such resistance. He was therefore hauled to the prison van. This was ugly enough.

But it was a painful sight when an impatient English Sergeant rough-handled him and showed him into the lorry as if he was a log of wood. In my opinion the sergeant deserves correction. The struggle has become bitter enough without such scenes.

*Anxiety about Sardar.*

This temporary jail is commodious enough to take in all who were arrested with me. Among them are Sardar Patel and his daughter. She is his nurse and cook. I have great anxiety about the Sardar who never got over the intestinal collapse which he had during his last incarceration. Ever since his release I have been personally regulating his diet etc. I request that both he and his daughter be placed with me. And so should the other prisoners though not on the same imperative grounds as are applicable in the case of the Sardar and his daughter. I submit that it is not right to separate co-workers arrested for the same cause unless they are dangerous criminals.

I have been told by the Superintendent that I am not to be supplied with newspapers. Now I was given by one of my fellow prisoners on the train a copy of the Sunday edition of the Evening News. It contains the Government of India's resolution in justification of their policy in dealing with this crisis. It contains some grossly incorrect statements which I ought to be allowed to correct this and similar things I cannot do, unless I know what is going on outside the jail.

May I expect an early decision on the points raised herein?

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

No. S. D. V/2-3.  
Home Department (Political),  
Bombay Castle, 14th August 1942.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire, The Aga Khan's Palace.  
Yeravda.

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 11th instant addressed to His Excellency the Governor, I am directed to say that no change in the conditions of your detention is at present contemplated, and that therefore your request for the detention in His Highness the Aga Khan's Palace of Vallabhbhai Patel and his daughter cannot be acceded to and that it is not at present the intention to supply you with newspapers.

Yours obedient servant,  
(Sd.) J. M. SLADEN,  
Secy. to the Govt. of Bombay,  
Home Department.

*Newspapers allowed.*

The following rules about the writing and receiving of letters by security prisoners were communicated by the Superintendent on 26-8-42 (9-30 p.m.)

Security prisoners permitted to send and receive letters from members of their families only.

The contents of letters to be limited strictly to personal and domestic matters.

The letters should contain nothing that is likely to disclose where they are being detained and that when writing to their families they should ask the letters sent to them should be addressed " C/o the Secretary to the Government of Bombay (H. D.)"

It has been decided to permit Mr. M. K. Gandhi to select such newspapers, as he would like to see including past issues since his arrest up to the reasonable maximum. A list of newspapers should be obtained from him and forwarded to Government immediately.

*Give a free hand to write: Politics will be excluded.*

To

The Secretary to the Bombay Govt. (H. D.).

Dear Sir,

With reference to the Government orders about the writing of letters by the security prisoners it seems that the Government do not know that for over thirty-five years, I have ceased to live family life and have been living,

what has been called Ashram life in association with persons who have more or less shared my views. Of these Mahadev Desai whom I have just lost, was an associate beyond compare. His wife and only son have lived with me for years sharing the Ashram life. If I cannot write to the widow and her son or the other members of the deceased's family living in the Ashram, I can have no interest in writing to any one else. Nor can I be confined to writing about personal and domestic matters. If I am permitted to write at all, I must give instructions about many matters that I had entrusted to the deceased. These have no connection with politics which are the least part of my activities.

I am directing the affairs of the A. I. S. A. and kindred associations. Sevagram Ashram itself has many activities of a social, educational and humanitarian character. I should be able to receive letters about these activities and write about them. There is the Andrews Memorial Fund. There is a large sum lying at my disposal. I should be able to give instructions about its disposal. To this end I must be in correspondence with the people at Santiniketan.

Pyarelal Nayar, who was co-secretary with Mahadev Desai, and whose company as also that of my wife was offered to me at the time of my arrest, has not yet been sent. I have asked the I. G. P. about his whereabouts. I can get no information about him, nor about Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who was under my care for the control of his intestinal trouble. If I may not correspond with them about their health and welfare, again the permission granted can have no meaning for me.

I hope that even if the Government cannot extend the facilities for correspondence in terms of this letter, they will appreciate my difficulty.

Detention Camp.

27-8-42.

*List of the Ashramites,*

I am, yours etc.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

No. S. D. V/1011

Home Department (Political),

Bombay Castle, 22-9-1942.

From

The Secretary to the  
Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire.

Sir,

In reply to your letter dated the 27th August 1942, I am directed to request you to furnish me with a list of the inmates of the Sevagram Ashram with whom you wish to correspond on personal and domestic matters

only. In regard to your further request that you should be allowed to write and receive letters on certain matters other than those of a purely personal and domestic nature, I am to inform you of the decision of Government that it would not be in accordance with the purpose of your confinement to allow such an extension of the scope of your correspondence.

Yours obedient servant,  
(Sd.) J. M. SLADEN,  
Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay (H. D.).

\* \* \* \* \*

*Privilege refused.*

To,

The Secretary,  
Government of Bombay,  
(H. D. Political), Bombay.

Sir,

With reference to your letter on 22nd September I beg to say that I cannot exercise the privilege extended by the Government since I may not refer in my letters even to non-political matters mentioned in my letter of 27th August 1942.

Detention Camp.

25th September 1942.

I am yours etc.  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Death of Mahadeo Desai.*

The following telegram was sent to the Wardha Ashram by Gandhi following the death of Shri Mahadev Desai:

Chimanlal.

Ashram, Sevagram, Wardha.

Mahadev died suddenly. Gave no indication. Slept well last night. Had breakfast. Walked with me. Sushila, Jail doctors did all they could but God had willed otherwise. Sushila and I bathed body. Body lying peacefully covered with flowers incense burning. Sushila and I reciting Gita. Mahadev has died Yogi's and patriot's death. Tell Durga, Babla and Sushila no sorrow allowed. Only joy over such noble death. Cremation taking place in front of me. Shall keep ashes. Advise Durga remain Ashram but she may go to her people if she must. Hope Babla will be brave and prepare himself fill Mahadev's place worthily.

Love.  
BAPU.

15-8-42.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Telegram posted as letter.*

To,

The Secretary, Home Department,  
Bombay Government, Bombay.

Sir,

Khan Bahadur Kataley kindly handed me yesterday the letters written by late Shri Mahadeo Desai's wife and son. At the time of handing me the letters, Khan Bahadur told me that he has to explain to me the delay

caused in sending my "letter"\*. He could however give no explanation. I missed even a formal expression of regret for the inordinate delay. There appears to have been in the Bombay Secretariat a disregard of the feelings of a bereaved wife and bereaved son.

From these letters I gather that what was on the face of it a telegram, and was handed to the I. G. P. with the request that it should go as an express telegraphic message was posted as a letter. I should like to be informed why the telegraphic message was posted as a letter. May I remind the Government that I am without any reply to my letter of 7-8-42? The widow and her son are instances in point. They cannot but be comforted to receive letters from my wife and me. But under the prohibitory orders we may not write to them.

I am yours, etc.  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI,  
Security Prisoner.

*Detention Camp.*

19th Sept. 1942.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Government regret.*

No. S. D. V./1084,  
Home Department (Political),  
Bombay Castle, 24th Sept. 1942.

From:

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To:

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire.

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 19th instant. I am directed to state that the delay in the delivery of your message to the widow of the late Mr. Mahadev Desai was due to a misunderstanding which is regretted. As has already appeared in the Press, the Government of India has expressed regret to the widow for the delay.

As regards the further point mentioned in your letter concerning your correspondence, I am to invite reference to my letter No. S. D. V/1011, dated the 2nd September 1942.

Yours obedient servant,  
(Sd.) J. M. SLADEN,  
Secy. to the Govt. of Bombay,  
Home Department.

\* \* \* \* \*



*Seizure of 'Navjivan' Press.*

To,

The Secretary,  
Bombay Government (Home Department),  
Bombay.

Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith a cutting from the Bombay Chronicle, dated 24th instant. I shall be obliged if I am told whether the fear expressed by the writer of the note in question is justified.

Detention Camp.

I am yours, etc.

26-10-42.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

(The ' Bombay Chronicle ' cutting referred to above dealt with the seizure of the 'Navjivan' Press and the destruction of old files of the " Harijan " publications).

\* \* \* \* \*

No. S.D. III/2613,  
Home Department (Political),  
Bombay Castle, 5th November 1942.

From:

The Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To:

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire.

Sir.

I am directed to inform you in reply to your letter to me dated October 26th that the Government instructed the District Magistrate. Ahmedabad to destroy all objectionable literature seized from the Navjivan Mudranalaya such as old copies of the ' Harijan ' newspapers, books, leaflets and other miscellaneous papers and to return other articles that were not objectionable to the owners.

I HAVE ASCERTAINED FROM THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE THAT HE INTERPRETED THE ORDERS AS COVERING ALL THE OLD FILES OF THE 'HARIJAN' SINCE 1933 AND THESE OLD FILES HAVE ACTUALLY BEEN DESTROYED.

Yours obedient servant,  
(Sd.) J. M. SLADEN.  
Secretary to the  
Government of Bombay, H. D.

\* \* \* \* \*

The following express wire was sent by Gandhiji to the Government of Bombay regarding Prof. Bhansali's fast:—

Secretary Home Department, Bombay Government.

Professor Bhansali one time fellow Elphinstone College left college in 1926 and joined Ashram Sabarmati. He is reported by daily Press to be fasting without water near Sevagram Ashram, Wardha, over alleged Chimur excesses. Would like establish direct telegraph contact with him through Superintendent for ascertaining cause fasting his condition. I would like to dissuade him if I find his fast morally unjustified. I make this request for humanity's sake.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.  
24-11-42.

\* \* \* \* \*

To.

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

About 8.45 a.m. yesterday I sent you the text of an express telegram to the Secretary, Bombay Government, Home Department, about Professor Bhansali who is reported to be fasting. As the Professor seems to have been fasting since 11th instant according to the report in the 'Hindu' of Madras and since last Wednesday according to the 'Bombay Chronicle' I am naturally filled with anxiety. Time in such cases is the greatest factor. I shall therefore be obliged if you could convey by telephone or wire my request to the Bombay Government for an urgent reply in regard to my wire.

I am etc.  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.  
25-11-42.

\* \* \* \* \*

No. S.D.VI/2891,  
Home Deptt. (Political),  
Bombay Castle, 30th Nov. 1942.

From

The Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

M. K. Gandhi, Esquire.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your telegraphic message dated the 24th instant, regarding the fast of Professor Bhansali.

In reply I am to state that Government is unable to sanction your request to be allowed to communicate with him.

If, however, you desire to advise him, for humanitarian reasons, to abandon his fast, this Government will make arrangements to communicate your advice to him.

Yours obedient servant,  
(Sd.) x x x  
Addl. Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay  
Home Department.

The following letter was addressed to the Addl. Secretary to Government of India.

Detention Camp.

4th December 1942.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge your letter of 30th ultimo received by me yesterday afternoon (3rd instant). I note with deep regret that my telegraphic message with regard to a dear co-worker whose life seems to be in jeopardy, should have been answered by a letter which reached me ten days after the despatch of my message!

I am sorry for the Government rejection of my request. As I believe in the legitimacy and even necessity of fasting under given circumstances, I am unable to advise abandonment of Prof. Bhansali's fast, unless I know that he has no justifying reason for it. If the newspaper report is to be believed, there seems to be legitimate ground for his fast and I must be content to lose my friend, if I must.

I am etc.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Bombay Police Commissioner 3001/H/XI. P. 129.

The Bharat Jyoti.

25-6-44.

*It was unfair to intercept Gandhiji's letter to Jinnah.*

The unfair manner in which Mahatma Gandhi's offer to Mr. Jinnah to meet and discuss matters for a communal settlement was dealt with by Government is revealed in the following correspondence.

The following is the letter to Mr. Jinnah:—

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

When some time after my incarceration, the Government asked me for a list of newspapers I would like to have, I included the "Dawn" in my list. I have been receiving it with more or less regularly. Whenever it comes to me, I read it carefully. I have followed the proceedings of the League as reported in the "Dawn" columns. I noted your invitation to me to write to you. Hence this letter.

I welcome your invitation. I suggest our meeting face to face rather than talking through correspondence. But I am in your hands.

I hope that this letter will be sent to you and if you agree to my proposal, that the Government will let you visit me.

One thing I had better mention. There seems to be an 'if' about your invitation. Do you say I should write only if I have changed my heart? God alone knows men's hearts. I would like you to take me as I am.

Why should not you and I approach the great question of communal unity as men determined on finding common solution and work together to make our solution acceptable to all who are concerned with it or are interested in it?

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

The following is the letter of Sir Richard Tottenham communicating the Government decision not to forward the letter:—

Home Department.  
New Delhi, the 24th May 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

In reply to your letter of the 4th May in which you have requested the Government of India to forward a letter of the same date addressed by you to Mr. Jinnah. I am to inform you that the Government of India have decided that your letter cannot be forwarded. This decision is in accordance with the restrictions which, as you are aware, have been placed on your correspondence and interviews while you are under detention. Government propose shortly to issue a communique, of which I enclose an advance copy, stating the fact that the letter has been withheld and the reasons therefor.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. TOTTENHAM.

Received on 26-5-43 at 6-30 p.m.

*The Communique.*

The following was the Press communique, which the Government sent to Gandhiji in advance:

The Government of India have received a request from Mr. Gandhi to forward a short letter from himself to Mr. Jinnah expressing a wish to meet him.

In accordance with their known policy in regard to correspondence or interviews with Mr. Gandhi the Government of India have decided that this letter cannot be forwarded and have so informed Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. They are not prepared to give facilities for political correspondence or contact to a person detained for promoting an illegal mass movement which he has not disavowed and thus gravely embarrassing India's war effort at a critical time. It rests with Mr. Gandhi to satisfy the Government of India that he can safely be allowed once more to participate in the public affairs of the country, and until he does so the disabilities from which he suffers are of his own choice.

Replying to the above Gandhiji wrote to Sir Richard Tottenham as follows:—

Detention Camp.

27th May 1943.

Dear Sir Richard Tottenham.

I received last evening your letter of the 24th instant refusing my request to forward my letter addressed to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah.

I am sorry for the Government's decision. For, my letter to the Quaid-i-Azam was sent in reply to his public invitation to me to write to him, and I was especially encouraged to do so because his language had led me to think that if I wrote to him, my letter would be forwarded to him.

The public too are anxious that the Quaid-i-Azam and I should meet or at least establish contact. I have always been anxious to meet the Quaid-i-Azam if perchance, we could devise some solution of the communal tangle which might be generally acceptable. Therefore the disability in the present instance is much more that of the public than mine.

As a Satyagrahi I may not regard as disabilities the restrictions which the Government have imposed upon me. As the Government are aware, I have denied myself the pleasure of writing to my relatives and I am not allowed to perform the service of writing to my co-workers who are in a sense more to me than my relatives.

#### *Need of amendment*

The advance copy of the contemplated communique with which you have considerably favoured me requires amendment in more places than one. For, as it stands it does not square with facts.

As to the disavowal referred to in the proposed communique, the Government are aware that I regard the nonviolent mass movement, for the launching of which the Congress gave me authority on the 8th August last, as perfectly legitimate and in the interest of the Government and the public. As it is, the Government left me no time to start the movement. Therefore how could a movement, which was never started, embarrass "India's" war effort?

If then, there was any embarrassment by reason of the popular resentment of the Government's action in resorting to the wholesale arrests of principal Congressmen, the responsibility was solely that of the Government.

The mass movement, as the resolution sanctioning it said in so many words, was sanctioned in order to promote India-wide effort on behalf of the Allied cause including the cause of Russia and China, whose danger was very great in August last and from which, in my opinion, they are by no means free even now.

I hope the Government will not feel offended when I say that all the war effort that is being put forth in India is not India's but the alien Government's. I submit that if the Government had complied with the request of the Congress as embodied in its August resolution, there would have been a mass effort without parallel for winning the battle of human freedom and riding the world of the menace that Fascism, Nazism, Japanism and Imperialism are. I may be wholly wrong; any way this is my deliberate and honest opinion.

**SUGGESTED ALTERATION:**

In order to make the communique accord with facts, I suggest the following alteration in the first paragraph. After Mr. Jinnah add, "in response to his public invitation to Mr. Gandhi to write to him" stating that he (Mr. Gandhi) would be willing to correspond with or meet him according as he wished.

I hope that the remaining portion of the communique too will be suitably amended in the light of my submission.

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
**(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.**  
Detention Camp,  
28th May 1943.

Dear Sir Richard Tottenham,

I handed my reply to your letter of the 24th instant at about one o'clock yesterday, to the Superintendent. I hurried the writing and the dispatch in the hope of my letter reaching you before the publication of the communique. I was therefore astonished and grieved to find the communique in the papers received in the afternoon, and Reuter's report of the reaction upon it in London. Evidently there was no meaning in an advance copy of the communique being sent to me. I regard the communique not only to be inconsistent with facts, but unfair to me. The only way partial redress can be given to me is the publication of the correspondence between us. I therefore request that it may be published.

I am, Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.  
Home Department,  
New Delhi, 4th June 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am directed to acknowledge your letter to Sir Richard Tottenham dated 27th May 1943, and to say that the Government of India have considered it but see no reason to modify their communique already published.

Yours sincerely,  
**(Sd) CONRAN SMITH.**

Home Department, New Delhi,  
7th June 1943.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

In reply to your letter to Sir Richard Tottenham dated 28th May 1943, I am directed to say that the advance copy of the communique stating Government's reasons for not forwarding your letter to Mr. Jinnah was furnished to you for your personal information and that Government regret that they see no reason to publish the correspondence.

Yours sincerely,  
**(Sd.) CONRAN SMITH.**

The letter was received on 11-6-1943.

### **GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES**

"Every Satyagrahi should understand before joining the struggle that he is to ceaselessly carry on the struggle till independence is achieved. He should vow that he will be free or die.

Those employed in Government offices, Government factories, railways, post offices, etc., may not participate in the hartal, because our object is to make it clear that we will never tolerate Japanese, Nazi or Fascist invasion, nor British rule.

Therefore, we shall not for the present interfere in the above mentioned Government departments. But an occasion may certainly arise when we shall ask all those people who are employed in Government offices to give up their positions and join the Satyagraha struggle.

But all Congress members in the Central and Provincial Assemblies ought to vacate their seats and come out forthwith. In case an attempt is made to fill their places with enemies of the country's freedom, or henchmen of British Government, local Congressmen should be put up to oppose their election.

The same applies to the Congress members of the Municipalities and other public bodies. As conditions in different provinces are not the same every Provincial Congress Committee shall make arrangements suited to its special circumstances.

### **HE MUST RESIGN**

"If any Government servant is called upon to perpetrate excesses or injustice it will be his clear duty to resign at once, giving the real reasons. Free India Government will be under no obligation to continue in its service all those Government functionaries who are at present serving the Empire on huge salaries: nor will it be under an obligation to continue the large pensions which are being drawn at present.

### **ROLE OF STUDENTS**

"All students reading in institutions conducted or controlled by the Government should come out of these institutions. Those who are above sixteen years of age should join the Satyagraha. Those who so leave these

institutions should do so with a clear understanding that they are not to return to them until independence is achieved. There should be no coercion whatsoever in this matter. Only those who of their own free will wish to do so, should come out. No good can come out of coercion.

"If excesses are committed in any place by the Government, people should offer resistance and endure the penalty. For instance, if villagers, labourers or householders are ordered to vacate their farms or homes they should flatly refuse to obey such orders. If an adequate compensation is offered or if they are suitably provided for by grant of land etc., elsewhere, they may vacate their farms or homes. Here there is no question of Civil Disobedience, but of simply refusing to submit to coercion or injustice. We do not want to binder military activities, but neither shall we submit to arbitrary high-handedness.

"The sale tax cause great hardship to the poor. Therefore, where-ever salt can be made, the poor people may certainly manufacture it for themselves and risk the penalty ".

### **REFUSE LAND TAX**

" Land tax is due only to a Government which we recognize as our own. It is long since we have mentally ceased to recognize the existing Government as such, but until now we have not gone to the length of refusing the payment of land tax because we felt that the country was not prepared to go so far.

But the time has now come when those, who have the courage, and are prepared to risk their all, should refuse to pay it.

The Congress holds that the land belongs to those who work on it and to no one else. If they part with a share of the produce to anyone, it is for the furtherance of their own interests. There are various systems of collecting land revenue. Where the Zamindari system prevails the Zamindars pay the tax to the Government and the ryot to the Zamindar. In such cases, if the Zamindar makes common cause with the ryot, his portion of the revenue, which may be settled by mutual agreement, should be given to him. But if a Zamindar wants to side with the Government, no tax should be payed to him. This will, in the immediate present spell, ruin the ryot. Therefore, only those who are prepared to face utter ruin should refuse payment of land revenue.

" Besides these, there are several other items which could be taken up. Directions in regard to these will be issued when the occasion arises." P. S.

Sevagram.

28-6-45.

These would have been issued, if they had been passed by the Working Committee. Now they are a part of historical record only.

**M. K. G.**



P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

(P. 351)

**CONGRESS 3-10-45.**

**39. GANDHI'S VISIT.**

In a letter dated 29-9-45 (intercepted on 30-9-45) to DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MUKHARJI (ESP) M.L.A., Lowis Jubilee Sanatorium, Darjeeling ATULYA (?) GHOSH (incompletely identified) of 36/8A, Sahitya Parishad Street refers to a letter received by him from Dr. PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH in Bombay and his subsequent talks with him regarding GANDHI'S visit to Calcutta on 2-11-45. After staying here till 15-11-45 GANDHI will attend the Birbhum District Congress Workers' Conference at Santiniketan and then the All Bengal Constructive Workers' Conference and the Midnapur District Workers' Conference to be held on or about 17-11-45 at Midnapur, where he will stay for 7 days. Later after attending the Chittagong District Workers\* Conference on 25-11-45 (at Chittagong) he will visit Noakhali, Comilla, Nadia and a few places in North Bengal in each of which Workers' Conferences will be arranged. Referring to the proposed All Bengal Conference to be held at Serampore on 27-10-45 and 28-10-45 ATULYA says that the workers from the districts will be unable to attend it as they will have to prepare from now on for GANDHI'S visit. According to DR. GHOSH he may take GANDHI to Serampore to attend the Conference there if it is held during his stay in Calcutta. ATULYA suggests that MUKHARJI should write to DR. GHOSH at 18/4, Gariahat Road on this matter and further informs the addressee that about 150 receipt books have been distributed to collect funds for GANDHI'S reception and 16,000 handbills and a supply of posters have been printed. ATULYA does not agree to Dr. GHOSH'S suggestion for the postponement of the All Bengal Conference but favours its cancellation as the elections are approaching. He asks MUKHARJI to write to SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSH C/o LABANYA PRABHA DATTA, 10, Suburban School Road, congratulating him upon his release.

**COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,  
BOMBAY STATE  
FILE No. 3001/H/XIII  
1946**

**SUBJECT:**

**M. K. GANDHI.  
1946  
From 1-12-1945 to 31-12-46.  
P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/XIII.***

**(P. 167)**

**M. K. GANDHI.**

**14-3-46.**

Addressed a public meeting at Shivaji Park, Dadar, on March 14th, to explain the implications of ' Satyagraha' and the policy of non-violence for India's freedom.

(Sd.) X X X,  
Supdt. S.B., C.I.D.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/XIII.*

**(P. 215)**

Bombay, 30th March 1946.

Sir,

As per your instructions, I visited Chawl Nos. 95 and 96, Worli, along with D. I. Korgaonkar this morning. The iron-door of Chawl No. 95 was permanently fixed and was not seen tampered. I then went to Chawl No. 96 and went on to the terrace but could not see any stones or any other missiles on the same. I had also a view of the terrace of Chawl No. 95 by climbing over the Water Tank and could not see any stones or any other missiles on Chawl No. 95. As I had a view of the terrace of Chawl No. 95, I abandoned the idea of breaking open the terrace-door of Chawl No. 95 with a chisel and hammer.

I herewith attach a plan showing the position of the place where Mr. Gandhi is going to reside (Marked " A" on the plan) and the situation of Chawl Nos. 95 and 96 (crossed with red-pencil) and the surrounding chawls occupied by scheduled class people. They are at a very long distance from the place which is to be occupied by Mr. Gandhi. The chawls surrounding "A" are occupied by caste-Hindus, some of whom are Government servants and the others having pro-Congress sympathy, and unless the scheduled class persons walk over to the place at " A " and collect in front of this place, they will not be able to do any damage.

As Mr. Gandhi is now, according to the press report, gone to Delhi, there would not be any necessity to take any steps in this matter but in case he comes to reside at Worli, then a Police Guard in the locality would be necessary to maintain peace as the scheduled class people might create a trouble and the caste Hindus might retaliate, resulting in a fight.

(Sd.)

Inspr. of Police, L. B.  
30-3.

Some arrangement near the hut will be necessary.

(Sd.) X X X  
D.C.P., S.B. (I).

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/XIII.*

(P. 197)

Bombay, 1st April 1946.

Sir,

With reference to the attached, I beg to report that Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by Amrut Kaur and Pyarelal, arrived in Bombay and alighted at Dharavi Crossing at 5.40 a.m. on 31-3-46 and went straight to the Worli Hut. Prior to his arrival in Bombay, an attempt was made to burn the hut but it was foiled by the timely intervention of the coolies and residents in the locality. His arrival was opposed by the Ambedkarites at Dharavi Crossing and at Worli where they demonstrated against Gandhi with black flags and by shouting anti-Gandhi slogans. At about 10-00 a.m. they held a meeting at Worli Chawls, attended by about 2,500 persons and presided over by R. D. Bhandare. Speeches were made declaring that Mr. Gandhi was not their leader and in terms of humiliating Mr. Gandhi. It was announced that an effigy of Mr. Gandhi will be burnt on 3-4-46 and that a public meeting will be held on 5-4-46.

(I attach a cutting from the 'Bombay Chronicle' dated 1-4-46 giving an<sup>1</sup> account of his visit to his residence near the Harijan quarters.)

(Sd.) X X X  
Inspr., H. B.

P. C's Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/XIII.*

(P. 347)

**MR. M. K. GANDHI.**

**6/7-7-46:**

Addressed the A.I.C.C. Meeting held in Bombay at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, during its sessions on July 6th and 7th, under the Presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

(Sd.) X X X  
Supdt. S.B., C.I.D.

**COMMISSIONER OF POLICE  
BOMBAY STATE  
FILE No. 3001/H  
1947-48.**

**SUBJECT:**

**M. K. Gandhi.**

**Part XI (15).**

**From 1-10-1947.**

**P. C.'s Office, Bombay.**

***Extract from File No. 3001 /H.***

(P. 123)

Special Branch (1), C.I.D.,  
Bombay. 24-7-1944.

Date of interception:—24-7-44.

Name of Officer intercepting the letter:—

Post Office:—Girgaon.

Copy of letter in English (handwritten).

Date of letter:—23-7-44.

From:—M. K. Gandhi, Panchgani.

To:—M. Kumarmangalam Subbarayan,

Communist Party, 190 B, Khet Wadi Main Road, Bombay-4.

Post mark and Date:—Panchgani 23-7-44.

Dear Mohan,

Do come with your friend at 4-00 p.m. on 28th instant. Your friend may take 2 snap shots without any notice to me.

I am glad Joshi wants my reply. I have not been idle. I hope to be able to send a reply at an early date.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

(P. 125)

**SECRET**

**INTERCEPTION REPORT.**

(Secrecy of interception may please be safeguarded).

1. Post Office: Dharwar Head Post Office.
2. Date of Censorship, 4th August 1944.
3. Sender's name and address: Not known.

4. Post mark and date: City New Market (Bangalore), dated 3-8-44, 5 p.m.
5. Date of letter: Not mentioned.
6. Language of the letter: English.
7. Addressee's name and address: R. S. Hukerikar, Vasant Press, Dharwar.
8. Whether withheld or delivered: Withheld.
9. If copy kept: Withheld.
10. Name of the Censoring Officer: S.I., L.I.B., Dharwar.
11. Additional information: The letter is a typed one in English and its copy is as follows:—

*Copy.*

The following is the summary of the talks between Gandhiji and the Bombay Congress Leaders held on 29th and 30th August in Panchgani.

"9th August is a great day and it is the duty of all to observe it. But that part of the resolution which speaks of mass civil disobedience cannot be brought into force because the authority to put it into force was vested solely in me. Today I see no possibility of mass civil disobedience either according to that authority or according to circumstances.

Mass civil disobedience is onething and the exercise of citizen's right and civil disobedience in pursuance of it is different. The people have been exercising the right of defensive individual civil disobedience since 1920. People in general may not understand the difference between the mass civil disobedience and civil disobedience for the defence of individual citizen's rights. But it is necessary to know the difference.

On such occasions as 9th August, people have to understand the difference and exercise this right of individual civil disobedience for the defence of the civil rights. In such places where it is necessary to take the permission of Police for meeting processions and such common civil rights, permission from the Police should be asked for. But if such permission is not granted people should exercise their civil right in spite of the refusal."

" In pursuance of this policy Gandhiji approved the following draft., True copy of the draft letter to be addressed to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, by the leader of the procession on the 9th of August:—

"For many of us 9th of August 1942 is a Red Letter Day of the resolution of the 8th August we are proud. It is a declaration of India's hope. Though roughly national, it is international in outlook. Thus it-has a sanction clause which too the Congress has nothing to be ashamed of. It replaces for its sanction armed force by normal force of self-suffering in the shape of mass civil disobedience. If some Congressmen and others went astray during the days following the 8th of August 1942, they did so contrary to the resolution. Mahatma Gandhi, the authority appointed by the A.I.C.C. to enforce the sanction never got the chance

of enforcing it. He says the authority lapsed with his imprisonment and was not revived by his release. He says further that, even if it has not lapsed he thinks that under the altered circumstances it would be improper to revive the sanction clause. I confess that none of us has a knowledge of the technique of Mass Civil Disobedience. Therefore there is no question of enforcing the sanction.

Hence any act my fellow workers may wish to do on the 9th of August next must not be confused with the sanction clause. This letter would be unnecessary but for the extraordinary powers to you. Under the Ordinance Rule no procession or public meeting can be held without your previous permission. This is an encroachment upon an ordinary civic right. Now on the 9th as a symbol and token, I propose to organise five parties of 5 persons each with tricolour flags. They will march in order to avoid crowds gathering, without notice towards Chowpatty Sands, reach the Lokamanya Statue at 5-30 a.m. and stand for five minutes in silent prayer, then recite the resolution in Hindustani and sing the Zenda-vandan song and disperse. I sincerely hope that you have no objection to this simple ceremonial. I shall thank you to let me have your Programme.

NOTE.—Gandhi is expected to issue a detailed circular of instructions to all Congressmen by the 5th.

On the 9th, 25 persons are starting in procession, in batches of five from different quarters of Bombay and converging at 5-30 a.m. (time dictated by Gandhi) at Chowpatty Sands and carry out the Days Programme ".

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 127]

**SECRET**

Special Branch (1), C.I.D.,  
Bombay, 16th August 1944.

Date of interception:—16th August 1944.

Name of Officer intercepting the letter:—W. A. Khambete, HCW.

Post Office:—Malabar Hill.

Copy of letter in English (handwritten).

Date of letter:—15th August 1944.

From:—M. K. Gandhi, Sevagram.

To:—Dr. M. R. Jayakar,  
Ashram, Winter Road, Malabar Hill,  
Bombay-6.

Postmark and date Sevagram 15th August 1944.

Dear Dr. Jayakar,

I am grateful to you for your two letters. The long one is illuminating. I am aware of the dangers. I am not afraid of coming away with empty hands. I am doing what I have done all my life. I know, you believe, in the all pervading Deity. I ask you to pray, I may be bestowed with the strength to do the right thing.

Yours sincerely

**(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.**

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

P. 129]

**SECRET**

Special Branch, C. P.  
 Nagpur, the 17th August 1944.

### **INTERCEPTION REPORT**

(The Secrecy of the interception may kindly be safeguarded.)

1. Post Office of interception: Wardha.
2. Date of Censorship: 11-8-44.
3. Sender's name and address: M. K. Gandhi,, Sewagram.
4. Post mark and date: 11th August 44, Sewagram.
5. Date of letter: 11-8-44.
6. Language of letter: Gujrathi.
7. Addressee's name and address: Sir Chimanlal Setalwad, Bombay, Malbar Hill.
8. Whether withheld or delivered: Delivered.
9. If delivered, copy kept or not: Yes.
10. Name of Censoring Officer: G. M. Bhore, S.I., L.I.B., Wardha.
11. Additional information and remarks:

### **CONTENTS**

I am writing to you in my mother tongue which I believe you will tolerate.

The Congress policy has been definite and determined. With this nothing can be mixed. An independent India cannot entertain any other stranger in its midst. The consent which I have given to a ~ particular scheme depends upon the fact that it is based on a cardinal principle of the Congress. I command an influence over the masses and therefore I cannot hide that which I consider against the good of my country. An advantage would be taken of this situation by my opponents and this was not outside the pale of my thoughts. But this fear comes out of the weakness of our forces.

To remove this fear the way lies in freely but respectfully expressing our opinion and only in this way can we conquer and win; this is my respectful opinion. Permit me to tell you that no particular work of mine has resulted in any loss to my country. At least I have never heard that it has. All your writings, I have read with great patience and care but I have always felt that you do not examine my side with patience and care. Your time is occupied mostly in different types of work and this is not. beyond my constant thought.

In the end it seems to me that the substance of your letters leads to the inference that India is going to be for very long time under the rule and sway of the English. From your writings this appears to be Indian's destiny. But my firm belief is quite the opposite of this. Moreover you crush our spirit and make us appear blind. Our leaders also forget this fundamental difference in our views. This is the reason I believe why you are so pessimistic and we so optimistic.

It is my sincere desire that a so-called rash step which I propose to take may not result in any loss to the country.

Your younger brother,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from file No. 3001/H.*

[P. 133]

**SECRET**

Special Branch, C. P.  
Nagpur, the 26th August 1944.

### INTERCEPTION REPORT

(The secrecy of the interception may kindly be safeguarded)

1. Post Office of interception: Wardha.
2. Date of censorship: 22-8-1944.
3. Sender's name and address: M. K. Gandhi, Sewagram.
4. Post mark and date: Sewagram 22-8-1944.
5. Date of letter: 22-8-1944.
6. Language of letter: Gujrati.
7. Addressee's name and address: Nagindas Bhai Master Mayor of Bombay.
8. Whether withheld or delivered: Delivered.
9. If delivered, copy kept or not: Kept.
10. Name of censoring officer: N. D. Kaccar, S. I., S. B.
11. Additional information and remarks:

### CONTENTS

"Bhai Nagin Bhai,

Whatever best you think you should do. I have not thought over it seriously. If you want to do Satyagraha or act against law you must give previous notice. If you do not act to this, it shall not be called a non-violent Satyagraha. I am not in favour of mass C. D. Movement".

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 135]

**SECRET**

Copy of a letter dated 22-8-1944, from Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Sewagram to Nagindas Master, Mayor, Bombay, obtained through reliable source information.

"Whatever best you think you should do. I have not thought over it seriously. If you want to do Satyagraha or act against law you must give previous notice. If you do not act to this, it shall not be called a non-violent satyagraha. I am not in favour of mass C. D. Movement"



P, C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 141]  
**SECRET**

Special Branch (1), C. I. D.  
 Bombay, 2-9-1944.

Date of interception: 2-9-1944.  
 Name of Officer intercepting the letter:—  
 Post Office: Malabar Hill.  
 Copy of Telegram in English (Typewritten).  
 Date of letter: 2-9-1944.  
 From: Gandhi, Wardha.  
 To:

Qaide-Azam Jinnah,  
 Mount Pleasant Road,  
 Bombay.

Your wire, Thanks. Hoping reach you 4 o'clock 9th.

(Sd.) GANDHI

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 169]  
**SECRET**

Special Branch (1), C.I.D.  
 Bombay, 10th September 1944.

Date of interception—10-9-44.  
 Name of Officer intercepting the letter:  
 Post Office:—Malabar Hill.  
 Copy of letter in English (Typewritten)  
 Date of letter:—10-9-1944.  
 From: M. K. Gandhi, Camp "Birla House", Bombay.  
 To:

H. E. The Viceroy,  
 Viceroy's House, New Delhi.  
 Dear friend,

I wrote to you on 17-7-1944, asking you kindly to send a letter of same date addressed to the Prime Minister. May I know whether that letter was sent as requested? I am asking because so far I have had no acknowledgment of my letter.

I am.  
 Yours sincerely,  
**(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.**

P. C's Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 297]  
**SECRET**

Special Branch (1), C.I.D.,  
Bombay, 22nd October 1944.

Date of interception: 22nd October 1944.

Name of Officer intercepting the letter:

Post Office: Malbar Hill.

Copy of letter in English (Typewritten).

Date of letter: 21-10-44.

From: M. K. Gandhi, Sevagram.

To:

Shri Govindlalji,

15 Lands End Road, Malbar Hill, Bombay.

Postmark and Date: Sevagram, 21st October 1944.

Dear Govindlalji,

This is in reply to your kind letter of 13th.

I never had any faith in the parliamentary programme. I have tolerated it as I tolerate many things you know where my faith lies.

Yours sincerely,  
**(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.**

**COMMISSIONER OF POLICE  
BOMBAY STATE  
FILE No. 3001/H.  
(Jan. 1945 to May 1945)  
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI.**

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

**GANDHI, MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND.**

(1944) was released from detention on Medical Grounds by Government under Government Order No. SDV/51, dated the 6th May. Arrived at Juhu from Poona on May 11th and stayed in one of the shacks there. Visited the scene of explosions in the Docks on May 19th. Saw also Mangaldas Pakwasa, President of the Bombay Legislative Council who was lying ill at Napean Sea Road on the same day. Left for Poona on June 15th. Arrived in Bombay from Sevagram on September 9th and went to stay at Birla House, Mount Pleasant Road. Had talks on Hindu Muslim Unity with Mr. Jinnah at the latter's residence from September 9th to September 27th. Had his evening prayers during his stay. Met about 30 workers of the different Ward Congress Committees at Birla House and discussed congress matters with them and advised them to do constructive work within the law on September 30th. Left for Wardha on September 30th,

**(Sd.)  
23-1-1945**

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

"Bombay Chronicle" dated 3-1-1945.

[P. 3]

" WOULD LOVE TO HAVE YOU AS COLLEAGUE AND  
CO-WORKER"

*Mahatma's offer to Ambedkar prior to Bombay Unity talks.*

New Delhi, Jan. 2.

Reports emanating from Bombay State that Dr. Ambedkar had written to Gandhiji asking for a revision of the Poona Pact. It is a fact that Dr. Ambedkar addressed a letter to Gandhiji about the time the later was to meet Mr. Jinnah. In his letter Dr. Ambedkar wanted to discuss the Hindu untouchables' problem with Gandhiji in order to reach a settlement.

The following are the full texts of Dr. Ambedkar's letter to Gandhiji and Gandhiji's letter to Dr. Ambedkar.

Dr. Ambedkar to Gandhiji, dated New Delhi, July 31: "I see from the papers that you are meeting Mr. Jinnah in the middle of August in Bombay. I am glad to note that you have decided to take up the Hindu-Muslim question with a view to bring about a settlement. The Hindu-Muslim question has loomed large in India's politics and the din and noise it has created has given to most people the impression that once the Hindu-Muslim problem is solved the path of India's political progress becomes clear of all obstacles. I need hardly say that this is not true. You know as well as I do that the Hindu-Muslim problem is not the only communal problem that has to be settled and that there is a communal problem between the Hindus and the untouchables, not to mention others, which is also awaiting a solution. Hindu-Muslim settlement, while it is good as far as it goes will not suffice. An all round settlement, between the Hindus and other minorities, I am sure, will become necessary if India's political goal is to be achieved. And the sooner it is done the better. I have always held that it is the responsibility of all those who are placed in a position of leadership to come forward to discharge it by helping to bring about a settlement. I realize this responsibility and I am prepared to do my best so far as the problem of the untouchables is concerned. That is why I am writing to you this letter. I do not know what you feel about the matter. But if you are anxious to solve the Hindu-Untouchable problem, as you are to solve the Hindu-Muslim Problem, I shall be glad to formulate points on which a settlement is necessary. Will you let me know what your view is on the question I have raised? "

#### **GANDHIJI'S REPLY**

Gandhiji to Dr. Ambedkar. Sewagram August 6: "Thank you for yours of July 31 received yesterday. The Hindu-Muslim question is for me a lifelong question. There was a time when I used to think that when that question was solved India's political troubles would be over. Experience has taught me that it was only partly true. Untouchability I

began to abhor when I was in my teens. But it was a question with me of religious and social reform. And though it has attained a great political importance its religious and social value is for me much greater. But I know to my cost that you and I hold different views on this very important question. And I know, too, that on broad politics of the country we see things from different angles. I would love to find a meeting ground between us on both the questions. I know your great ability and I would love to own you as a colleague and co-worker. But I must admit my failure to come nearer to you. If you can show me a way to a common meeting ground between us I would like to see it. Meanwhile, I must reconcile myself to the present unfortunate difference. "

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

"Bombay Chronicle" dated 27-3-1945.

[P. 137]

### **MORE LIGHT ON "QUIT INDIA" RESOLUTION GANDHIJI CLARIFIES HIS AND CONGRESS POSITION**

In the course of a letter, dated February 15, New Delhi, Dr. M. C. Davar, Secretary General, United Party of India asked Mahatma Gandhi to clarify the following points:—

1. Whether the "Quit India" resolution was consistent with the principle of Ahimsa and Truth.
2. If it was based on Truth and Ahimsa, did you realise any portion of success from this or from your historic Linlithgow Fast. As you achieved a certain amount of success after your fasts and Satyagrahas. In reply to Louis Fischer about the Civil Disobedience Movement when he put you the following question.

In case, your impending Civil Disobedience Movement "develops a violent phase, as it has sometimes in past year, would you call it off? You have done that before," You observed, "it would be incorrect to say that no circumstances might arise in which I would call off the movement. That was necessary for my own training and for the training of my collaborators. But I would not believe as I have in the past."

3. Was not it a sure indication that before August 1942 Satyagraha Movement, your mind was not so firm as it was in the past about the principle of Ahimsa?

4. Wasn't it an indication to the lovers of your creed that Freedom of the country was nearer to your heart than Ahimsa?

5. Don't you think that this slight decrease in your lifelong faith which was unshakable by the mightiest volcanoes and severest storms in the past that you did not achieve your desired end and don't you think that this decrease in faith was responsible for the direct counter-violence which some of your so near associates took to?

### MAHATMA'S REPLY

In reply to the above letter Mr. Narhari Parikh Wrote:—

Sevagram, February 28th, 1945.

Dear Friend,

Yours of 15th inst. Gandhiji writes in reply to your questions:

1. " Quit India" resolution so-called is wholly consistent with Ahimsa and Truth. I hope you see nothing wrong in the phrase.

2. There was no question of success partly or wholly resulting from the mere phrase or the resolution itself.

Evidently you have not studied the correspondence that led to the fast. It was wholly aimed at the misdeeds of the Government.

The fast had great results. You should study the whole event. You should also know that a Satyagrahi is never attached to results. His acts, great or small, have their own worth.

My reply to Louis Fischer is complete. As years rolled on people knew that my words carried what they meant. Therefore, I said I might not call off the movement in future even if there was violence. My trial never came. For I was arrested before I could start the movement.

3. Certainly not.

4. You are quite wrong, I would never put Freedom or anything before Ahimsa and Truth.

5. It is clear to me that you have only superficially studied the movement as also Ahimsa.

Gandhiji observes silence, and the above is a copy of what he has written down.

---

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[ P. 151 ]

**SECRET.**

No. 1788/H/3001, dated 29th March 1945.

My Dear Drewe,

Mr. Gandhi and party are expected to leave Wardha on Friday the 30th March 1945 arriving in Bombay the next day by the Calcutta Mail *via* Nagpur reaching V. T. at 10-30 a.m. It is probable that, as on previous occasions, he will alight somewhere in the suburbs. Mr. Gandhi will stay at Birla House for about 6 days where he will attend the meeting of the Trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund. He will also inspect the Training Centre for Women as part of the Kasturba Fund

scheme at Suresh Kutir, Mount Painsur near Borivli. the Centre is likely to be opened on the 5th April 1945 with Miss Mridulla Sarabhai in charge.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose, member of the Congress Working Committee, who was, recently released, is expected to arrive in Bombay during Mr. Gandhi's stay here and will discuss the situation in Bengal and the question of forming ministries.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) x x x

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

" Bombay Chronicle " dated 4-4-45.

[P. 183]

### **" WHAT MAHATMA TOLD QUID-E-AZAM "**

Text of Gandhiji's reply to Sapru Committee.

New Delhi: April 3 (U. P. I.): The following is the text of Mahatma Gandhi's replies to the questions put by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Chairman of the Conciliation Committee:—

The Chairman of the Committee, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, sent to Mahatma Gandhi the Committee's questionnaire and requested a memorandum in reply, Gandhiji wrote back saying that he would prefer to reply to any specific questions that may be put to him with reference to his talks with Mr. Jinnah. Accordingly the Chairman sent him a set of questions for which replies were received in the beginning of this month. For the convenience of members, questions and answers have been given side by side.

(1) *Question:* In your letter of the 24th September 1944, to Mr. Jinnah you said as follows:

" You ask for my conception of the basis for a provisional interim Government. I would have told you if I had any scheme in mind ".

Did you never discuss even the outlines of any scheme during the course of your conversation?

*Answer:* What I told Qaid-e-Azam was that exact truth. I had no ideas of what he meant, for he never told me what he had in mind. Therefore, I can answer your question by saying we never discussed *the* outlines of any scheme of interim Government except what I have said.

(2) *Question:* In answering the first question please refer to Mr. Jinnah's letter of the 14th September in which he said ' You being the sponsor of this Gandhi-Rajaji formula, should give me some rough idea and picture of it, so that I may understand what this part of the formula means'. Did you give any reply to this? If so, what? If not, why not?

*Answer:* The foregoing answer deals with your second question.

(3) *Question:* In his letter of the 17th of September, Mr. Jinnah says that the word (Pakistan) has now become synonymous with the Lahore Resolution. Did you ask him whether in accordance with the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League a scheme of Constitution in accordance with the basic principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of the powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary, had been prepared? Was your attention drawn to any such scheme by Mr. Jinnah?

**" ACCEPT PAKISTAN AND THEN DISCUSS ".**

*Answer:* No. Qaid-e-Azam's position unfortunately was that while he could come as far as seeing me and trying to convince me of his position, he, the President of League, could not discuss details with me, a mere individual. But so far as I could gather from our conversations he had not prepared scheme. As the correspondence shows, he had referred to me two books both of which I read, but neither of which could help me to understand Qaid-e-Azam's exact position. One thing he insisted upon was that if I first accepted the Pakistan of his conception, he could then discuss other things with me even though I was but an individual.

(4) *Question:* Is it true that the real breakdown between you and Mr. Jinnah came about on the question of central authority of Government? Please refer in this connection to Mr. Jinnah's letter of the 25th of September, in which he says ' If this vital matters [ suggested in the quotation from your letter which clause (d) begins ] are to be administered by some central authority you do not indicate what sort of authority or machinery will be set up to administer these matters, and how and to whom again that authority will be responsible'. Did you at any stage indicate to him that you wanted a Central Government or a Central Legislature to deal with a limited number of subjects, such as. foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like?

**CAUSE OF BREAKDOWN**

*Answer:* It can be said that the breakdown took place because we could not come to agreement on the two-nation theory of Qaid-e-Azam. As the correspondence will show I wanted to avoid a Central Government, I suggested an authority acceptable to both the parties but he would insist first on complete partition as between two nations: and then an agreement between them as on foreign affairs, etc. He would not agree to anything simultaneous.

(5) *Question:* In that very clause [clause (d)] Mr. Jinnah says, " According to the Lahore Resolution, as I have already explained to you, all these matters, which are the life blood of any state, cannot be delegated to any central authority or government." He says that "the matter of security of the two states and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be *for* the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or other party concerned, to deal with on the footing of their being two independent states." Did you understand Mr. Jinnah's position to be that he intended that Pakistan and

Hindustan should be completely independent sovereign states with no connection between them except of treaty? If so, did he tell you what was to happen if either party broke the treaty and what was the authority which could enforce the provisions of such a treaty?

### WAR TO ENFORCE TREATY

*Answer:* Of course, he wanted two independent sovereign states with no connection between them except by treaty. If any party broke the treaty, the consequences would be what has happened throughout the world up till now *i.e.*, war. Therefore I did not ask and he did not tell me as to what would happen if either party broke treaty.

(6) *Question:* As regards the C. R. formula, can you explain why Mr. Jinnah was opposed to clause 2 of that formula which demanded a plebiscite of all the inhabitants on the basis of adult suffrage or other practical franchise? Did you understand him to say that in the areas demarcated for Pakistan the minorities shall be given chance of expressing their choice of staying in Pakistan or not being separated from the rest of the country?

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 187]

**SECRET**

No. 1969/H 3001,  
Bombay, 5th April 1945,

My dear Drewe,

Please see my Secret D. O. letter No. 1944/H-3001, dated the 4th April 1945.

2. The Trustees of the Kasturba Memorial Fund held further discussion with Mr. Gandhi on April 4th when schemes from Provinces and budget grants relating thereto were considered. Prominent amongst those present were:—

1. The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavlankar.
2. The Honourable Mr. Mangaldas Pakvasa.
3. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
4. Mr. Kailasnath Katju.
5. Mr. J. R. D. Tata.
6. Mr. G. D. Birla.
7. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda.
8. Lady Premlila Thackersey.
9. Mr. Shantidas Murarji.
10. Miss Mridula Sarabhai.

The meeting was then adjourned to April. 13th for final decision as Mr. Gandhi has prolonged his stay in Bombay till about April 16th.

3. The evening prayers on April 4th were held at Rungta House. About 2,000 persons attended. The usual collections for the Harijan Fund were made by Mr. Gandhi by selling his autograph at Rs. 5 each.



4. The question of the Office acceptance is from time to time discussed with Mr. Gandhi by Messrs. B. G. Kher, Nagindas Master, S. K. Patil, Dr. Gilder, Dr. Syed Mahmud and Gulzarilal Nanda. As opinion is divided, Mr. Gandhi has suggested that they should call a meeting of about 15 members of the Bombay Legislative Assembly and Council, including Mr. N. V. Gadgil from Poona, at Birla House on or about April 6th. The Bombay group, according to our information, seems to be in favour of forming a Ministry before June 1st.

5. A preliminary meeting of the All India Mazdoor Sevak Sangh was held at Birla House this mornnig (5-4-45). Gulzarilal Nanda, B. G. Kher, S. K. Patil and Honourable Mr. Mavlankar were present. A scheme for training labour workers for the whole of India on the lines of the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association was discussed. As Mr. Gandhi is interested in the matter, Gulzarilal Nanda, Secretary of the Sangh, will again discuss the question with Mr. Gandhi and issue a Press statement on the subjecct.

6. Bombay Congressmen have arranged for important leaders like Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Gangadharrao Deshpande, Gulzarilal Nanda, to attend flag salutations to be held on the morning of April 6th in private places in Bombay in connection with the observance of " National Week ".

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. E. BUTLER.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

(P. 189]

**SECRET**

No. 1990/H-3001.  
Bombay, 6th April 1945.

My dear Drewe,

Please see my Secret D. O. letter No. 1969/H-3001, dated the 5th April 1945.

2. On the 5th instant, additional visitors to Mr. Gandhi were Sir C. V. Raman, Mr. Bishwanath Das (ex-Premier of Orissa, Madam Montessori and Mr. D. R. D. Wadia, Mr. Wadia handed over to Mr. Gandhi a sum of Rs. 375 realised by his photographic exhibition recently held by him in Bombay.

3. Mr. Gandhi is expected to visit the Borivli Training Centre for Women on April 7th or 8th. It was opened by Mr. B. G. Kher on April 5th.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) X X X

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[ P. 203 ]

**SECRET**

No. 2007/H-3001.  
 Bombay, 7th April 1945.

My dear Drewe,

Please see my Secret D. O. letter No. 1990/H-3001, dated the 6th April 1945.

2. There were no important visitors to Mr. Gandhi at Birla House on April 6th. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, the Honourable Mr. Mangaldas Pakvasa, the Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Gulzarilal Nanda, B. G. Kher, S. K. Patil, Gangadharrao Deshpande, M. Y. Nurie and Khandubhai K. Desai, however, held an informal discussion with Mr. Gandhi on the question of office acceptance and Congress organisation, particularly labour. Mr. Gandhi is reported to have told them that there seems to be almost an equal division of opinion for and against office acceptance under the present circumstances. In view of the recent visit of Lord Wavell to London, however, he surmised that some important discussions were going on amongst British Statesmen even in regard to India. It was therefore advisable that the question of office acceptance should not, in his opinion, be considered hastily. They should, on the contrary, await the return of Lord Wavell to India and see what cards Government place on the table so that they would know definitely how to approach to subject.

3. The evening prayers were attended by about 1500 persons on April 6th. Mr. Gandhi made a short speech laying emphasis on the ' Constructive Programme' during the " National Week " to which he attached more importance than anything else. He also remarked that "Constructive Programme" and not " Parliamentary Programme " was really needed for freedom, thereby showing that he is not much in favour of office acceptance in a hurry.

Yours sincerely,  
 (Sd.) x x x  
 C. of P.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 211]

**SECRET**

No. 2058/H/3001.  
 Dated 9th April 1945.

My dear Drewe,

Please see my Secret D. O. No. 2007/H/3001, dated the 7th April 1945.

2. There were no important visitors to Mr. Gandhi at Birla House on the 7th and 8th April 1945. On the latter day about 50 strikers of the B. E. S. and T. Co., went to Birla House and sent in a deputation of about 6 of them led by Prabhakar Kunte to see Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi was

observing silence but he conveyed to the deputation through his Secretary Pyarelal that personally he did not wish to interfere in their dispute but expressed an opinion that if their leaders were arrested only because they suspended work for about 10 minutes on the 'hartal' day on 3rd April 1945, they deserved to be released.

The attendance at the evening prayers on the 7th and 8th April, was 500 and 600 respectively. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was the only important person at the prayers.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu returned to Hyderabad (Dn.) on the 7th April and Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh returned to Calcutta the next day. Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon from U. P. arrived today and is putting up with Mr. K. M. Munshi.

Mr. Gandhi is expected, according to present arrangements, to stay in Bombay till April 15th after which he will leave for Mahabaleshwar

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) x x x

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 233]

## **CONFIDENTIAL**

Bombay, 10th April 1945.

SUBJECT:—Mr. Gandhi—Activities of—  
*Submitted.*

Rt. Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar and Sir Jagdish Prasad called on Mr. Gandhi at the 'Birla House' at about 4 p.m. on 9-4-1945, and remained with him for about an hour. It is understood, that they discussed with him the 'Sapru Committee's Recommendations'.

The following other important persons visited the Birla House, during the course of the day (9-4-1945):—

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Mrs. Sofia Khan, Mr. Bishwanath Das, Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, Mr. Bhawanji Arjun Khimji, Mr. and Mrs. G. P. Huthee-singh, Mr. Shantikumar Narottam Das Morarji, Mrs. Maniben Patel, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel and Babu Purshottam Das Tandon.

The usual evening prayer held at 'Rungta House' was attended by about 500 people. Money was collected for the 'Harijan Fund'.

It is learnt that the number of trainees at the 'Borivli Training Camp' has been raised from 60 to 80.

(Sd.) (1) X X X

(Sd.) (2) X X X

Sub-Inspectors of Police, C. I.D.,  
Liaison Branch, B. P., Bombay.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[ P. 239 ]

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Bombay, 11th April 1945.

SUBJECT:—Mr. Gandhi—Activities of—  
*Submitted.*

Babu Purshottamdas Tandon and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan were the only two persons who conferred with Mr. Gandhi on Tuesday the 10th instant. The former, it is understood, discussed the U. P. Government's ban on the Congressmen's Assembly Meeting, and also the question of office acceptance.

The American Consul accompanied by the Vice-Consul paid a courtesy visit to the Birla House to see Mr. Gandhi in the afternoon (on 10-4-1945).

It is learnt that Mr. D. R. D. Wadia donated a sum of Rs. 350 for the Harijan Fund and presented a collection of photographs taken by him to Mr. Gandhi. One of these photos was auctioned and sold for a sum of Rs. 550.

The evening prayers held at ' Rungta House' was attended by about 500 people including some foreigners and servicemen. As usual money was collected for Harijan Fund;

Mr. Gandhi will be visiting the Borivli Training Camp this afternoon and will remain there till evening. The evening prayers will be offered at Borivli on the grounds of the Borivli English School.

(Sd.) (1) X X X

(Sd.) (2) X X X

Sub-Inspectors of Police, C. I. D.,  
 Liaison Branch, B. P., Bombay.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001 /H.*

[P. 245]

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Bombay, 12th April 1945.

SUBJECT:—Mr. Gandhi—Activities of—  
*Submitted.*

Mr. Gandhi and party which included Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Babu Purshottamdas Tandon and A. V. Thakkar visited the Women Workers' Training Centre at Borivli at about 4 p.m. on April 11th where he was received by Hon. Mr. M. M. Pakwasa, B. G. Kher, and Miss Mridula A. Sarabhai, Organising Secretary of the Training Camp. The following prominent persons were also present at the Camp: —

Shantikumar Morarji, Nagindas T. Master, Dr. Albon D'Souza (Mayor of Bombay), S. K. Patil, Vaikunthlal Mehta, and Mr. and Mrs. Ratila Nanavati,

Mr. Gandhi went round the Camp for inspection and then addressed the Trainees for over an hour on the subjects of Rural Welfare Work, Un-touchability, Hindu-Muslim Unity, National Language, viz., Hindi or Hindustani and Prayers.

Mr. Gandhi again reiterated his observations on untouchability, Hindu-Muslim Unity and propagation of the National Language, at the evening prayers held on the grounds of the Borivli High School which was attended by a huge crowd of about 8,000 people including about 3,000 women and children. A few foreigners (ladies) probably missionaries, were present at the prayers.

A fairly large amount for the 'Harijan Fund' was collected by way of contributions from the people who had gathered at the prayers and by selling autographs by Mr. Gandhi.

(Sd.) (1) X X X

(Sd.) (2) X X X

Sub-Inspectors of Police, C. I. D.,  
Liaison Branch, Bombay.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 247]

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Bombay, 13th April 1945.

SUBJECT:—Mr. Gandhi's Activities.

*Submitted.*

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, A. V. Thakkar (Thakkar Bappa) and Miss Mridula A. Sarabhai, were the only visitors to 'Birla House' on April 12th.

The adjourned meeting of the Executive Committee of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund attended by Mr. Gandhi, A. V. Thakkar and Miss Mridula Sarabhai met yesterday afternoon at the Birla House. It is learnt that in the absence of the other five members of the Trust Committee, the meeting was adjourned to meet this afternoon, hence it is understood that the various schemes suggested by the Provincial and District Committees would finally be discussed and considered.

Usual evening prayers attended by about 750 persons were held at the 'Rungta House'.

It is learnt that after evening prayers, a deputation of the Bombay Bullion Exchange led by the President of the Exchange met Mr. Gandhi and presented him with a purse of Rs. 35,000 on behalf of the Exchange for the purpose of utilising the same to the benefit of the 'Chimur and Ashti' prisoners and their relatives and dependents.

(Sd.) x x x

S. I. of Police, C. I. D.,  
Liaison Branch, Bombay.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[ P. 259 ]

## SECRET

Extract from translation of a letter in Gujarati, dated 11-4-45, from Maniben Patel to Security Prisoner Vallabhbhai Patel.

"Although Bapuji is observing silence still he is feeling the burden of work. He goes to bed at about 10 or 10-30 p.m. He cannot go out for a walk before 9-30 p.m. That is why he has agreed to take medicine. He will be leaving from here by the evening train on the 20th. He will spend the night at Poona and the next morning he will proceed to Mahabaleshwar. He has decided to stay there for about a month or so. Then by the end of May he will go to Panchgani and stay there till the end of June. At Mahabaleshwar he will be the guest of Pramilaben and at Panchgani that of Nanji Kalidas. That is his future programme. X X X (writes about Mr. Gandhi's diet)."

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[ P. 263 ]

## CONFIDENTIAL

Bombay, 14th April 1945.

SUBJECT.—Mr. Gandhi's Activities.

*Submitted.*

During the day (13-4-1945) Mr. R. K. Karanjia of the "Blitz" paper and Madam Dynowaska accompanied by a Polish soldier, were the only persons learnt to have seen Mr. Gandhi at " Birla House ".

Yesterday afternoon (13-4-1945) Mr. Gandhi presided over the meeting of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund held at ' Scindia House'. The meeting was attended by Hon. Mr. G. V. Mawlankar, Gulzarilal Nanda, Miss Mridula Sarabhai, Seth Ambalal Sarabhai, Mr. J. R. D. Tata, G. D. Birla, Dr. Zakir Hussein, Mrs. Jankidevi Bajaj, Lady Thakersey and others. It is learnt that in the meeting schemes establishing and conducting classes in basic education, and opening maternity homes and dispensaries in the rural areas and villages for preventing infectious diseases and training nurses were discussed and approved. The meeting also sanctioned the sums of Rs. 36,000 and Rs. 10,000 respectively for maintaining the Bombay Office of the Kasturba Trust Fund and for meeting the expenses of the Borivli Workers Training Camp. The meeting was adjourned to meet this afternoon at the ' Birla House'.

Usual evening prayers attended by about 500 persons were held at Rungta House' and fund for Harijan was collected.

(Sd.) X X X  
 S. I., C. I. D.,  
 Liaison Branch, B. P., Bombay.

P. C's Office. Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 267]

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

Bombay, 16th April 1945.

SUBJECT:—*Mr. Gandhi's Activities.*

*Submitted.*

On Saturday the April 14, Manilal M. Gandhi and his family saw Mr. Gandhi at Birla House.

The adjourned meeting of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund continued its second sitting on Saturday, April 14 at Birla House. Mr. Gandhi presided over this meeting. Various schemes regarding village uplift work, basic education, establishing of maternity homes and dispensaries in villages and rural areas, etc., were discussed and approved. The meeting was adjourned to meet finally on Sunday April 15th.

Usual prayers attended by about 750 persons were held at Rungta House on Saturday evening.

15-4-45.

In the afternoon Mr. Gandhi presided over the final day of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund's meeting which met at Birla's House. It is understood that in the meeting schemes for opening workers' training camp and 12 each cultural and health centres for Gujarat at an estimated cost of Rs. 1,70,000 was put before the committee by the Gujarat Provincial Kasturba Gandhi Fund Committee. The schemes were discussed and finally approved in *toto*.

It being Sunday the evening prayers were attended by about 3500 persons and after prayers Mr. Gandhi addressed the audience for about ten minutes and said that according to him Independence of India was only possible through the powerful weapons of non-violence, non-co-operation and satyagraha. Finally he said that for the parliamentary programme he had nothing much to say but—'follow your own belief and do as you think best and just.'

It is learnt that during the stay at Bombay Mr. Gandhi has received numerous applications regarding black market being carried out in food-grain and daily necessities of life. With a view to stop this evil, it is understood that Mr. Gandhi is making propaganda in way of threat that if black marketing was not stopped he will have to go on fast as a mark of protest against the same.

It is further reliably learnt that yesterday night Mr. Gandhi received a message from Delhi from Bhulabhai Desai saying that Lord Wavell is returning to India on April 18th and as such Mr. Gandhi should try to stay in Bombay till his (Lord Wavell's) return to India and issuing a statement thereafter. It is understood that under the circumstances in spite of Mr. Gandhi's announcement regarding leaving for Mahabaleshwar on April 20th, he is not likely to leave Bombay till about April 25th.

(1)(Sd.) X X X

(2)(Sd.) X X X

S. Is. of Police, C. I. D., Liaison  
 Branch, B.P., Bombay.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from file No. 3001/H.*

[ P. 279 ]

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

Bombay, 17th April 1945.

SUBJECT:—*Mr. Gandhi's activities.*

*Submitted.*

Dahyabhai Vallabhbhai Patel and Shantikumar Narottamdas Morarjee were the only visitors to ' Birla House ' yesterday.

Usual evening prayers attended by about 300 persons were held at ' Rungta House ' yesterday evening.

It is learnt from the well-informed Congress circle that yesterday Mr. Gandhi again received a message from Delhi that Sir Robert Francis Mudie, Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India was arriving at Karachi on Thursday April 19th and His Excellency Lord Wavell was returning to India on April 20th or 21st. It is understood that as such Mr. Gandhi is not likely to leave Bombay for Mahableshwar till the end of this month.

(1) (Sd.) x x x

(2) (Sd.) x x x

S. Is. of Police, C.I.D., L.Br.. Bombay.

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from file No. 30001/H.*

[ P. 291 ]

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

Bombay, 18th April 1945.

SUBJECT:—*Mr. Gandhi's activities.*

*Submitted.*

The following persons visited the Birla House to see Mr. Gandhi on April 7th.

- (1) Walchand Hirachand.
- (2) Shantikumar Narottamdas Morarji.
- (3) Amritlal V. Thakkar.
- (4) Mrs. Rahinaben Tayabji.
- (5) Mrs. Purnima Bannerji.

In the evening at about 7 O'clock a brief Press Conference was called at the Birla House by Mr. Gandhi at which he released a statement for publication giving his observations on the ensuing ' Friso ' Conference the full text of which has been published in to-day's papers.

The usual evening prayers held at the Rungta House were attended by about 500 persons, and fund for Harijan was collected in which it is learnt that a merchant from Olpad (Surat district) presented Mr. Gandhi a purse of Rs. 7,000 towards the fund.

It is understood that Mr. Gandhi again received message from Delhi that the members of the Working Committee and other Congress workers still under detention would be released after the return of Lord Wavell to India. It is reliably learnt that under the circumstances Mr. Gandhi



definitely decided to leave for Mahabaleshwar on Friday April 20th. He will stay in Poona for the night, at Dr. Mehta's Nature Clinic and proceed to Mahabaleshwar the next morning.

(Sd.) x x x

(Sd.) x x x

S. Is., C. I. D., Liaison Branch, Bombay.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001 IH.*

[ P. 299 ]

## CONFIDENTIAL

Bombay, 19th April 1945.

SUBJECT:—*Mr. Gandhi—Activities of—*

*Submitted.*

Nothing of importance took place at the Birla House on Wednesday April 18th.

Mr. Mansukhlal A. Master (President of the Indian Merchants Chamber), Mr. Mahomed Hussein Hasham Premji (Vice-President of Indian Merchants Chamber), Mathuradas Tricumji, Shantikumar Narottamdas Morarji and Dr. Jivraj Mehta were amongst those who called at the Birla House.

The evening prayers held at the Rungta House were attended by about 400 people and money was collected for Harijan Fund as usual.

Mr. Gandhi is leaving for Poona *en-route* to Mahabaleshwar by the Deccan Queen tomorrow the 20th instant. Drs. Jivraj Mehta and Dinshaw Mehta are likely to accompany him.

(Sd.) x x x

S. I., C. I. D., Liaison Branch, B. P. Bombay.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 311]

Sir,

Mr. Gandhi and his party including Dr. Miss Sushila Nair, Kanu Gandhi, Pyarelal and Dr. Dinshaw Mehta left for Poona by the Deccan Queen today. The party came to the Matunga level crossing and got into a third class compartment. About 200 persons were present there, including Rameshwardas Birla, Ghanashyamdas Birla, Hon. Mr. Mangaldas Pakwasa, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Dahyabhai Patel, Miss Maniben Patel, Nagindas T. Master, S. K. Patil and Bimal Sharma.

His son Manilal Gandhi left by the same train with Shantikumar N. Morarji from the Victoria Terminus.

(Sd.) S. V. Kirtikar.

20-4.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 315]

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

Bombay, 20th April 1945.

Subject:—Mr. Gandhi—Activities of—

*Submitted.*

The following people visited the Birla House to see Mr. Gandhi on Thursday the 19th instant.

Hon. Mr. Mangaldas M. Pakwasa, Mr. & Mrs. G. P. Hutheesingh, Mr. Nagindas T. Master, Mr. Mathurdas Tricumji, Mr. Amritlal D. Seth, Dr. Zakir Hussein, Mr. Shantikumar Narottamdas Morarji, Mrs. Sofia Khan and Dr. M. Atal from Hyderabad Deccan.

At the evening prayers held at the Rungta House and attended by about 500 persons, Mr. Gandhi made a short speech in Gujarati emphasising the efficacy of prayer and exhorting the audience to exert themselves to eradicate untouchability.

It is now understood that Mr. Gandhi will leave by the Poona Mail this evening and not by Deccan Queen as reported previously, for Poona *en-route* to Mahabaleshwar.

(Sd.) x x x  
 S. I., C. I. D., Liaison Branch,  
 B. P., Bombay.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H.*

[P. 329]

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Bombay, 21st April 1945.

Subject:—Mr. Gandhi—Activities of—

*Submitted.*

Hon. Mr. M. M. Pakwasa, Nagindas T. Master, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, S. K. Patil, Dayabhai V. Patel, Maniben Patel, and Mrs. Perin Captain were the prominent persons who saw Mr. Gandhi on Friday the 20th instant.

It is learned that Seth Sakarlal Balabhai of the Ahmedabad Mill Owners' Association came to see Mr. Gandhi at about 4-45 p.m. in connection with the labour situation of Ahmedabad. As Mr. Gandhi was about to leave for Poona he could not discuss any matter with Seth Sakarlal and it is understood that the latter would see him at Mahabaleshwar shortly. Mr. Gandhi and his party consisting of Dr. Sushila Nayar, Kanu Gandhi, Pyarelal, Shantikumar Narottamdas Morarji and Dr. Dinshaw Mehta left Bombay for Poona by the Deccan Queen. They boarded the train at the Matunga Level Crossing, about 300 persons including Birla Brothers, Hon. Mr. Pakwasa, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Manilal M. Gandhi, Dahyabhai V. Patel, Miss. Maniben Patel, Nagindas T. Master, S. K. Patil etc. were present at the Level Crossing to give them a send off.

(1) (Sd.) x x x  
 (2) (Sd.) x x x  
 S. Is., C. I. D., Liaison Branch, B. P., Bombay.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No, 3001/H.*

[P. 311]  
**SECRET**

Special Branch (1), C.I.D.,  
 Bombay, 2nd June 1945.

Date of interception: 2-6-45.  
 Name of Officer intercepting the letter: A. V. Pendharkar.  
 Post Office: Panchagani, 1-6-45, 6 p.m.  
 Translation of letter in Vernacular (Hindi Handwritten)  
 Date of letter: 1-6-45.  
 From: M. K. Gandhi.  
 To: Shyamlalji,

K. G. N. M. Fund, Scindia House,  
 Fort, Bombay.

*Remarks.*—The cover was addressed to Shyamlalji but the enclosed letter was addressed to Bapu (Thakkar A. V.) Bapa.

I have already written to you that I would like to deposit the amount of Rs. 10,00,000 which is with me in any bank or pedhi which is not under full Government control. The amount will be deposited for six months or more.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

P. S.

I have read Shyamlal's letter. I understand that Bapa wants his office to be at Wardha. But what about accommodation? I have no objection if Bapa insists on this. Enclosed please find a cheque of Rs. 51.

Special Branch (1), C.I.D.,  
 Bombay, 22nd June 1945.

[ P. 327 ]  
**SECRET**

Date of interception: 22nd June 1945.  
 Name of Officer intercepting the letter: W. A. Khambete, H. C. W.  
 Post Office: Malabar Hill.  
 Copy of letter in English (Typewritten);. Date of letter: 18th June 1945.  
 From: Sardar Baldeo Singh, M. L. A., Punjab, Amritsar.  
 To: Mahatmaji, Birla House, Malabar Hill, Bombay 6.  
 Post mark and Date: Amritsar, 19th June 1945.  
 My dear Mahatmaji,

*Sat Shri Akal*

I have chosen to write these lines in order to let you know my view point on the Wavell Plan.

As regards the Congress representation at Simla Conference; I have reason to believe that Lord Wavell will invite Maulana Azad Sahib to attend the Conference. Here I would like to mention that there is a strong rumour in the Congressional Circle that the Working Committee will appoint you as the spokesman at the Simla talks. That would be in my opinion a tactical blunder on the part of the Working Committee. It will at once expose the Congress to the wild attacks of Mr. Jinnah, and his associates Earl Winterton and Lord Haily have already dubbed the Congress as Hindu Body, in their speeches in the Parliament. I therefore humbly request you to advise the Working Committee to nominate M/s. Azad, Nehru, as the plenipotentiaries from the Congress side. In any case, Maulana Azad should go to Simla as the fully accredited representative of the Congress. I fervently hope you will agree with my reasoning in the matter.

Then there is a question of parity of representation between Hindus and Muslims, parity between Muslims and Congress is understandable. Not so the parity between Hindus and Muslims I think the Wavell plan is in this respect mischievous. I do hope the Congress will not so manoeuvre itself as to become a Hindu organisation. It should and must include two or three Congress Muslims as its nominees and thereby retaining its national character of course, if the Wavell plan is not accepted, then the above contingency does not arise. I pray to God, that the Congress, which is the beloved organisation of all communities of India. may continue to guide the destinies of the nation as ably and nobly as it has done in the past.

I am joining the Congress, in the course of a few days and if required by the Congress High Command shall tender resignation from the office of minister, which I hold in the Punjab Cabinet with humble respects.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) Sardar Baldeo Singh.

P.S.: You may, if you deem it proper, give the contents of this letter to the press.

(Sd.) S. B. S.

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**COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,  
BOMBAY STATE  
FILE No. 3001/H/XII.  
1945  
Subject: M. K. GANDHI  
1-5-1945 to 30-11-1945.  
P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/XII.***

[ P. 93 ]

EXTRACT FROM BOMBAY CHRONICLE, DATED 12-6-1945.

### **How Can Village Industries Succeed?**

**By MAHATMA GANDHI**

I have separated other village industries from khadi and called them planets and the Charkha or the Spinning Wheel I have described as the

Sun. As a matter of fact there is no real reason for such a distinction for khadi is also a village industry. But it has acquired a special position, and it is because of this special position which it has attained that we can now talk about other village industries.

To-day we are not required to prove the special position gained by khadi but we are required to find out ways and means of putting it and other village industries on a stable footing.

### **ROLE OF MACHINERY**

One of the ways is to resort to centralised production of man's necessities, through machinery worked by power, and requiring the minimum of human labour. This results in increasing the number of a few rich and in multiplying the wants of the people. Even if all such centralized industries are state-owned it will make no difference to me. For the tendency to increase wants will not be any less even if such industries are owned by the State, on the contrary it is likely to find a still firmer footing. Only the work of increasing wants will pass from the hands of small capitalists to the bigger capitalists, or the State, and it will gain the sanction of public support. This is how things are being done in England and America. At present I am purposely leaving out Russia because their method is only in its infancy; therefore I dare not bring it in for the sake of comparison. I hope that Russia will produce something wonderful. But I must confess that I am doubtful about its being able to bring forth anything really useful. I shall consider it a great success, if through it, really all the wealth goes into the hands of the poor, and the mental and physical freedom of every person is at the same time secured. And in that case I will have to revise my present concept of Ahimsa.

Now I come to the main point. In England and America, machinery rules supreme. On the contrary in India human labour has been given the first place, and of this, village industries are an emblem. Or in other words, through revival of village industries, we are aiming at village reconstruction. In the West a handful of persons, with the aid of mechanical power, rule over others. In India, on the other hand, the great task of bringing out what is best in every individual is being attempted by the A.I.S.A., A.I.V.I.A. and other allied institutions. From this point of view the advancement of Western civilisation seems to be an easy-thing but to develop and organize the latent capacities of individuals, through village industries, appears to be a difficult task.

### **MATERIAL VS. SPIRITUAL VALUES.**

Looking at it from another point of view, it may be said that it will be futile in the long run for a handful of men, with the aid of steam and other power, to try to rule over men. In that case demoralization will necessarily be on the increase. By using the human power available to us by the million, demoralization will decrease. There is no possibility of failure. For here along with human power we obtain the support of spiritual power. In the other method no value is attached to things

of the spirit. In short, if in the case of village industries we do not truly obtain God's help, we are bound to fail. The Western method appears to be successful, but in the long run there is nothing but failure in it. For it destroys the very desire to work—"Gram Udyog Patrika".

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P. C.'s Office, Bombay.

*Extract from file No. 3001/H/XII.*

[P. 125]

Bombay Chronicle dated 17-6-45.

**MAHATMA DECLINES TO ATTEND FORMAL CONFERENCE ON  
25TH AS CONGRESS REPRESENTATIVE**

"Willing to Attend Informal  
Conference on 24th In  
Individual—Capacity? "

Congress should be represented by its president or his nominee,  
says—Gandhiji

**NEW DELHI**, June 16 (A. P. I.): The following telegrams, exchanged between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi, are published today:

Telegram, dated June 14, from H. E. the Viceroy to Mr. M. K. Gandhi:

" You may have heard my broadcast this evening. The text and that of the Secretary of State's simultaneous announcement in Parliament will appear in newspapers tomorrow".

2. I hope you will agree to attend the Conference, which I have proposed. I have suggested 11 a.m. on the 25th June at the Viceregal Lodge, Simla for the first meeting.

3. If you accept my invitation, I should welcome a discussion with you before the opening of the Conference, and suggest subject to your convenience, 3 p.m. on June 24, at Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

4. I have arranged to make a bungalow called Amsbell available for you in the hope that you will accept.

**MAHATMA'S LETTER TO VICEROY**

Telegram dated June 14 from Mr. M. K. Gandhi to H. E. the Viceroy:

"Have read in the Viceregal Broadcast my name mentioned as an invitee. I have repeatedly made clear that I represent no institution. Therefore, I must not attend as representing the Congress. That function belongs to the Congress President or whosoever he nominates. I send earliest intimation in order to avoid misunderstanding or misconception.

**WAVELL ASKS FOR HELP**

Telegram dated June 15 from H. E. the Viceroy to Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

"Thanks for your telegram of the 14th. Whatever the technical position may be I shall value your help and hope you will accept the invitation which was telegraphed to you last night. As regards representation of

Congress, perhaps you will kindly let me have your final views after further consideration and any consultations you think necessary. I know you will appreciate the importance and difficulty of the task I have undertaken and do all you can to help."

### **MAHATMA'S REPLY TO VICEROY**

Telegram dated June 15 from Mr. M. K. Gandhi to H. E. the Viceroy:

" Received your kind wire of invitation. For reasons given in my wire sent to you last night, I have no place in your Conference as an individual; I can only tender advice. May I then say that there are no caste and casteless Hindus who are at all politically minded? Therefore, the word rings untrue and offensive. Who will represent them at your table? Not Congress which seeks to represent, without distinction, all Indians who desire and work for independence. Hence the existence of the Hindu Mahasabha claiming to represent Hindus as such I apprehend that even that body will disclaim representing caste Hindus. Moreover, the broadcast seems rigorously to exclude the use of the word ' independence. Accordingly, it seems to me to demand revision to bring it in line with modern Indian thought I suggest publication of the four wires.

### **MARCH 1942 OFFER STANDS**

Telegram dated June 16, from Mr. M. K. Gandhi to H. E. the Viceroy: " In reply to your kind wire of yesterday, I am posting a letter.

Telegram dated June 16 from H. E. the Viceroy to Mr. M. K. Gandhi:

"Many thanks for your telegram of June 15. I have also seen your statement in today's newspapers.

2. As regards your attendance at the Conference, I will await your letter referred to in your telegram of June 16 which I have just received.

3. I assure you the term " Caste Hindus " was not used with offensive intention. The meaning is that there should be equality between Muslims and Hindus other than members of the Scheduled Castes. Subject to this the exact composition of the Council would of course have to be decided after discussion at the Conference.

4. On the question of independence, I invite your attention to the Secretary of State's speech to Parliament on June 14, as published in the India Press. The following is a relevant passage. It begins: " The offer of March 1942 stands in its entirety. That offer is based on two main principles. First, no limit is set to India's freedom to decide her own destiny whether as a free partner in the Commonwealth or even without it. Second, that this can only be achieved under a constitution or constitutions framed by Indians to which the main elements are consenting."

5. It would not be practicable to modify the terms of my broadcast. This is only a simple statement of the proposals approved by His Majesty's Government, and my intention is to deal at the Conference itself with any points requiring clarification I do not think it advisable to enter into detailed discussion before the Conference, which, I hope, as you do yourself, will be held in a friendly atmosphere and without party bitterness.

6. As you suggest. I am releasing our telegrams to the Press.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/XII*

[P. 133]

" Times of India "  
 Dated 19-6-45.

**MR. GANDHI'S LETTER TO MR. CHURCHILL.**

**" NAKED FAKIR, A COMPLIMENT "**

**PANCHGANI.** June 18: Mr. Gandhi has released to the press a letter which he wrote to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, from Panchgani on July 17, 1944. In doing so, Mr. Gandhi has issued the following statement:

"This is perhaps an opportune moment to release the text of a letter I wrote to the British Prime Minister during my stay at Panchgani last year. The letter was written in the small hours of the night of July 17 at the same time that I wrote my Gujarathi note to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, and duly posted to be sent through H. E the Viceroy, unfortunately, the letter miscarried.

" Having waited for a long time, on September 10, 1944, during my visit to Bombay for the meeting with Qaid-e-Azam, I sent a letter of inquiry out of curiosity, for the psychological moment had passed. To my surprise the Private Secretary to the Viceroy wrote in return on September 13 that the letter in question was not received by him. As I attached importance to that letter, I sent him a copy of the missing letter on September 17, 1944, repeating the request that it might be sent to the Prime Minister.

" My letter of July 17 to Mr. Churchill, in my estimation, was of a sacred character, not meant for the public eye, but I could contemplate an occasion or time when it might call for publication without losing the sacred character.

"I therefore, requested the Viceroy on December 13, 1944, to inquire from the Prime Minister whether I had his permission to publish it in case of need. He replied through his Secretary that the Prime Minister agreed to the publication of my letter subject to the fact that it was duly acknowledged ".

The following is the text of the letter: "Dilkusha " (Panchgani), July 17, 1944.

"Dear Prime Minister,—You are reported to have a desire to crush the simple ' Naked Fakir' as you are said to have described me. I have been long trying to be a fakir and that naked—a more difficult task. I, therefore, regard the expression as a compliment though unintended. I approach you then as such and ask you to trust and use me for the sake of your people and mine and through them those of the world,—

Your sincere friend,  
**(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.**



P. C's Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/XII.*

**EXPRESS LETTER**

[P. 137]

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. B/14/153 of 1945.  
 Poona, 20th June 1945.

To

The Deputy Commissioner of Police,  
 S. B. (I), C. I. D.,  
 BOMBAY.

Messrs. Gandhi, Jayramdas Daulatram, J. B. Kripalani, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Vallabhbhai Patel and S. D. Deo left Poona for Bombay by the Deccan Queen this morning.

(Sd.) x x x  
 for District Supdt. of Police, Poona.

Copy w.cs.:

**The ADIGP., CID., IB (I), POONA.**

---

P. G's Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/XII.*

[P. 145]

" TIMES OF INDIA "  
 Dated 20-6-45. "

GROUND CLEARED FOR SIMLA TALKS"

**Mr. Gandhi on Viceroy's Clarification.**

CONGRESS LEADERS IN BOMBAY—TODAY.

NEARLY three years after they last met, Congress leaders will arrive in Bombay today for talks that may decide the immediate political future of India.

Although much will depend on the outcome of the Gandhi-Wavell meeting in Simla on June 24, it is generally believed that a satisfactory formula will be evolved on the use of the phrase "Caste Hindus" thus paving the way for the acceptance of the Wavell proposals by the Congress.

Further telegrams exchanged between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy have cleared the ground for the invitees to attend the leaders' conference in Simla on June 25.

Mr. Gandhi, according to message from Panchgani, has sent a telegram to the Viceroy accepting the invitation to meet him on June 21.

Anticipating the decision of the Congress Working Committee in favour of participation in the Leaders' Conference at Simla, the Congress authorities in Bombay are making arrangements for railway accommodation for the Congress invitees to the Simla Conference.

If parity between Muslims and Caste Hindus is unalterable Mr. Gandhi's advice to the Congress will be not to participate in the formation of the Executive Council, Mr. Gandhi makes this clear in a further telegram to the Viceroy released on Tuesday.

Mr. Gandhi says, however, that the fact that members are free at the Simla Conference to accept or reject the proposals clears the ground for the invitees to attend the conference. Subject to the Working Committees wishes. Mr. Gandhi hopes to be in Simla on June 24, but he adds: " Owing to my strong views you can cancel the engagement without the least offence. "

The Viceroy replies: " I am glad to think the ground is clear for invitees to attend the conference. I shall expect to hear further immediately after the meeting on June 21."

### **TEXT OF LETTERS**

The following is the full text of the telegrams exchanged between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi:

Telegram dated June 18 is from Mr. Gandhi to H. E. the Viceroy: " Grateful for your prompt, frank and full reply and also for directly inviting the Maulana Saheb. Members, being free at the conference to accept or reject the proposals, clears the ground for the invitees to attend the conference. This leaves them free to discuss the pros and cons at the conference. "

" My objection to the inevitability of parity between Muslims and Caste Hindus stands. If that view is incapable of being altered by the British Government, my advice to the Congress be not to participate in the formation of an Executive Council. The Congress has never identified itself with Caste or non-Caste Hindus and never can, even to gain independence, which will be one-sided, untrue and suicidal. The Congress, to justify its existence for winning the independence of India, must remain for ever free to choose the best men and women from all classes and, I hope, always will. That it has for the sake of conciliating the minorities chosen men to represent them though they have been less than the best, redounds to its credit, but that can never be pleaded to justify or perpetuate distinction based on caste or creed. The Hindu Mahasabha is the body claiming to represent solely Hindu interests. "

" Subject to the Working Committee wishes, I shall hope to present myself at Simla on the 24th instant, but owing to my strong views, you can cancel the engagement without least offence. I expect that this wire and reply, if any will be published. I am leaving for Poona on Tuesday at 2 p.m. "

Telegram dated June 19 from H. E. the Viceroy to Mr. Gandhi: " I thank you for your telegram of 18th June. I am glad you think the ground is clear for the invitees to attend the conference. I shall expect to hear further immediately after the meeting on June 21. I am sure you appreciate that the success of the conference depends on a spirit of goodwill and co-operation among all concerned. As you suggest, I am releasing these telegrams to the Press. "

Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, and Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose, a member of the Working Committee, will arrive in Bombay on Thursday by the Calcutta Mail, which reaches Victoria Terminus at 10-35 a.m. They left Calcutta on Tuesday. The train will be drawn up alongside the open Platform No. 9.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is arriving in Bombay by air from Madras on Wednesday.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad will arrive by the Calcutta Mail on Wednesday.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a member of the Congress Working Committee, left Hyderabad for Bombay on Tuesday evening.

Dr. Pattabhi Sittaramayya left Bezwada for Bombay via Wadi on Tuesday. He will reach Bombay by the Madras Mail on Thursday.

Mr. Gandhi and party arrived in Poona., from Panchgani on Tuesday evening. His stay at Panchgani, for 19 days has improved his health. Panchgani, it is stated, suited Mr. Gandhi better than Mahableshwar.

After evening prayers, which were largely attended, Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders paid a visit to the Samadhi of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi at the Aga Khan Palace.

#### **RAILWAY ARRANGEMENTS**

Mr. Gandhi and party are leaving Poona for the meeting of the Congress Working Committee on Wednesday morning, wires our staff correspondent in Poona. The Railway authorities have made special arrangements for their journey and a special third class coach is being attached to the Deccan Queen leaving Poona in the morning. Messrs. Vallabhbhai Patel, Shankarrao Deo and J. B. Kripalani, members of the Congress Working Committee, and Dr. Syed Mahmud and Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram will be accompanying Mr. Gandhi to Bombay.

Mr. Gandhi will alight at a wayside level crossing and go to Birla House, while the other Congress leaders, namely, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Shankarrao Deo, Mr. J. P. Kripalani and Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, will be accorded a public reception at Victoria Terminus. Over 500 organisations, including commercial bodies, will participate in the function. The leaders will later proceed along a prescribed route to the Jinnah Hall.

The Congress Working Committee will meet at Birla House in Bombay on Thursday afternoon, when the Viceroy's proposals to solve the political deadlock will be discussed. Mr. Gandhi will be present and take part in the deliberations of the Working Committee. Mr. C. Rajgopalachari, former Premier of Madras, will also participate in the deliberations.

Mr. Asaf Ali, a member of the Congress Working Committee, who is convalescing in a nursing home in New Delhi is leaving for Bombay by air on Wednesday. He will be accompanied by Dr. Shaukat Ansari.

P. C.'s Office, Bombay.  
*Extract from File No. 3001/H/XII.*

[P. 293]

"Bombay Chronicle"  
 Dated 21-9-45.

### **MAHATMA'S PLAN FOR 'OPEN REBELLION'**

#### **SECRET DOCUMENT NOW PUBLISHED**

British Failure to "Quit India" Would Have Meant

All-Out Struggle of People

The second edition of "Gandhiji's correspondence with Government, 1942-44" is published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. The document containing the draft instruction for the Working Committee to which Gandhiji referred in a Press statement some time ago is now being released for the first time. It reads as follows:—

#### **DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS**

The following is the literal translation of draft instructions for the guidance of civil resisters. The draft was in Hindustani and copies were prepared in both Devnagri and Persian scripts. It was prepared on August 7, 1942 and was placed before the Working Committee and discussed on August 8. The Working Committee was again to have met on the morning of August 9. But that was not to be.

I was to put before the Working Committee my view of the negotiations which I was to carry on with the Government. They were to cover a period of at least three weeks. The instructions were to see the light of day only on failure of the contemplated negotiations.

The object of publishing the draft at present is two-fold. It shows how my mind was running at the time. The draft is an additional answer to the adverse suggestions made in the Government indictment about my nonviolence. The second and more relevant object is to let Congress workers know how I would have acted at the time.

I have come to know that my name was freely used to justify acts of sabotage and the like. I would like every Congressman and for that matter every Indian to feel that on him and her lies the responsibility of freeing India from the incubus of foreign rule. Non-violent suffering is the only way. Freedom of India means everything for us but it means also much for the world. For, freedom won through non-violence will mean the inauguration of a new order in the world.

There is no hope for mankind in any other way.

Panchgani, 24-7-44.

**(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.**

**CONFIDENTIAL*****For Working Committee Members Only*****HARTAL AND TWENTY-FOUR HOURS' FAST**

" On the day of the hartal no processions should be taken out, nor meetings held in the cities. All the people should observe a twenty-four hours' fast and offer prayers. If the owners of shops approve of our Satyagraha struggle, they will all close their shops, but no one should be made to close his shop under coercion. In the villages, however, where there is no fear of violence or disturbance, meetings may be held and processions taken out and responsible Congressmen who believe in mass Civil Disobedience should explain the meaning of the contemplated Satyagraha struggle to the people. The object of our Satyagraha is to secure the withdrawal of British Rule and the attainment of independence for the whole of India. After the withdrawal of British Rule, the constitution of the future Government of the country will be settled by the joint deliberation of the whole nation, including all parties. That Government will belong not to the Congress nor to any particular group or party; but to the entire 35 crores of the people of India. All Congressmen should make-it clear that it will not be the rule of the Hindus or of any particular community. It should also be well explained that this Satyagraha is not directed against Englishmen but against British Rule only for we regard no one as our enemy. This should be brought home to villagers. "

**"HIS OWN LEADER"**

"Local Congress workers should send all reports about the Hartal and other activities to their Provincial Congress Committee and the latter to the Central Congress Office. In case, the leader in a particular place is arrested by the Government, another should be chosen in his place. Every province should make necessary arrangements suited to its particular circumstances.

In the last resort, every Congressman is his own leader and a servant of the whole nation. A final word: No one should think that those whose names are on the Congress register are the only Congressmen.

Let every Indian, who desire the freedom for the whole of India and fully believes in the weapon of truth and non-violence for the purpose of this struggle, regard himself as a Congressman and act as such. If anybody has the spirit of communalism or harbours hatred or ill-will in his heart against any Indian or Englishman, he will best help the struggle by keeping aloof. Such an individual will hinder the cause by joining the struggle.



## INDEX

	Pages		Pages
Advani, R. T., Lt. Col	404	Candy, R. H.	370
Alexander, Horace G.	565	Captain, Perin, Mrs.	48
Ali, Mohomed	374	Chaudhary, Sarala Devi	374
Allabux	272	Civil Disobedience Movement	609, 610, 611
Ambedkar. B. R. Dr.	12, 681		
Ambekar, G. D	78	Contaur, William	431
<i>Anand Bazar Patrika</i>	509	Damle, S. V	16
Andrews, C. F	535	Dave, Rohit M	78
Aney, M. S	9, 13, 15 42, 232	Desai, Bhulabhai J	532, 575
		Desai, Chandulal M., Dr.	5, 20
Azad. Maulana Abul Kalam	564, 612	Desai, Dhirubhai B	575
Bajaj, Jamnalal Dwarkadas	532, 541	Desai, Ganpatishanker N.	532
Balappa, Baburao	465	Desai, Mahadeo—	
Banker, Shankarlal Ghelabhai	1, 49, 54		532, 533, 539, 540, 541, 548, 553, 562, 563, 576, 661.
Barlett. N	534		
Barve, S. G	377, 429, 432	Desai, Morarji	582
Bhagvat, Mr.	526	Deshpande, Gangadharrao	537
Bhansali Prof.	206, 215	Deshpande, S. S	381
Bhatt, Janakibai	450	Deo, S. D	535, 536, 537, 538
Bhave, Vinoba	579, 582		
Bhole, R. R	241	Dhalumal, Kishinchand	25
Bhopatkar, L. B	13, 425, 827	Dighe, Mr	391
		Gadgil, N. V	13, 17
Birla. R. D	376, 575, 576	Gadkari, V. A.	527
Bose, Saratchandra	91, 539, 540	Gaikwad, B. K.	95
		Gajjar, K. T., Dr	190, 191
Bose, Subhaschandra	542	Gandhiji's interview to Bombay Suburban and Gujarat Congressmen.	584
Buck, Pearl Miss	246		
Butler, H. E.	445, 446, 687		

	Pages		Pages
Gandhi's letter to Mr. Churchill	702	Kalelkar D.B	89
Ghatate, S. A.	346, 352	Kanitkar, G. N	36, 41
Ghatge, R.S	16	Karmarkar, D. P	63
Gholap, Baburao	78	Karole, Edward	52
Gilder, M. D. D., Dr.	183	Kelkar, N. C	535, 536, 537
Gokhale, D.V	13		
Gosavi, D. K.	65	Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan	553
Gover, Roora.	25	Khan, Yar Muhammad	31
Halifax, Lord	246, 309	Khare. N. B., Dr	53
Hardikar, N.S	13	Kher.B. G,	372, 543
Harrison, Agatha, Miss	177, 532, 533	Kirpalani, J. B	534
		Kodolika	546
Hotson, Mr.	545	Kolhapur State Praja Parishad	546
Hull, Cordell	246, 280	Korgaonkar, V. B., Dr.	78
Hutheesingh, Krishna, Mrs.	579, 582	Kumarappa J. C. Publisher,	400
Iengar.H.V. R	136, 142, 344, 368, 484	<i>Gram Udyog Patrika.</i>	
		Kumbhar, Ratnappa Dharma- ppa	546
Irwin	371		
<i>Ittehad</i> , Urdu newspaper	356, 357	Lavate, Shankar Ganesh	17, 527
Jadhav, G. M.	95	Limaye, Acharya	15
Jagdale, Mr	546	Madgaonkar, G. D	55
Jaiprakash, Prabhavati, Mrs.	180, 473	Mahodaya Vaijanath	76
<i>Janma-Bhoomi</i>	589	Malkani.N.R	530
Javeri, Manilal Revashanker	532	Master, Nagindas T	532, 541, 575
Jedhe, K. M	72		
Jinnah, M. A	541, 542, 544	Master, Tara Singh	554, 556
		Maxwell, Cumbleton	472
Johnstan, M. K	545	Maxwell, R. M	470
Joshi Durgabai	5	Meckenzie, J	257
Joshi.G.B	400	Meherally, Y. J	575
Joshi, Laxman Balaram	6	Mehta, Dinshah, Dr.	413, 414, 416, 417
Joshi.N. M	222		



# INDEX

iii

	Pages		Pages
Mehta, G. J,	216	Persons visited M. K. Gandhi	111-14, 452-58, 501-04, 627 52, 686, 694, 696
Mehta, Lalloobhai	13	Phatak, H. G	72
Samaldas, Sir.		Phillips, W	242,245, 246, 272
Mehta, Jivraj, Dr.	416, 532, 579, 582	Pradhan. B.V	444
Mody.H.P	232	Praja and Unionist Party	542
Mohatta, Shivrattan	25, 27	Prakash, S., Major	500
Mookerjee, Shyatna Prasad, Dr.	208, 272	Prasad, Rajendra Babu	541
Morarji, Shantikumar	374	Radhakrishnan, S	75
Munshi,K.M	374, 383, 532, 541, 576	Rajbhoj. P.N.	14, 15, 95
Munshi, Lilavati	532, 541	Rajagopalachari, C	209
Naidu, Sarojini	532, 572	Roger, Lumley	657
Naik, Wamanrao	43	Round Table Conference of Muslim leaders	542
Nalavade, G. M	527	Roy. B. C. Dr	192,304, 307, 315, 370, 416, 473
Nariman, K. F	532	Roy, M.N	539
Nawab Ismail, General Secre- tary, A. I. C. C.	543	Sapru, T. B., Sir	246
Newspapers, sent to Aga Khan's Palace	478	Sarabhai, Ambalal	18
Pakvasa, Mangaldas	370, 371, 575	Sarkar.N. R	232
Paranjape, R. P	71	Sarkar, Prafulla Kumar	512
Patel, Bhasker	532	Savarkar, V. D	78,220, 261
Patel, I. S	532	Sendak, Major	367,387
Patel, Vallabhbhai	541, 575, 576	Shah, B.Z	348,370, 470
Patil, S. K;	541, 575	Shan, Prof. Tan Yun.	299, 306
Patwardhan, Achyut	95	Shiv Sharma, Pandit	135, 143, 144, 146,152, 162, 163, 165, 166, 169, 170, 186, 415, 417, 424, 474
Patwardhan, P. H	65	Shinde.V.R.	16

	Pages		Pages
Sholapurkar, R. V	442	Therman Howard, Dr.	52
Sidwa, R. K.	32, 76	Tilak, Lokamanya.	537
Singh, J. J	241	Tottenham, Richard	189, 655
Slade, Miss	405	Trikamji, Mathuradas	532
Sladen, J. M	323, 659, 661, 662	Tyabji, Abbas.	24
Smith, Conran	476, 656	Vengaskar, Shantabai, Mrs.	579, 562
Soorji, Vallabhdas	48	Vergese, P. T., Rev	2
Strabolgi, Lord	309	Virawalla, Mr.	546
Symington, D.	203, 204	Vyas, Manilal J.	9
Tairsee, L. R.	38	Waiz, S. A., Mr.	535
Taylor, B. H	612		
Thackersey, Vithaldas, Lady	374		
Thaskkar, A. V.	15		